HISTORY OF MEDIÆVAL INDIA

ISHWARI PRASAD

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FROM 647 A.D. TO THE MUGHAL CONQUEST

HISTORY

OF

MEDIÆVAL INDIA

BY

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FELIX QUI POTUIT RERUM COGNOSCERE CAUSAS—*Virgil*

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

THIS volume is an attempt to present to the reader a general view of the history of Mediæval India during the years 647—1526 A.D. The history of Mediæval India, writes Dr. Stanley Lane-Poole, is merely a chronicle of kings, courts and conquests and not a history of organic or national growth. The remark is quite appropriate, if we restrict the scope of history merely to the growth of popular institutions as they are understood in modern times. But broadly speaking, history deals with the life of man in its varied aspects, and in this sense *the History of Mediaeval India* is not merely a story of court intrigues and palace conspiracies, but a record of brilliant achievements in the field of conquest and administration, and of great social and religious movements.

Elphinstone's *History of India* is rightly treated as a classic and generations of students in this country have profited by it. But historical research has considerably advanced since Elphinstone's day, and the modern student no longer finds it adequate for his purposes. It was largely based upon Firishta, but during the last fifty years, thanks to the ceaseless labours of European and Indian antiquarians and researchists, plenty of new material has come to light, which has effected considerable improvement upon Firishta not merely by correcting his errors, but also by adding vastly to our knowledge. Dr. Lane-Poole's brilliant outline of Mediæval India based upon Elliot's Historians, written in limpid and elegant English, is still read with delight by students of Indian history. But specialisation has advanced by such rapid strides that we can no longer rest satisfied with Elliot's priceless treasures, although it is impossible to express adequately the debt which students of Indian

history owe to that veteran scholar and indefatigable antiquarian who by his ceaseless labours unearthed documents, which would have remained unknown to the English-knowing public but for him. The scholar of to-day must consult for himself the valuable material in Persian and Arabic which has been placed within his reach by modern research. I have tried to indicate in the footnotes appended to this volume the vastness of the original material which may be profitably utilised by any one who undertakes seriously the study of mediæval history.

In preparing this volume I have relied mainly upon original authorities. I am not so presumptuous as to think that I have improved upon Elphinstone and Lane-Poole, to whom I must gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness, but I may claim to have thrown fresh light upon many an important problem, to have suggested fresh view-points and to have supplied information which has hitherto been inaccessible to the general reader. In order to achieve this end, I have consulted, as the footnotes will show, numerous MSS. and printed texts in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit. I have attempted to correct the common errors of history and to make the presentation of the subject as attractive as possible. Some of my conclusions are certainly at variance with those of my predecessors, but without laying claim to infallibility—a claim which no scholar can put forward—I—may add that I have carefully investigated the evidence before me and have based my opinions on actual facts. On reading Mommsen's idealisation of Cæsar, Strauss remarked: 'An historian may blame, but not scold; praise, but not lose his balance.' The illustrious author of the History of Rome cared nothing for the charge, for he believed that history could neither be written nor made without love or hate. It is true that history cannot be made without love or hate but surely it is possible to write history without love or hate, and a true historian ought to bring to bear upon

his task the passionless curiosity of the man of science. It is not for the historian to take sides in a controversy. He is not a party politician or a political propagandist. His function is to state and interpret the facts as he finds them without allowing his own prejudices to influence the discussion of his theme or warp his judgment. I have attempted to follow this principle. In judging men and things, I have not allowed ethics to go before dogma, politics and nationality, but have tried to relate facts to circumstances before apportioning praise or blame. I hope, I have extenuated nothing, nor set down aught in malice, and as far as possible I have consistently placed before me the high ideal of historical truth, irrespective of every other consideration.

As the book was printed at a time when I was busily engaged in University work, I could not do full justice to the reading of proofs, and hence some errors have crept into the text. The absence of diacritical marks and the disparity in the spelling of certain words such as Muhammadans, Brahamans, Khan-i-Jahan and Jahangir will no doubt cause inconvenience to the general reader, but I hope to remove all these blemishes in the next edition.

My thanks are due to Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganga Nath Jha, M.A., D.Litt., Vice-Chancellor of our University, who has always assisted me in procuring MSS. and to Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, M.A., Litt. D., M.L.C., and Dr. Tarachand, M.A., D.Phil., and my colleagues of the History Department, who have helped me by their many suggestions and criticisms. I must also express my gratefulness to Professor Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., I.E.S., of the Patna College, for lending me his MS. of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* and to Pt. Amaranatha Jha, M.A., Secretary, Public Library Allahabad, and the Librarians of the Bankipore Oriental Library, the Imperial Library, Calcutta, and the

Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for affording me facilities for consulting MSS. and books in their possession.

Among those to whom I am especially indebted, I must not omit to mention the names of Messrs. G. V. Rao, M.A., LLB., and Gauri Shankar Chatterjee, M.A., from whom I have derived much useful information about the kingdom of Vijayanagar and the development of the Bhakti cult. To Messrs. Visheshwar Prasad, M.A., and Hari Krishna Mathur, B.A., both pupils of mine, and Mr. A. K. Sen of the Public Library, Allahabad, I am obliged for the help they have given in the reading of proofs and the preparation of the Bibliography and the Index.

Lastly, I am thankful to my publishers who have grudged no expenditure in making the book as attractive and useful as possible.

The completion of this volume in the midst of multifarious distractions is a matter of sincere satisfaction and thankfulness to me. I must publicly acknowledge the generous encouragement I have always received from Professor Rushbrook-Williams to whom I owe the opportunities of carrying on historical research. Scholars will no doubt find many defects and shortcomings in these pages, but even these will be useful, for by stimulating research they will serve to advance our knowledge of the subject. For my part, I may humbly add that I shall always value the reasoned criticism of competent scholars more than the unqualified praise of kind friends.

ISHWARI PRASAD

UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD
May 27, 1925

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

A new edition of this book being called for, I have taken all possible care to remove the blemishes that existed in the first edition. The favourable reception accorded to the first edition, notwithstand-

ing its many imperfections, encourages me to hope that the revised and enlarged edition will commend itself to all students of Indian history. I have confined myself to such changes and enlargements as seemed most needed; where important events had been slurred over, additions have been made to enable the reader to grasp their full significance. The footnotes have been made more illustrative, and a fairly full chronological table has been appended, presenting a connected view of the important events and changes in the political history of mediæval India. I have added a few new illustrations indicative of the growth and development of the early Muslim art in India.

The book has been thoroughly revised. The criticisms and suggestions from various quarters, from competent scholars as well as others, have been of great help to me. Statements which seemed to have been exaggerated or vague have been modified, and an attempt has been made to bring the book into line with the latest researches. The diacritical marks have been placed where necessary, and a uniform method of spelling has been followed, though it is not strictly in accordance with the method of transliteration suggested by the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, for this would have considerably embarrassed the students in Indian Colleges and Universities for whom the book is primarily intended. Important but less familiar names have been accented to enable the reader to pronounce them with accuracy. A very exhaustive index has been added for which my thanks are due to my pupil Mr. Kunwar Bahadur, B.A., of the University of Allahabad, who has grudged no labour in making it full, scientific and accurate.

I shall deem my labours amply rewarded if this book leads students to original authorities and teaches them to recognise the fact that we can never grasp or appreciate the real significance of historical events unless we transport ourselves to those times in which they occurred, and unless we enter

into the hearts and minds of those contemporaries who have described great men and affairs from personal observation. To be able to see things through their eyes is the first postulate of real, scientific historical-scholarship. In this direction the present volume represents an aspiration and not an achievement.

ISHWARI PRASAD

UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD
December 24, 1927

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

It is a matter of great satisfaction that this book has been found useful by students of Indian history not only in India but also in Europe. It has been translated into French and forms a part of the *Historie du Mode* edited by Professor E. Cavaignac. I have tried to meet in this edition the criticisms that have been offered from time to to time by competent scholars, and have added new information wherever possible. The field of scholarship is vast enough to induce humility in the proudest of men, and I beg of my readers to continue to make suggestions for improvement, which will always receive my best attention.

ISHWARI PRASAD

UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD
May 25, 1933

PREFACE TO THE WAR-EDITION

This is a war-edition and has been brought out in the midst of unprecedented difficulties. The paper and the printing material have not only become scarce but also very costly and, therefore, there is a little increase in price which, I hope the readers will forgive. In the new and revised edition which will be published after the war, I hope to make a number of additions which the student readers will find very useful.

ISHWARI PRASAD

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD
May 10, 1945

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These months have thirty and twenty-nine days alternately except in the Embolismic years when the last month has thirty days.

THE HIJRA ERA

The word 'hijrah' literally means departure from one's country and separation from friends. The era derives its name from the flight of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina. It is a mistake to think that the era began from the date on which the flight of the Prophet occurred. The date of the flight is different from the date of the commencement of the Hijra era. The era was introduced seven years after the death of the Prophet by the Khalifa Omar and its commencement was not coincident with the day of the flight or with the day on which the Prophet arrived at Medina. The era was made to commence two months prior to the flight that is with the first day of the month of Muharram, the first day of the year in which the flight took place. This day corresponds to 16th July 622 A.D.

FOREWORD

I HAVE read with great interest the first volume of Mr. Ishwari Prasad's "History of Mediæval India." My interest proceeds not merely from the merits of the work itself, but from the fact that the author is an old friend. When I came from All Souls to organise the department of Modern Indian History in the University of Allahabad, I took an early opportunity of visiting and inspecting the history teaching in the numerous colleges which then owed allegiance to the University. I was particularly impressed, when I visited Agra, with the zeal and enthusiasm of a certain Mr. Ishwari Prasad, then a lecturer at Agra College. So much so, indeed, that I took an early opportunity of recruiting him for the Research Staff of the department I was then organising. Most unfortunately circumstances over which I had no control took me from Allahabad soon afterwards, so that I was obliged to bid farewell to my colleagues, old and new. But I had seen sufficient of the work of Mr. Ishwari Prasad to realise that the favourable opinion which I had formed of his keenness and capacity was fully justified by more intimate acquaintance. Indeed, I may perhaps be allowed to say that it was in some measure as the result of our association; that he was encouraged to persevere in those laborious and exacting studies which are given to the public in this volume.

It has long been a common-place with teachers of Indian History that there is a serious shortage of books suitable for undergraduate study. Particularly is this the case where the study of Mediæval India is in question. Apart from such brilliant outlines as those which have been given us by Dr. Lane-Poole there has hitherto been a great unfilled gap between the elementary text-book and the weighty monograph. Neither the one nor the

other category is very suitable for the student who desires to abandon the school book, but is not yet ready for the detailed research of the specialist. Now, in my judgment the main strength of the present work is its suitability to fill this gap; to provide the young student with a general treatment more detailed than he has hitherto encountered; and to constitute a bridge by which he may advance to the goal of specialisation. Successfully to achieve such a desideratum is a task of great difficulty; and I must not be understood to anticipate in any manner the verdict of those who are best qualified to pronounce upon Mr. Ishwari Prasad's success or failure—the practising teachers of Indian History. They and they alone will discover whether the book is too advanced for their students; whether the apparatus criticus employed by the author and in my judgment as a whole soundly employed is beyond the grasp of the young scholar. I will content myself by saying that Mr. Ishwari Prasad shows a commendable grasp of the canons of historical criticism; that he uses his own judgment with courage and conviction; that he departs from accepted conclusions only after a careful evaluation of the evidence available to him. If he criticises his predecessors somewhat freely, it must at least be admitted that he has introduced a breath of life into some of the arid wastes of historical controversy. Without attempting to endorse or justify certain of his conclusions—concerning which every qualified scholar will claim, as I claim myself the right of private judgement—I will content myself with commending this book in the most cordial terms to the attention of all who are interested in the teaching and study of Indian History.

L. F. Rushbrook-Williams

Simla
May 4, 1925

INTRODUCTION

IT was the illustrious Freeman who laid a considerable emphasis on the essential unity of history. No one can deny that there is a certain continuity in human affairs and that one period of history is almost inseparably connected with another. Violent changes seldom occur, and one age imperceptibly shades off into another. It often happens that during a period of transitition the actual authors of important events, the very actors in the historical drama, fail to perceive the significance of the part played by them. They are so completely immersed in affairs so busy with acting and doing that they become utterly oblivious of the changes which are wrought by their own efforts. A revolution takes place; our political and social conditions are altered; autocracy gives way to freedom; orthodoxy yields place to a liberal cosmopolitanism; our ideas and ideals are thrown into the crucible to be re-cast and refashioned, and yet, we do not see that the surface of the earth on which we stand is being changed perhaps through our own instrumentality. We become the unconscious agents and creators of mighty revolutions, and seldom realise the magnitude of the influence which we exert upon the epoch in which we live and which, in turn, it exerts upon us. Not unoften do we enter upon our grand human inheritance and reap and enjoy the fruits of social conquests without thinking of the great mass of men and women, who with infinite toil and patience have striven to accomplish the mighty task of political and social regeneration, and who have contributed in a thousand ways to the glory of the epoch in which we live. The history of European civilisation affords numerous illustrations of the principle enunciated by the historian of the Norman Con-

quest. The French Revolution of the eighteenth century with all its clash of ideals, its tears, agonies, death-pangs and the tragic phases, which disfigured the Reign of Terror, had its roots deep in the policy of Richelieu and Louis XIV. So great was the wrong done in the past that the benevolent efforts of Turgot to infuse a fresh life into the decadent system, the robust commonsense and self-effacement of Danton, who had to go to the scaffold with the words—Better be a fisherman than meddle with the governing of men!—on his lips, the immaculate purity of the famous lawyer of Arras, and the political speculations of Abbe Sieyes failed to save the existing society in France from ruin. Similarly, the glorious rebellion of the English people against Stuart tyranny, organised by the Puritans, derived its inspiration from the charters of Henry and John and the political practice of the patriarchs of the Anglo-Saxon Witam. The German *Kultur* which menaced the peace of Europe in 1914, was the result of the statecraft of Bismarck and of the teachings of Nietzsche and Treitschke and a galaxy of eminent writers like Dahlmann, Hausser, Droysen and Sybel. So is the case with the history of Russia, which has not yet come out of the agonies of a new birth. The self-governing countries of Europe have consciously or unconsciously followed the traditions of their past in working out their political evolution. There is a certain continuity in their affairs. But the history of India has moved along different lines. The conquest of India by foreigners has led to serious breaks from the past at times, and not unoften her indigenous institutions have perished under the deadening effect of foreign domination. Her people have been forced to abandon their political institutions for exotic systems. Their political advance has been rudely interrupted and foreign subjection has seriously interfered with the growth of healthy ideals of national and public duty. But while all this is true, the thread of the cultural history of India has remained unbroken through the ages, and

the fundamental aspects of the social and religious life of her people have always possessed a unity, a sameness, which no historian can fail to notice.

According to the fashion of the day, the history of India is also divided into three periods—the ancient, mediæval and modern, and it is a very convenient and necessary division. "To think history is certainly to divide it into periods, because thought is organism, dialectic, drama and as such has its periods, its beginning, its middle, and its end, and all the other ideal pauses that a drama implies and demands," writes Benedetto Croce, and his view is supported by the philosopher-statesman Turgot, who in his Discourse at the Sorbonne on the Successive Advances of the Human Mind declared that history was the life of humanity, ever progressing through decay and revival, each age linked equally to those which have gone before and those that are to come. The divisions must be observed in European as in Indian history, for in the one as in the other the three periods are in such marked contrast with one another. So, without destroying the fundamental unity of history, which is the bed-rock of our knowledge, we can separately deal with and explain the significance of the events of each period. In the vast panorama of history that stretches out before us, the landscapes may vary; the figures treading upon the earth may flit like shadows into the vast unknown, but the operation of the law of evolution never ceases. Behind the multiplicity of detail and the manifold diversities that history reveals to us we have to discover the essential unities and the working of the principle of progress, which after all is the real subject of the historian. An attempt will be made in these pages to point out the contribution of the mediæval period to the sum of ages, to find out the decisive influences which have formed the basis of the civilisation under which we live to-day.

Much has been written about the greatness of

our ancient civilisation. Modern research has exploded the old shibboleths of the political stagnation and backwardness of our forefathers. Our scholars have proved that the Hindus of ancient times possessed a highly developed form of polity, which in its palmiest days fulfilled the ends of the Greek philosopher's '*polis*.' The state was based upon *Dharma;* the sovereign's duty was to promote the highest well-being of the people, and the *raison d'etre* of all political institutions was the satisfaction of material wants and the moral elevation of the entire community. Popular institutions were not unknown to them. Even in the Vedic times we obtain glimpses of the *Samiti* and the *Sabha,* the two daughters of Prajapati transacting Public business in a spirit of harmony and co-operation. In the Buddhist literature there are evidences of a republication form of government, which, though not so well-organised and systematic as republics in the western world, was controlled by public opinion. The *Jatakas*[1] call the Buddhist rulers '*gana rulers*' or republican rulers and Professor Rhys Davids has referred to the *Attha-Katha* which makes mention of the highest officers of the self-governing body, the President, the Vice-President and the generalissimo of the forces of the community. We hear of the councils and parisads of the Lichchhavis and their frequent deliberation in meetings, and regular rules are laid down for the orderly conduct of business by means of discussion.[2] A highly developed code of procedure is preserved in the *Vinaya Pitaka* according to which meetings of the Buddhist congregations were held and business was done. The little Buddhist communities were virtual republics, managing their own affairs after proper deliberation and discussion. The Hindu

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[1] Jataka, IV, 148.

[2] Bhandarkar, Carmichæl Lectures, p. 180.

monarch had to take a prescribed oath[3] by which he promised to govern the people so as to promote their highest happiness. "The Hindu theory of kingship," writes Mr. Jayaswal, "was never permitted to degenerate into a divine imposture and profane autocracy. Jugglery in the divine name of the Creator was not possible for the Hindu king, as the race never allowed the craft of the priest to be united with the office of the ruler."[4] The king had his minister and councils and the various departments of law and justice—an elaborate machinery which worked without friction and conflict, because politics were saturated with spiritual influences. The Hindu monarch taxed his people, but to use a poetic metaphor, the money taken from the people was to be given back to them even as the sun dries up the waters of the earth in order to give them back in the shape of refreshing and fertilising showers. The ancient lawgiver laid down the maxim:—

स्वभागभृत्या दास्यत्वे प्रजानां च नृपः कृतः ।
ब्रह्मणा स्वामिरूपस्तु पालनार्थं हि सर्वदा ॥

> "God has made the king, though master in form, the servant of the people earning his wages in the shape of taxes for promoting their prosperity"

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[3] The following oath is given in the *Mahabharata (Santi Parva)* Chapter 59, verses 115, 116:—

प्रतिज्ञाश्चाधिरोहस्व मनसा कर्मणा गिरा ।
पालयिष्याम्यहं भौमं ब्रह्म इत्येव चासकृत् ॥
यः क्षात्रधर्मो नीत्युक्तो दण्डनीतिव्यपश्रायः ।
तमशक्तः करिष्यामि स्ववशो न कदाचन ॥

"Mount in mind, deed and word the vow—I will protect the earth and the Brahmans (or the Vedas) again and again. Whatever Dharma is laid down in ethics and approved in politics—I will act according to that without hesitation and I will never be arbitrary."

[4] Jayaswal Ancient Hindu Polity, pp. 58-59.

As we proceed onwards, we come to the imperial organisation of the Mauryas of which we get a glimpse in Kautaly's *Arthasastra*. Here the constitution of the government is laid down by the political philosopher in all its details, and though there is plenty of Machiavellianism at times, we find much genuine guidance for the ruler and the statesman to regulate his conduct so as to promote the highest public well-being. The state was not merely a centralised despotism, an incubus or a nightmare, which crushed the race of mortals in the dust. As Professor Radha Kumud Mukherjee observes, it did not aim at legislating for and controlling the life of every part of the vast country under its sway, but it aimed only at an elastic system of federalism or confederations in which were incorporated, along with the central government at the metropolis, as parts of the same system, the indigenous local administrations.[5] The village was a self-contained and self-sufficing unit. It worked with an admitable system of domestic economy, which prevented clash and strife and which placed an assured subsistence within the reach of all. The division of labour, the sense of co-operation produced by prolonged residence in a small place, cut off from the wide world, and the feeling of confidence and equality fostered by a mutual exchange of service were valuable elements of strength in the village system. The isolation from the outer world was at once a source of weakness and strength. It cramped the intellectual horizon of the village community; it rendered it unprogressive by making it impossible for life to move in other than the prescribed groove; it intensified its conservatism and generated an unreasoning suspicion of all extraneous influences, healthy or otherwise. But it checked strife and social warfare which is a common feature of modern town life in the west and also to a limited extent in the east.

[5] Local Government in Ancient India, p. 10.

Its conservatism helped to preserve an important feature of Hindu social organisation, and in times of revolution it preserved peace and order, and saved our civilisation from total decay. Of these village communities a distinguished English statesman writes thus:—

> "The village communities are little republics, having nearly everything they can want within themselves; and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds revolution; but the village community remains the same. This union of village communities, each one forming a separate little state in itself, has, I conceive, contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the peoples of India, through all the revolutions, and changes which they have suffered, and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence."[6]

Obviously, the vastness of the country made it difficult for the central government to control every aspect of human life, and therefore much was left to local agencies. The social and cultural life of the people continued as ever, and political changes did not interfere with the normal intellectual and moral progress of the race. The Imperial Guptas fully maintained the tradition of Hindu greatness and liberally extended their patronage to art and letters. Their age was marked by the revival of Hindu religion and Sanskrit learning and beneficent activity in the domain of administration. The Hindu polity retained its healthy character down to the days of Harsa of Kanauj, Hiuen Tsiang, the Chinese pilgrim who visited India during his reign, bears

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[6] Report of the Select Committee of House of Commons, 1832, Vol. III, 84, p. 331.

testimony to the highly developed administration—though it was not free from defects—and zeal of the king to promote the happiness of the subjects. The pilgrim observes:—

> "As the administration of the country is conducted on benign principles, the execution is simple. The private demesnes of the Crown are divided into four principal parts; the first for carrying out the affairs of state and providing sacrificial offerings; the second is for providing substitutes for the ministers and chief officers of state; the third is for rewarding men of distinguished ability. The taxes on the people are light, and the personal service required of them is moderate. Each one keeps his worldly goods in peace and all till the ground for their subsistence. Those who cultivate the royal estates pay a sixth part of the produce as tribute."

Education was widely diffused, and we glean from Hiuen Tsiang's records that with a great many Buddhist and Brahmana monks discussion was the very breath of their nostrils. It was an age of disputations. Sometimes scholars posted their challenges at the doors of monasteries asking their opponents to have a discussion with them. Once, a heretic of the Lokatiya sect hung up forty theses at the temple gate at Nalanda, with the words, "if any one can refute these principles, I will then give him my head as a proof of his victory." The challenge was meant for Hiuen Tsiang who asked his servant to tear it,[7] and in the discussion that followed, it is said, the Brahmana was defeated.[8] The Buddhist monks, living in quiet places, far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife, devoted themselves to study and discussion. Again and again, we read of assemblies

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[7] Beal, The Life of Hiuen Tsiang, p. 161.

[8] Beal, The Life of Hiuen Tsiang, pp. 161—65.

where the exponents of rival doctrines met together for debate and Hiuen Tsiang writes:—

"The brethren are often assembled for discussion to test intellectual capacity and bring moral character into prominence. Those who bring forward or estimate aright fine points in philosophy and give subtle principles their proper place, who are ornate in diction and acute in refined distinctions ride richly caparisoned elephants.

The University of Nalanda contained ten thousand scholars who studied the various branches of learning, and within the temple every day about one hundred pulpits were raised from which discourses were delivered and were attended by students without any fail, even for a minute. The priests lived in harmony and the pilgrim writes that during the seven hundred years since its establishment not a single case of rebellion against the rules had occurred in the University. The state liberally endowed the institution and took a great interest in its welfare.[9]

Harsa himself was an accomplished man of letters. He was the author, in some measure, of the famous plays—the *Nagananda,* the *Ratnavali* or 'Necklace' and 'the *Priyadarsika* or 'Gracious Lady,' which are admirable for their 'simplicity of thought and elegance of expression.' Like the great Asoka before him, he devoted himself to the practice of piety. He developed an earnest religious outlook and gave his allegiance to Buddhism first in

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[9] Beal, The Life of Hiuen Tsiang, pp. 112-13.

The king granted to the University the revenue of 100 villages. Two hundred householders in these villages, day by day, contributed several hundred *piculs* of ordinary rice and several hundred *catties,* in weight of butter and milk. Hence the students being so abundantly supplied, did not require to ask for the four requisites. This was the source of the perfection of their studies to which they had attained.

One picul was equal to 133⅓ lbs.

One catty was equal to 160 lbs.

its Hinayana and then in its Mahayana forms and sought to plant the tree of religious merit to such an extent that he forgot to sleep and eat and prohibited the use of animal food throughout the 'Five Indies.' Later he developed an eclectic attitude towards all religions, and, though a convinced Buddhist he offered worship to Siva, the Sun, and Buddha, and built temples in their honour. The religion of the bulk of the people was Puranic Hinduism, but in practice considerable latitudinarianism was observed by them. The Brahmanas resented the king's liberality towards the Buddhists and hatched a plot to take his life. During the session of the historic assembly, consisting of about twenty princes, four thousand learned Buddhists and about three thousand Jains and Brahmanas, held at Kanauj to proclaim the Master's teachings, an attempt was made on the king's life by a fanatic, which resulted in the arrest of five hundred Brahmanas. The accused confessed their guilt and escaped with the light penalty of exile.

The most remarkable thing about Harsa is the distribution of his vast treasures every four years at Prayag. The king proceeded thither accompanied by his sister and a number of princes and scholars. Hiuen Tisang who followed his royal host to Prayag gives a detailed account of this quinquennial assemblage and the distribution of charities.[10]

> "By this time, the accumulation of five years was exhausted. Except the horses, elephants and military accoutrements which were necessary for maintaining order and protecting the royal estate, nothing remained. Besides these the King freely gave away his gems and goods, his clothing and necklaces, ear-rings, bracelets, chaplets, neck-jewel and bright head-

[10] Beal, The Life of Hiuen Tsiang, pp. 186-187.

jewel, all these he freely gave without stint.

'All being given away, he begged from his sister an ordinary second hand garment, and having put it on, he paid worship to the Buddhas of the ten regions, and as he exalted with joy with his hands closed in adoration, he said: 'In amassing all this wealth and treasure I ever feared that it was not safely stored in a strong place; but now having bestowed this treasure in the field of religious merit, I can safely say it is well bestowed. Oh that I may in all my future births ever thus religiously give in charity to mankind my stores of wealth, and thus complete in myself the ten independent power (dasabalas) [of a Buddha].'[11]

The pilgrim's account throws much light upon the social and religious condition of the time. Widow marriage was forbidden, and it appears from Bana's *Harsacharita* that Rajyasri's marriage was not publicly performed. Child marriages were then unknown. Sati was prevalent and Bana writes that Harsa's mother had burnt herself even before her husband's actual death. But women were held in honour, and Bana describes Rajyasri as a lady well-versed in the various *Kalas* and Sastras, who assisted her brother in performing his public duties. The people were upright and honourable. In money matters they were without craft and in administering justice they were considerate. They believed in the law of *karma* and dreaded the retribution of another state of existence—a belief which compelled them to follow the right path. They were not deceitful or treacherous in their conduct and faithfully kept their oaths and promises.[11]

Harsa's death in 647 A.D. was an irreparable disaster. It marked the evident close of a system

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[11] Beal, Life of Hiuen Tsiang, pp. 186-87.

which had governed India for at least four centuries. The fall of the empire removed the visible symbol of unity and led to the dislocation of the long-received ideas and assumptions of mankind, their habits and modes of life and the established conclusions of experience. The Rajputs developed their peculiar system of petty feudal states, of which a detailed account will be given in the first chapter, but among the numerous clans that rose to the surface during the five centuries that followed the death of Harsa, there was not a single ruler of the calibre of Chandragupta, Asoka, or Harsa, who could weld together the conflicting elements into an organic whole and establish a homogeneous empire in the country. The Rajputs idealised chivalry which led to fierce wars among themselves. They could never rise to the lofty conception of national organisation or unity. Perhaps, the idea of national patriotism was foreign to the age. A singular dearth of capable Brahmana ministers is clearly noticeable at the courts of Delhi and Kanauj and other Rajput capitals. The Rajput made war his vocation and neglected the nobler and higher duties of government and administration, which have immortalised Asoka and Harsa in the history of India. No documentary evidence exists to point out their achievements in the field of civil administration, and their whole history is a long series of wars and battles between the rival clans. The Brahmana class, characterised in the past by disinterested devotion to public duty and the fulfilment of the highest *Dharma*, forgot its old ideals and its degeneration was followed by the decline of the entire Hindu social system.

The weakness of the political system had its effect on other aspects of life. Religion underwent a change. The cosmopolitanism of Harsa had fostered a spirit of tolerance and created an atmosphere of peace and quiet. The people had worshipped Siva, the Sun, or Visnu and another god according

to their individual predilections. But the result of individual freedom was the growth of a spirit of sectarianism which on the eve of Sankara's entry into the arena of religious controversy was rampant throughout the land. Anandagiri in his *Sankaradigvijaya* has drawn a graphic picture of the religious condition of India in the eighth century. He mentions the numerous sects that sprang into existence anl inculcated the worship of all kinds of gods from the noblest and highest to the most repulsive deities, taking delight in drunken orgies and grotesque rites.[12] The leaders of rival sects cited the authority of the Vedas in support of their doctrines and practices and wished to overpower one another. Some worshipped Siva, while others worshipped the fire, Ganesa, the Sun, Bhairava and Mattari, Kartika, the god of love, Yama, the god of death, Varuna, sky, water, snakes, the ghosts, etc., and acted according to their own inclinations. Udayana by his relentless crusades against Buddhism had prepared the way for Sankara's vigorous onslaughts. With a boldness and vigour which is unrivalled in the history of religion, the

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[12] Anandagiri, Sankaradigvijaya, pp. 3—7.

Here is Anandagiri's description of the religious condition of India on the eve of Sankara's entry into the arena of controversy :

केचिच्चन्द्रपराः परे कुजपराः केचित्तु मन्दाश्रिताः,
केचित्कालपराः परे पितृपराः केचित्तु नागेशगाः ।
केचित्ताक्षंपराश्च सिध्दनिचयं सेवन्ति केचिद्धिया ॥
केचिद् गन्धर्व्वसाध्यादीन् भूतवैतालगाः परे ।
एवं नानाप्रभेदानां नृणां वृत्तिर्यथेप्सिता ॥
केचित् स्ववृत्तिं वेदार्थैः प्रतिपाद्यां समूचिरे ।
केचिध्दमैंरियमुक्तिरिति जल्प समास्थिताः ॥
अन्योन्यमत्सरग्रस्ताः परस्परजयैषिणः ।
निजेच्छाकृतिमङ्गेषु धारयन्ति रुषान्विताः ॥

great Master made his triumphal progress from city to city, worsting his opponents in debate by his almost superhuman powers of expression and argument. The *advaita* doctrine was firmly established, and the Buddhist monks and scholars, chased by Sankara's incisive logic, sought refuge in the secluded regions of Magadha and certain other parts of Northern India. A great reform was accomplished, and the land was purged of the grosser forms of worship. The bulk of the people reverted to Puranic Hinduism, while the intellectual section accorded its adhesion to the *advaita* doctrine. But Sankara's conquest did not produce lasting effects. The ninth century, religiously speaking, was an age of controversy and like all ages of controversy, though it clarified ideas and imparted a fresh stimulus to the debating power of communities and faiths, it failed to put forward a constructive programme of worship for the masses of the population. The result was a relapse into superstitious and unwholesome rites which encumbered religion for centuries, and which called forth the attacks of such practical reformers as Ramanand, Kabir and Nanak. The tenth century opened in the usual manner with a system of rival states fighting against one another for supremacy. There was no bitter antagonism between Hinduism and Buddhism, for the latter was now a spent force in the country. There were no caste-feuds; in the first place because caste was not so rigid as it is now, and in the second place, because caste was universally accepted as an economic and social organisation for the benefit of the community. The later *Smritis* allow much freedom of social intercourse, and the *Vyasa Smriti* and *Parasara Smriti* both enjoin the association on terms of equality of men belonging to the different castes. The system of administration in the small Rajput states was generally of a benevolent character. The taxes were light, rent was low because there was no dearth of cultivable land and the peo-

ple lived in security under the protection of the Rajput kings who deemed it a sacred duty to guard the persons and property of the common people. There is much truth in what a modern writer says about the political condition of India during this period. He writes:

"There was no foreign domination (except in Sindh) either external or internal. The three great empires of Kanauj, Malkhed, and Monghyr were ruled by entirely local ruling dynasties. There was no domination of either the Maratha over the Bengali or of the Bengali over the Assamese. The Kanauj rule in Kathiawar and north Gujarat might have partaken of the evils of foreign domination and it actually led to the establishment of the local Chavda Kingdom in Gujarat. But elsewhere the Kanauj empire must not have been felt as foreign. Similarly the Rastrakutas properly ruled in the Deccan and South Maratha Country. They were overlords, no doubt, of kingdoms further south; but, as often stated before such overlordship was never felt where local kings were allowed to rule almost independently in their own lands. In fact, an Arab traveller has in effect recorded that in India people were ruled everywhere by their own kings."[13] The Arab traveller Al-Masudi who wrote in the tenth century dwells with appreciation on the power and possessions of the kings of India and Sindh, and his remarks are in substance corroborated by Al-Istkhari and Ibn Haukal who speak of the prosperity and busy trade of the great cities of India.

In the numerous states that existed all over India we do not find a single ruler capable of organising them into an imperial union for pur-

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[13] Vaidya, History of Mediæval Hindu India, II, p. 255.

Malkhed is identified with Manyakheta, the capital of the Rastrakutas of the Deccan. Vaidya, Mediæval India, II, Appendix VI, p. 354.

poses of common defence. The separatist and particularist tendensies were still too powerful to be suppressed. From Al-Beruni's India, a book of surpassing interest, we learn a great deal about the Hindu society as it then was. The Hindu mind still retained its vitality and vigour and its mastery over the rugged realms of philosophy, so much so, indeed, that the Arabian *savant* was astonished at the profound culture and learning of the Hindus. The India of Al-Beruni was Brahmanical not Buddhistic. Buddhism had well nigh disappeared from the country, and that is probably the reason why the Arab scholar never found a Buddhist book and never came across a Buddhist monk from whom he might have learned the theories of his faith.[14] The worship of Visnu was prominent, and Siva had receded into the background. But happily class conflicts and religious antagonisms were not much in evidence. The law was severe; ordeal was frequently resorted to in order to test the guilt or innocence of an accused person. The manners and customs of the Hindus writes Al-Beruni, were based upon the principles of virtue and abstinence, free from wickedness. Privileges of certain classes were recognised and the Brahmanas were treated with great consideration. The government of the country was carried on by independent states, some of which were quite efficiently governed. The remarks of Al-Beruni about the high character of the Hindus are corroborated by another Arab traveller, Al-Idrisi who wrote in the beginning of the twelfth century.[15] But an India, immersed in philosophy and bent upon a separatist policy, was sure to fall an easy prey to foreign invaders, however high the character of her people and however deep their scholarship. Mahmud found nothing to check his advance into the country. To the hermit who bade

[14] Sachau, I, p. 249.
[15] Sachau, II, p. 161.

Alaric return from the mistress of the world when he advanced upon Rome he replied that it was God's will and call that drove him on. It was God's will and call that drove the *Gazi* of the faith to desecrate the most sublime fanes of worship, some of them, the very homes of piety and spiritual culture, venerated for centuries by the highest and the lowliest in the land. Even the repeated raids of Mahmud and the untold losses of wealth in which they resulted did not force our Rajput masters into a solid and well-organised union for the defence of their hearths and homes. Their continued dissensions only served to accelerate their ruin. When the empire of Ghazni fell, the rule of conquest devolved upon a man with definite political aims. Fortune favoured him, and he succeeded in establishing the dominion of Islam on Indian soil. The Islamic conquest did not prove an unmixed evil. It established imperial unity in place of the system of hostile states and taught the people to respect a single authority in the country. It added a new element of youthful vigour to our national stock and introduced a new culture which deserves to be appreciated. The Muslim manners and customs leavened the habits of the upper class Hindus and much of the polish and refinement that we find in modern society is due to them. The Muslims introduced a new language into the country with a wonderful literature of its own, and by constructing noble edifices they brought about the renaissance of the Indian Art.

Though the Hindu lost their political power, the culture of the race as Professor Radha Kumud Mukerjee observes, kept up its uninterrupted flow as is shown by the many intellectual and religious movements which were organised by men who were great alike in the realm of thought and action.[16] Away from the great cities which became the centres of Muslim power, life in the country was not

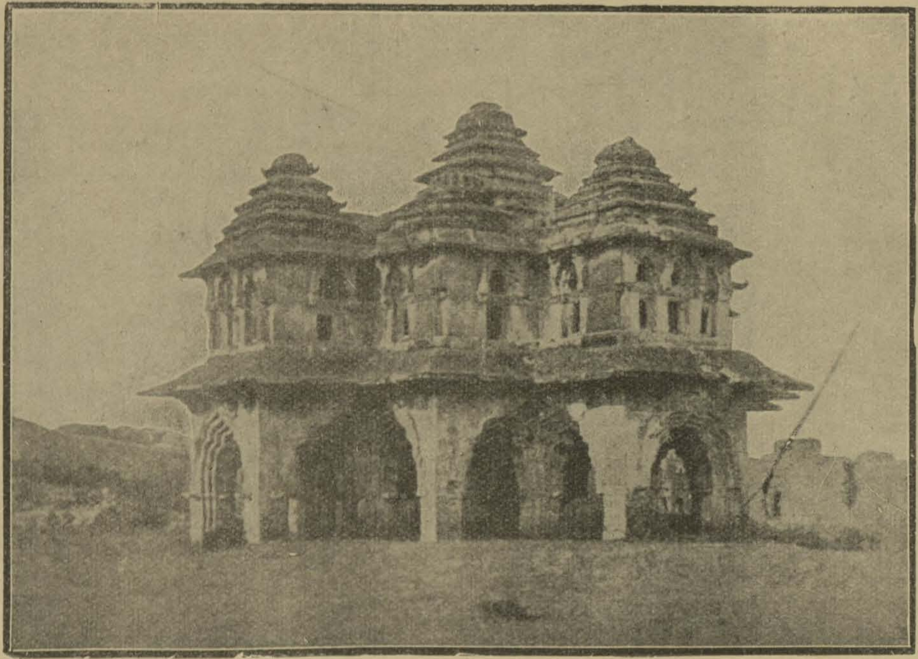
[16] Local Government in Ancient India, p. 12.

outwardly much disturbed by the conquest. Yet, a great revolution was effected and it must be admitted that when the hard-headed and heavy-handed Turkish warrior supplanted the pious Buddhist monk and the Brahmana philosopher, the history of India entered upon a new epoch.

Thus a new order replaced the old. The struggle between the two races was in reality a duel between two conflicting social systems. The old Aryan civilisation with its splendid ideals of life in all its varied aspects, enfeebled by its too much emphasis on the spiritual than on the material side, was overpowered by its belligerent rival which did not disdain the love of worldly pursuits and enjoyments. The heterogeneous population of India with well-marked social, religious and ethnological differences was easily conquered by a religious brotherhood which was organised on a military basis. The theocracy of Islam, backed by the entire force of the Muslim community, overbore the opposition offered by the small military monarchies, which were notoriously hostile to each other. Amid the tumult of the hour, in the din of battle and the clash of arms on the historic field of Tarain 1192 A.D., when the Muslim cavalry leaders pierced through the serried ranks of the Rajput hosts, little did Muhammad of Ghor realise that his conquest was to give an altogether new direction to India's history and to make his problems ever so much more complicated and elusive. The Islamic conquest was a momentous event in our history. There are no records left by the Hindus of those days to show that they gauged fully the importance of this mighty event. The numerous Rajput princes, hopelessly blinded by petty jealousies, failed to visualise the future that lay in store for them. A great many, perhaps, felt consciously or unconsciously that the Musalmans would be absorbed into their society by the same process of silent unification which had brought about the fusion of the Greeks, Huns,

Scythians and other invading hordes. But this was not to be. The Muslim invaders refused to be absorbed. Yet, their conquest profoundly influenced the course of our history and created fresh problems of exceptional difficulty. The Mughals only partially succeeded in solving these problems. The wave of reaction that swept over the empire under Alamgir—who would have been an ideal king, if he had only the faithful to govern—undid the noble work which his great-grand-father, the most gifted ruler and statesman of mediæval times, had accomplished. Unfortunately, those problems exist today as they did in mediæval India, though in modified forms owing to the presence of a European power amongst us. May we hope that the combined genius of the Hindu and the Musalman assisted by the practical talent of the Anglo-Saxon race, which rightly boasts of championing the cause of freedom in Europe, will find a solution of the perplexing problem that besets us today—the problem of a united nation with common hopes and aspiration? The roots of the present lie buried deep in the past, and it is only a correct understanding of what has been that will enable us to adjust the present conditions to our future advantage.

Only, then, will the various communities of India reach the goal of national unity. History knows of no magic wand by which such miraculous transformations can be brought about. The process must be gradual, slow, and at times painfully slow, indeed. Burke uttered forth a profound truth when he said that it is an extremely difficult thing to create a political personality out of a great mass.



Council Chamber, Vijayanagar

CHAPTER I

INDIA ON THE EVE OF MUSLIM CONQUEST

Condition of Northern India.

THE period of Indian history which began after the death of Harsa in 647 A.D. is marked by political confusion and disintegration. Out of the fragments of his empire several principalities came into existence, which were not knit together by any principle of unity or cohesion. State fought against state for leadership, and there was no paramount power which could effectively hold them in check and control the forces of disruption. Kanauj long occupied the position of a premier state, but even her pre-eminence was not universally acknowledged. Rapid disintegration of the entire political system always follows in the east after the collapse of a powerful empire. India became, like Germany in the 16th century, a bundle of states which were to all intents and purposes independent.

Kashmir.

Kashmir was not included in Harsa's empire though the local ruler was compelled by him to yield a valuable relic of Buddha. The material for the history of Kashmir is to be found in Kalhana's Rajatarangini which is a valuable source of information. When Hiuen Tsiang visited (631—33 A.D.) Kashmir he was accorded a cordial reception by the then reigning king who was probably Durlabhavardhan of the Karkota dynasty. Durlabhavardhan was succeeded by his three sons in order, of whom the most remarkable was Lalitaditya Muktapida. He was a capable ruler who extended his dominion beyond Kashmir and the adjoining countries. He led an expedition against Yasovarman of Kanauj who made his submission and waged war against the Tibetans and the Bhauttas. The famous Martand temple was built

was built by him, and its ruins afford a striking example of ancient Hindu architecture, and in the words of Sir Aurel Stein "even in their present state of decay they command admiration both by their imposing dimensions and by the beauty of their architectural design and decoration." The next remarkable ruler was Jayapīḍa, grandson of Muktāpīḍa who, according to the chronicles, set out for the conquest of the world, but we have no definite information about his warlike operations. Towards the beginning of the ninth century the Kārkoṭā dynasty declined in importance and gave place to the Utpala dynasty.

The first ruler of the new dynasty was Avantivarman (855—83 A.D.). It is not clear that he made large conquests but there is evidence of internal peace and prosperity. He was succeeded by Śankaravarman (883—902 A.D.) who had to fight against his cousin Sukhavarman and other rivals. Śankaravarman devised an oppressive revenue system which weighed heavily upon the population. The people groaned under his exactions. The new taxes levied by him drained the wealth of religious houses, and their uncertainty accompanied by the rigour with which they were collected adversely affected trade and industry. Forced labour added to the miseries of the peasantry and Kalhaṇa writes :—

> "Thus he introduced the well-known (system of forced) carriage of loads which is the harbinger of misery for the villages, and which is of thirteen kinds. By levying (contributions) for the monthly pay of the Skandakas, village-clerks (grām-Kāyasthas), and the like, and by various other exactions, he drove the villagers into poverty."[1]

It was during this reign that the last of the Turki Sāhi kings was overthrown by the Brahman Lalliya, who founded a new dynasty of the Hindu Sāhis which lasted until 1021 A.D. and was finally destroyed by the Muslims.

[1] Stein, Rājataranginī, Vol. I, Book V, pp. 209-10.

After Śankaravarman's death the most remarkable ruler of whom there is record was Kṣemagupta (950—58 A.D.). Not so important in the beginning he rose into prominence after his marriage with Diddā, who was, on her mother's side, descended from the Sāhi kings. Diddā was a woman of great ability and it was her masterful personality which enabled her to keep order in the valley and exercise unquestioned authority for nearly fifty years. Kṣemagupta died in 958 and the throne passed to his minor son. Diddā by virtue of her right became regent, but the regency did not prove a bed of roses. The nobles offered strenuous opposition, and two of them—Mahiman and Pātāla—actually broke out into open rebellion. Diddā's courage and presence of mind stood her in good stead. She quelled the revolt and revenged herself mercilessly upon her foes, who were butchered to death and whose families were exterminated.

Though successful, Diddā soon found herself plunged into the quicksands of party warfare. She fell out with her nobles and chiefs, and had to adopt unscrupulous methods to crush their opposition. Luck favoured her and as long as she lived, she held Kashmir in a firm grip. After her death, which occurred some time in 1003 A.D., the throne passed to her nephew Saṃgrāmarāja, son of her brother Udayarāja, the ruler of Lohara, and this is the beginning of the Lohara dynasty.

This dynasty produced a remarkable ruler in Harṣa (1089—1101 A.D.), whose character is graphically described by Kalhaṇa and reproduced by Sir Aurel Stein in these words :—

> " Cruelty and kind-heartedness, liberality and greed, violent self-willedness and reckless supineness, cunning and want of thought—these and other apparently irreconcilable features in turn display themselves in Harṣa's chequered life. Kalhaṇa has hit the key-note in Harṣa's character when he insists on the excessiveness with which all these qualities asserted themselves. A modern psychologist could easily gather from Kalhaṇa's account of

of Jaijākbhukti. The process of decadence went on, and Kanauj, once so mighty and flourishing, lost one province after another. Gujarat had already become independent, and the establishment of the Solankī kingdom about the middle of the 10th century conclusively proves that Kanauj had no connection with Western India during that period.[1] Gwalior also slipped away and its king transferred his allegiance to the Chandela ruler of Bundelkhand.

Along with the Chandelas there were other tribes of Rajput origin, the Chohāns and Parmārs, who had established their sway in Ajmer and Malwa. The Parihārs of Kanauj rapidly declined in importance owing to the repeated incursions of the Muslim invaders, which will be described in detail later, and when in 1019 A.D. Mahmud of Ghazni stood before the gates of Kanauj at the head of his warlike host, Rājyapāla, its ruler, offered no resistance, and purchased his freedom by an abject and humiliating surrender. This cowardly submission, unworthy of a Rajput, gave offence to his confederates who had previously joined him in repelling an invasion of

[1] According to Gujarat Chronicles Mūla Rāja ruled from 942 A.D. to 997 A.D. He is described as the son of Rājī, king of Kanauj. Smith thinks that Rājī was one of the military designations of Mahīpāla and presumably Mūla Rāja was his viceroy, who threw off his allegiance and became independent. (Smith, Early History of India, p. 381.)

The chroniclers state that Mūla Rāja I, the founder of the Anhilwād branch of the Chālukyas, reigned from Vikrama Samvat 998 to 1053. Shortly after his accession he was attacked by the Rājā of Shākambharī and Bārappā, the general of Tailapa. The Shākambharī king must have been Chohān Vigraharāja.

The chronology of Mūla Rāja's reign is established by inscription. The oldest which is dated 974 A.D. has been noticed by Mr. Dhruva and the second is the Kadi plate dated 987 A.D. The latest inscription of Mūla Rāja is dated 995 A.D. It relates to a grant made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse to a certain Dīrghāchārya, a Brahman from Kānyakubja.

See Stein Konow's article on the Balera Plates of Mūlā Raja I, Epig. Indica, Vol. X, pp. 76—78.

Harṣa had conquered the Vallabhi kings of Gujarat, but after his death they assumed independence in 760 A.D. and their capital was destroyed by the Arabs. Their fall made possible the rise of another petty dynasty in Gujarat. These in their turn succumbed to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and to the Solankīs who established their power in the latter part of the 10th century. (J.R.A.S., 1913, pp. 266—69; Indian Antiquary, XIII, p. 70.)

Subuktagin. The Chandela Rājā, Ganda, was deeply enraged at this submission and along with other Rajput princes organised a league to chastise Rājyapāla. Ganda's son Vidyādhara, placing himself at the head of the allies, among whom was included the Kacchwāhā chief of Gwalior, attacked Rājyapāla and after inflicting a crushing defeat murdered him.[1] His son Trilochanapāla succeeded him, but he could do nothing to cement his power owing to the ever-increasing pressure of Muslim invaders and the jealousy of the neighbouring princes. Internal weakness and the crushing force of Islamic raids destroyed whatever vitality the houses of Kanauj possessed, and the successors of Trilochanapāla[2] vainly struggled to retain their power, until they were finally subdued about 1090 A.D. by a Rājā of the Gaharwār clan, named Chandra Deva, who established his sway over Benares and Ajodhya and perhaps also the Delhi territory.

Ajmer.

Another important Rajput clan was that of the Chohāns of Sambhar in Rajputana whom Tod describes as "the most valiant of the Rajput races." Ajmer formed part of the principality of Sambhar. The earliest ruler of whom we have an authentic record was Vigraharāja IV, better known as Bīsala Deva Chohān,[3] who was a warrior of undoubted prowess, yearning for the glories of war and conquest, an accomplished man of letters, a scholar and

[1] The Dubkund Inscription near Gwalior (Epig. Ind., II, p. 235) records the slaying of Rājyapāla by Arjuna, the Kacchwāhā chief of Gwalior, under the command of Vidyādhara Chandela. Another inscription found at Mahobā describes Vidyādhara as a master of warfare, who had caused the destruction of the king of Kānyakubja (Epig. Ind., I, p. 219).

[2] From a stone inscription of Yaśapāla, the successor of Trilochanapāla, dated 1036 A.D., it is clear that the Parihārs ruled at Kanauj up to this year. But after this they were overpowered by Rāthor Chandra Deva. He obtained mastery over a small territory, for the dependencies of Kanauj had already separated themselves from the empire.

Tod's Rājasthān (Hindi), edited by Gaurishankar Hira Chand Ojha, p. 449. Delhi had been founded about a century earlier in 993-94 A.D.

[3] Bīsala Deva was the second son of Arnorāja or Anala Deva who had three sons—Jaga Deva, Bīsala Deva, and Someśvara. Jaga Deva usurped the throne of Ajmer by murdering his father. But his younger brother Bīsala Deva punished his unnatural guilt by seizing the kingdom and proclaiming himself king in his place.

mediæval Europe, Prithvīrāja took delight in war and obtained victories which made his fame reverberate from one end of the country to the other. In 1182 A.D. he invaded the Chandela territory and defeated Rājā Parmardin or Parmāla of Mahobā. When Muhammad of Ghor invaded Hindustan, Prithvīrāja organisd a confederacy of his brother Rajput princes, and in 1191 A.D. the combined host inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Muslims at Tarain, not far from Thanesar. But this discomfiture rankled in the mind of the Muslim invader, and he appeared next year at the head of a countless host, which utterly vanquished the Rajputs who died fighting bravely to the last. Prithvīrāja was captured and mercilessly beheaded.[1] The Hindu power suffered an irreparable blow, and the victorious invader was saluted as the overlord of Hindustan.

Jaichand (Jayachandra) of Kanauj remained aloof in proud isolation, immovable and indifferent. He did nothing to avert the calamity that befell the Chohāns of Delhi, probably in the belief that it would lead to the destruction of a rival prince, who had given ample cause for offence, and who was the only formidable aspirant for supremacy in Northern India.

Someśvara was not married, as Chand Bardai says, to Kamalā Devī, daughter of Anangapāla Tomara. The name of Someśvara's queen was Karpūr Devi, daughter of a king of the Kalachuri dynasty. The offspring of this marriage was Prithvīrāja Chohān, who after his father's death took charge of the kingdom of Delhi as well as Ajmer. (J.R.A.S., 1913, pp. 259—81.) The Hammir Kāvya also supports this view.

Also Bühler, Proc. A.S.B., 1893, p. 94.

[1] It is written in Chand Bardai that Prithvīrāja was taken as a captive to Ghazni, where, in an attempt to exhibit his skill in archery, he shot the Sultan and was then cut to pieces. This story is false. The Sultan was assassinated by the Khokhars in 602 A.H. (1205-06 A.D.).

Chand Bardai says that when Jayachandra saw that he could not subdue Prithvīrāja in battle, he had recourse to a stratagem. He gave his brother Bālak Rai as an ally to Shihabuddin and encouraged the latter to invade Delhi. This statement is incorrect and is not corroborated by any Muhammadan historian. [Shyam Sundar Das, Rasau-Sar (Hindi), p. 143.]

Mr. Har Bilas Sarda in his Ajmer, p. 155, positively asserts that the Rāthors of Kanauj and the Solankīs of Gujarat conspired together and invited Shihabuddin Ghori to invade the dominion of Prithvīrāja. This statement, however, is apocryphal and is obviously based upon the Rasau. If Jayachandra had been in league with the Muslims, their historians would have certainly mentioned the fact with pleasure.



Prithi Raj Chauhan.

The conquest of Delhi cleared the way of the Muslim conqueror. The feuds between the Rāthors of Kanauj and the Chohāns of Delhi and their keen contest to win supremacy over all Hindustan, disabled their strength and prepared the way for the destruction of both. Having defeated Rai Pithaurā of Delhi in a deadly encounter, Muhammad Ghori turned against Kanauj, overpowered Jayachandra at the head of an invincible host, and sounded the death-knell of the Rāthor monarchy. Having failed to stem the tide of the Muslim conquest, a great many members of the Gaharwār clan left Kanauj and migrated to Rajputana where they found the modern principality of Jodhpur, rightly esteemed in these days as one of the premier Rajput states. The able generals of Muhammad soon completed the work of conquest by reducing Gwalior, Anhilwād and Kālinjar, and his gallant slave Qutbuddin, who enthroned himself at Delhi, was greeted as their overlord by the numerous chiefs and princes of Northern India.

Chandelas.

The other Rajput dynasties of importance in North India were the Chandelas[1] of Jaijākbhukti (modern Bundelkhand) and the Kalachuris of Chedi who exercised their sway over the territory now comprised in the Central Provinces. Their territories being contiguous, they

[1] Regarding the origin of the Chandelas Smith says :—

"The Chandelas themselves have a silly legend to the effect that they are descended from the union of the Moon (Chandra) with a Brahman maiden. The only significance of the myth is its implied admission that the pedigree of the clan required explanation which was best attained by including it in the group of 'Moon-descended' Rajputs, and adding respectability by inventing a Brahman ancestress. As a matter of fact the Chandelas are still regarded as a clan of impure descent. It seems quite clear that the ancestors were not immigrants from the North-West, and had nothing to do with the Huns, and such people, who appear to be largely represented in the present day by the 'fire-descended' Rajputs, the Chohāns and others. The indications are fairly distinct that the Chandela clan originated in the midst of Gonds, with whom other similar tribes were intermixed."

V. Smith's article on the History and Coinage of the Chandela Dynasty in Ind. Ant., 1908, pp. 114—48.

Early History of India (1924 edition), p. 429; J.A.S.B., 1877, Pt. I, p. 233.

came in close contact with each other, and their history in mediæval times is a record of matrimonial alliances alternating with wars due to ambition and clash of jurisdiction. The rulers of Chedi are also styled as "Kālinjarādhipati" by reason of their possession of Kālinjar, and it appears that at one time they exercised sway over the territory of Telang.

It has now been established beyond doubt that the Chandelas came into power by depriving the local Parihār chieftains of their dominions. But the dynasty did not emerge into the arena of history until the beginning of the 9th century A.D. when Nannuk Chandela established a small kingdom for himself consisting in its early stages of the territories included in the southern parts of Jaijākbhukti.[1] The Chandelas appear to have been the vassals of the Pānchāls of Kanauj, but during the first half of the tenth century they had shaken off the yoke of Kanauj and assumed independence.

Harṣa Chandela was an ambitious ruler who seems to have taken a prominent part in the politics of the time. By marrying a Chohān princess, he raised the status of his family, and augmented its political prestige by rendering assistance to Mahīpāla, the ruler of Kanauj, against his formidable antagonist, Indra III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of the Deccan. His son and successor was the gallant prince Yaśovarman who defeated

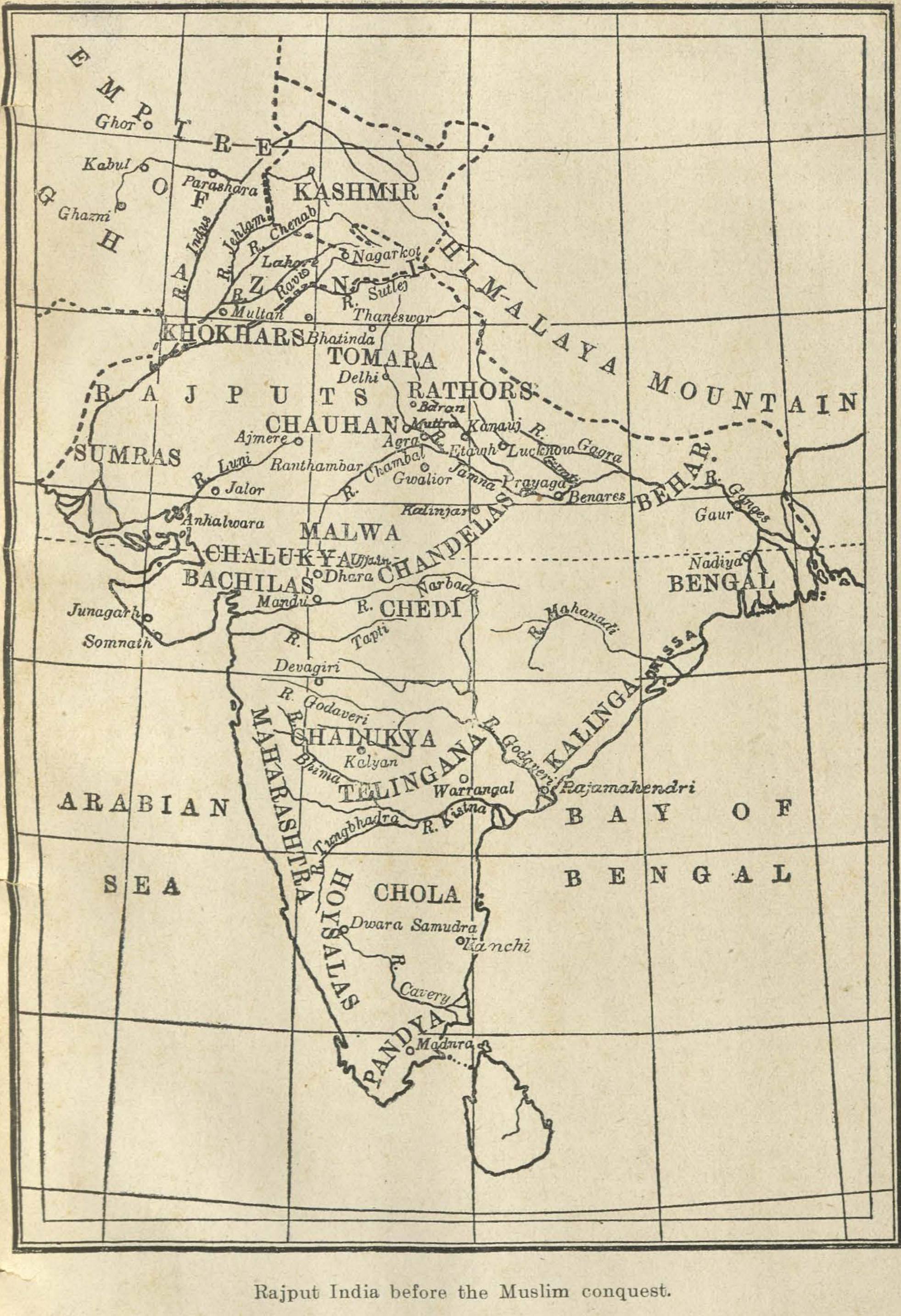
It is a matter on which there is much conflict of opinion and hence it is not easy to come to any definite conclusion. The Chandela Khyātas ascribe a Brahman origin to them, while at the same time the Chandelas claim a Rāthor pedigree.

Tod's Rājasthān, edited by Gaurishankar Hira Chand Ojha (Hindi), p. 479.

Tod's Rājasthān, edited by Crooke, I, pp. 139-40.

[1] Jaijākbhukti is derived from Jaijāk, a Chandela king, who succeeded to the kingdom after the death of his father Vākpati, son of the founder of the dynasty.

The boundaries of the Chandela kingdom varied from time to time. From about 930 A.D. up to 1203 A.D., the date of Parmāla's death, the kingdom always included Khajurāho, Kālinjar and Mahobā. There has been found no trace of Chandela rule in parganas Hamirpur and Sumerpur to the North of the Hamirpur District and it appears probable that this tract was covered with jungle during this period and was inhabited here and there by wild tribes.



Rajput India before the Muslim conquest.

the Kalachuris of Chedi and compelled them to surrender the fortress of Kālinjar. Thus strengthened, he turned against Kanauj, and by means of compulsion obtained from its ruler a valuable image of Viṣṇu, a peculiarly mediæval recognition of his superior power, which was solemnly installed in a temple at Khajurāho, one of the capitals of the Chandela kingdom.

Yaśovarman was succeeded by his son, Dhanga (950—99 A.D.), who was a remarkable king of the Chandela dynasty. His kingdom extended from the Jamna in the north to the frontier of the Chedi dominion in the south, and from Kālinjar in the east to Gwalior and Bhilsā in the west. When Subuktagin invaded Hindustan, he joined the Rajput confederacy that was formed by Jayapāla to resist the Muslim invaders, and he also sustained a defeat like his other allies. He lived up to a ripe old age, and finally died at the confluence of the Ganges[1] and the Jamna, while deeply absorbed in meditation. Ganda (999—1025 A.D.), his son and successor, carried on the warlike policy of his father, and in 1008 A.D. when Mahmud of Ghazni invaded the kingdom of Lahore at the head of an irresistible army, the instinct of self-preservation led him to make common cause with Ānandapāla and his allies to repel the invaders. But the attempt was not a success ; Kanauj fell prostrate at the feet of the conqueror and accepted his overlordship. The Rajputs did not approve of this abject surrender, and Ganda sent his son, Vidyādhara, to chastise Rājyapāla, the ruler of Kanauj, who had sullied Rajput honour. Rājyapāla, who had already been crushed by the Muslims, could offer no resistance ; he was overpowered and killed. When Mahmud heard of this inhuman murder, he set his forces in order and advanced against Ganda who encountered him with a large army, but he failed to obtain victory over the Chandela king who escaped this time the fate that overtook him later. Thus foiled in his

[1] We learn from an inscription that Dhanga died at Prayāg (Allahabad) "closing his eyes, fixing his thoughts on Rudra, and muttering holy prayers." The inscription records that he "abandoned his body," which does not mean that he committed suicide. (J.A.S.B., Pt. I, Vol. XLVII, p. 47.)

attempt to reduce Ganda, Mahmud, a few years later, marched against him and compelled him in 1023 A.D. to sign a treaty by which he surrendered Kālinjar and acknowledged his overlordship. After Ganda's death the Chandelas and Kalachuris came into collision with each other, for both aspired to the overlordship of Hindustan. The originator of this scramble for power was Gāngeya Deva Kalachuri (1015—40 A.D.) who pushed his conquests towards the east as far as Tirhut.[1] When he died, his son Karan Deva (1040—70 A.D.) followed the ambitious policy of his father and waged wars against the rulers of Malwa and Magadha. The Chandela king, Kīrtivarman Deva (1049—1100 A.D.), suffered a crushing defeat at his hands and lost his kingdom, but he soon retrieved his losses through the assistance of his Brahman commander-in-chief, Gopāla, who marched against the Kalachuri king and avenged the wrongs done to the house of his master.[2] Henceforward the history of the Chandelas is a record of wars with their neighbours, the result of which often depended upon the personality of the combatants on both sides.

Madanvarman Deva was a powerful ruler who fought against the Solankī kings of Gujarat and maintained his power intact, but when Parmāla or Parmardi Deva (1165—1203 A.D.) came to the throne, the Chandela dynasty plunged into prolonged and bitter wars with the Chohāns of Delhi with the result that Prithvīrāja fell upon it with his overwhelming might and completely crushed it in 1182-83 A.D. Parmardi heroically struggled to save his power and possessions, but the great

[1] Bendall, History of Nepal, J.A.S.B., 1903, I, p. 18.

[2] It is written in the *Prabodha Chandrodaya* drama that Karan Deva had deprived the Chandela ruler of his kingdom and that the latter was able to recover his ancestral dominion through the help of his Brahman commander-in-chief, Gopala. A full abstract of this play is given by Sylvain Lévi (Le Théâtre Indien, pp. 229—35). The final victory of Kīrtivarman and the production of the play must have taken place in or about 1065 A.D., some time after the accession of Kīrtivarman. The drama commemorates a brilliant victory won by the Chandela ruler. The *dramatis personæ* are all allegorical and the play ends with the happy reunion of king 'Discernment' and queen 'Theology', which is blessed by 'Faith in Viṣṇu.'

revolution that had been brought about in the politics of Northern India by the successful Muslim raids, left him alone to carry on the war of independence against the Muslims. Tradition represents Parmardi as a coward and praises Ālhā and Ūdala, the heroes of Mahobā, for offering resistance to the Chohān prince of Delhi, but this is not quite correct. When Qutbuddin advanced against Kālinjar in 1202 A.D., Parmardi fought with a heroism worthy of his race, and lost his life in the attempt to save his kingdom and his honour. Henceforward the Chandelas ceased to have any political importance, although they continued to hold a portion of the original territory until the 16th century. Their rivals, the Kalachuris of Chedi, also became subject to the same process of decadence, and about the beginning of the 13th century their possessions on the Godavari fell into the hands of the Ganapatis of Warangal and the Yādavas of Devagir, while their dominions on the Narbada were absorbed by the Baghelā Rajputs after whose name the country was called Bundelkhand.

The Parmārs of Malwa.

Equally distinguished was the Parmār clan of Malwa. The Parmārs of Malwa are well-known in history owing to their liberal patronage of letters. The kingdom was founded by Krișņa Rāja *alias* Upendra in the 9th century A.D., and was afterwards enlarged by his successors who made it extend over a great part of the ancient kingdom of Avanti, while its southern boundary touched the Narbada. The Parmārs were surrounded by powerful and ambitious neighbours, who were all engaged in the task of extending the limits of the principalities which they had founded for themselves. They had to wage wars ceaselessly against the Chandelas of Mahobā, the Kalachuris of Chedi, the Solankīs of Gujarat, and the Chālukya rulers of the Deccan. The sixth ruler of the dynasty, Sīyaka, known as Śrī Harșa, had acquired considerable fame by inflicting a defeat upon the Huns, when they invaded Hindustan. His son Munja was a remarkable ruler (974—994—7 A.D.) who led successful attacks against the Chola, Chedi, Kerala, and Kārņāta kings. His rising power

aroused the jealousy of the Chālukyas of the Deccan and in the encounter that followed he succeeded in inflicting six defeats upon Tailapa II, but when he attacked them for the seventh time, the tables were turned upon him, and he was defeated and slain in a mortal combat some time between the years 993 and 997 A.D.[1] Himself an accomplished scholar, Munja patronised men of letters, and authors like Dhanapāla, Padmagupta, Dhananjaya, Dhanik, and Halāyudha were the recipients of his liberal bounty. His nephew Bhoja came to the throne about the year 1010 A.D.,[2] who fully maintained the traditions of literary achievement and military greatness established by his predecessor, which have earned for him an abiding place in the history of Northern India. He avenged the death of his uncle by waging wars against the Chālukyas, and made also the rulers of Gujarat and Chedi, Anhilwād and Karnatic[3] feel the weight of his arms and compelled them to acknowledge his sovereignty. A warrior of undoubted prowess, Bhoja's fame mainly rests upon his literary achieve-

[1] Munja was variously styled as Vākpati, Utpalarāja, Amoghavarṣa, Pri thvīvallabha and Śrīvallabha.

From the two copper-plate grants of Munja it appears that he ascended the throne about 974 A.D. Munja was living when the Jain scholar Amitagati wrote his work '*Subhāṣitaratnasandoh*' which was completed towards the close of 994 A.D. Tailapa died in 997 A.D. Therefore it is clear that Munja must have died between 994 and 997 A.D. The dates given by Bühler, Smith and K. A. Aiyangar are approximately correct.

Indian Antiquary, VI, p. 51.
Bühler, Epig. Ind., I, pp. 222—28, 294, 302.
Bhandarkar, Early History of the Deccan, p. 214.
Smith, Early History of India, p. 395.

[2] Bhoja's predecessor was Sindhurāja, Munja's brother. Munja bore a rancorous hostility to his brother and had him blinded and confined in a wooden cage. Bhoja was born during his father's imprisonment. Munja tried to murder him, but struck with remorse by a letter handed over to his executioner by Bhoja, he changed his mind and chose him as his successor.

For Sindhurāja's date and works see Ind. Ant., 1907, pp. 170—72. Archæological Survey Report, 1903-4, pp. 238—43 Aufrecht, Catalogus Catalogorum, I, p. 418; II, p. 95.

[3] It is written in *Prabandha Chintāmani* (p. 80) that Bhoja conquered Anhilwād and Karnatic. This statement may or may not be true, for *Prabandha Chintāmani* is not a historical work, but there is no doubt that Bhoja had frequent scuffles with the rulers of these countries.

ments. Himself a scholar, well-versed in poetry, architecture, astronomy and other branches of learning, he was a prince of exceptional genius, who extended his patronage to men of letters. For the promotion of learning and culture he established a Sanskrit college called *Sarasvatī Kaṇṭhābharaṇa* at Dhārā, wherein he placed some valuable works on drama, history and other subjects inscribed on stone slabs, but it was destroyed by the Muslims, who after their usual fashion reared a mosque named Kamāl Maulā in place thereof to commemorate this act of wanton desecration. Bhoja was a magnificent builder. The famous Bhojapur lake to the south of Bhopal, which extends over an area of 250 square miles, was constructed during his reign, and it continued to testify to the greatness of his architectural designs until its waters were drained off by Hushang Shah of Malwa in the fifteenth century. Towards the close of his life, Bhoja's enemies became very strong and powerful, and they determined to feed fat their old grudges. The rulers of Gujarat and Chedi who had suffered considerably at his hands led an attack against him with a redoubled force with the result that this literary warrior was completely overpowered. Soon afterwards Bhoja died in 1053-54 A.D. His death was an irreparable blow to the Parmār clan ; its power declined so steadily that it soon dwindled into insignificance. Having passed through great vicissitudes, the Parmār territories, now reduced to the dimensions of a petty principality, were conquered by Alauddin Khilji in 1310 A.D. During the reign of Akbar in the 16th century Malwa was finally incorporated into the Mughal empire after an infructuous attempt of the local dynasty at independence.

The Pāla and Sena dynasties of Bihar and Bengal.

In its palmiest days the empire of Harṣa included Bengal as far as Kāmrūp or Assam and exercised full sovereign authority over Western and Central Bengal. Harṣa's death plunged the empire into confusion and Bengal, Orissa and the provinces in the far east were split up into small principalities. We have no materials to construct the history of Bengal during

Pāla kings were great patrons of art and letters. The fine arts reached a high level of excellence, and royal patronage made the production of literary and philosophical works possible.[1]

Such is the origin of the famous Sena dynasty of Bengal. Sāmantasena's grandson, Vijayasena, who flourished towards the close of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century, did a great deal to establish the power of his house on a firm basis. His successor was the celebrated Ballālasena[2] who came to the throne in 1108 A.D., and who, besides maintaining intact the territories he had inherited from his father, promoted art and literature and introduced the practice of *Kulīnism* among Brahmans, Vaidyas and Kāyasthas of Bengal. The bonds of caste became rigid and Brahmanism once again recovered its ascendancy as is evidenced by the missions which were sent to Magadha, Bhutan, Orissa, Nepal and other lands for the propagation of its doctrines. Ballālasena was succeeded about the year 1119 A.D. by his son Lakṣmaṇasena who died long before the raid of Muhammad-bin-Bakhtiyār described by Minhāj-us-Sirāj in his *Tabqāt-i-Nāsirī*.[3] The Musalman general

[1] M. M. Hara Prasad Sastri in a learned article (J. Bihar and Orissa Research Society, V, Pt. II, pp. 171—83) gives the literary history of the Pāla period. The Brahman scholars of Bengal had to fight hard against the philosophy of Buddhism. They had recourse to Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, *viz.*, Logic and Physical Science. The Buddhists also developed their literature in Sanskrit and Vernacular and Buddhist preachers went abroad to propagate the doctrines of their faith.

[2] Ballālasena was an accomplished scholar. He is the author of two works, *Dānsāgar* and *Adbhutsāgar*. But before he could complete the latter work, he went to the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamna with his wife and lost his life by drowning himself in the sacred waters. The work was afterwards completed by Lakṣmaṇasena who was also a patron of learning and literature. Jayadeva wrote his famous work, the *Gīta Govinda*, during his reign. There is plenty of literature on the subject, but space does not permit of a full account of the literary activities of the Sena kings.

J.A.S.B., I, p. 41.

Ibid., II, pp. 15, 157.

[3] The story related by Minhāj-us-Sirāj is doubted by Bengali researchists. Mr. S. Kumar concludes his article in the Indian Antiquary (1913, pp. 185—88) by saying that Lakṣmaṇasena was dead long before the event described by Minhāj took place, and that 1119 A.D., or Saka 1041 is the approximate date of the death of Ballālasena and the accession

raided Bihar in 1197 and proceeded against Nudiah probably in 1199 A.D. The unbridled ferocity of the Muslims satiated itself by the seizure of immense booty, the slaughter of Brahmans, and the destruction of Buddhist monasteries which adorned the capital. The Sena dynasty was overthrown and Bengal passed into the hands of the Muslims.

Origin of the Rajputs.

The origin of the Rajputs is a matter of controversy.[1] Historical ingenuity has been much exercised in determining with precision the origin of the Rajputs, and the difficulty has been considerably aggravated by the lofty pedigrees assigned to them in Brahmanical literature and the bardic chronicles. The Rajputs claim to be the lineal descendants of the Kṣatriyas of Vedic times. They trace their pedigree from the sun and the moon, and some of them believe in the theory of *Agnikula*. The word Rajput, in common parlance, in certain states of Rajputana, is used to denote the illegitimate sons of a Kṣatriya chief or jāgīrdār. Rajput is the corrupted form of the Sanskrit word *Rājputra* which means a 'scion of the royal blood.' The word occurs in the Purāṇas and is used in Bāṇa's *Harṣacharita* in the sense of high-born Kṣatriya—a fact which goes to show that the word was used in early times and in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D.

of Lakṣmaṇasena. Mr. R. D. Banerjee has expressed a similar view in an article on the Naihāti Grant of Ballālasena, the 11th year (Epig. Indica, 1917, pp. 156—63). Professor Keilhorn's suggestion (Ind. Ant., 1890, p. 7) that the legend of eighty years' reign is due to a misunderstanding and that the Nudiah raid did actually take place in the year 80 of the Lakṣmaṇasena era, may be accepted. The date of the raid would be some time in 1199 A.D. This view is supported by the Jānībīghā inscription of the year 83 (1202 A.D.) of the same era given in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society (Vol. IV, Pt. III, 1918, p. 266 and pp. 273—80). The Appendix O in Smith's Early History of India already referred to contains valuable information.

[1] For the origin of the Rajputs see the following :—
Smith, Early History of India (Revised edition).
Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān, edited by Crooke, Vol. I, pp. 73—97.
Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. II, pp. 308-9.
Vaidya, History of Mediæval Hindu India, Vol. II, pp. 1—63.
Journal Anthrop. Inst., 1911, p. 42.
Gaurishankar Ojha, History of Rajputana (Hindi), Part I.

branches, a genealogy claimed by other princely families, like the Incas of Peru or the Mikado of Japan."

But in recent times certain Indian scholars have attempted in their researches to point out the error of Tod and other European scholars. Mr. Gaurishankar Ojha, who is fully conversant with Rajput history, but who writes with a pronounced pro-Rajput bias, discusses the question at length in his 'History of Rajputana' and comes to the conclusion that the Rajputs are the descendants of the ancient Kṣatriyas and that Tod was misled by the similarities in the manners and customs of the Rajputs and the foreigners who settled in India. Some of Mr. Ojha's arguments in support of his view are these :—

1. There is nothing striking in the similarities of customs and manners of the Sakas and the Rajputs. The worship of the Sun prevailed in India from Vedic times and the practice of late existed before the coming of the Sakas as is evidenced by the *Mahābhārata*. The practice of *Aśvamedha Yajña* too was not unknown and there is mention of such sacrifices in the epics. The worship of arms and horses is not a new thing. The ruling classes in India have always worshipped them.
2. Some scholars are of opinion that it is written in the Purāṇas that after the last king, Mahānanda of the Śiśunāg dynasty, Śūdra kings will exercise sovereignty. This is not a correct reading of the text. There is evidence to prove the existence of Kṣatriya rulers even after the Nanda and Mauryan dynasties.
3. When Puṣyamitra established his power after slaying Bṛhadratha, the last Maurya emperor, he performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice and at one of these sacrifices Patanjali, the commentator of the *Mahābhāṣya*, was also present. If Puṣyamitra had been a Śūdra, such a learned Brahman would not have been present.

4. In an inscription of the second century of the Christian era of Rājā Khāravela in the Udayagiri cave near Cuttack (Orissa) there is mention of the Kṣatriyas of Kusamba.
5. The Yādava Kṣatriyas ruled over Mathurā and the adjoining country before the war of the Mahābhārata.

One may or may not agree with these conclusions *in toto*, but it is indubitable that the foreign tribes who settled in India made a fresh re-arrangement of social groups inevitable and as possessors of political power they were connected with the ancient Kṣatriyas by their Brahman advisers.

The theory of *Agnikula* that the four Rajput clans—the Pawār (Pramār), Parihār (Pratihār), Chohān (Chahumāna) and Solankī or Chālukya—sprang from Vaśiṣṭha's sacrificial fount on mount Ābu in Southern Rajputana, still finds credence among the Rajputs. Dr. Bhandarkar and others have found in this myth a confirmation of their theory of the foreign origin of the Rajputs, and Mr. Crooke, whose opinion is accepted by Mr. Edwardes, the editor of Smith's Early History of India, thinks that the *Agnikula* myth represents a rite of purgation by fire, the scene of which was in Southern Rajputana, whereby the impurity of the foreigners was removed and they became fitted to enter the caste system. The story of the *Agnikula* is related in the *Prithvīrāja Rāsau*. The *Rāsau*, whatever its date, contains many interpolations, and sometimes inextricably combines history with legend so that we cannot accept everything that it says as historical truth. The fictitious character of the story is obvious and it is unnecessary to adduce evidence to prove it. It represents only a Brahmanical effort at finding a lofty origin for the race that stood very high in the social order and whose munificence flowed in an unstinted measure to the priestly class, which reciprocated that generosity with great enthusiasm. It will be absurd to contend that the Rajputs are the pure descendants of the Kṣatriyas of the ancient Vedic times. It may be flattering to our pride to think so, but flattery

is often far removed from fact. The original Kṣatriyas were mixed up with the hordes of immigrants who poured into India in the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian era. Dr. Smith writes that some of the Rajputs are descended from the indigenous tribes such as the Gonds and Bhārs—a fact which is borne out by the distinctions that still exist among them. It is too large an assumption and is scarcely justified by the historical data available to us. There are similar distinctions among the Brahmans also, but that does not prove that certain Brahmans are descended from the lower orders in the Hindu social system. To make such a generalisation would be against all canons of historical research.

The various tribes of the foreign settlers became so deeply intermixed with one another in course of time that all marked dissimilarities were obliterated, and a certain kind of homogeneity was developed by the adoption of similar social customs and religious rites. The clan individuality vanished and a process of amalgamation set in which made scrupulous differentiation impossible. A high feeling of chivalry and honour, of independence and patriotism, although the latter was parochial in its outlook and intensely localised in its scope, animated all Rajputs, and this sameness had much to do with the fusion of the various clans, which had ethnologically stood apart from one another.

The Religious Struggle.

The struggle between Buddhism and its older rival Hinduism had been going on for a long time. The Rajput dynasties found it advantageous to profess the Brahmanical faith, and this fresh accretion of strength enabled Hinduism to engage in a deadly conflict with Buddhism and Jainism. For a long time in the past Buddhism had begun to show marked signs of decline. The old simple creed of Buddha with its lofty and cheerful morality had become clustered by forms and ceremonies to such an extent that the true religion was completely lost sight of, and its externals had become all in all for its followers. Superstition and corruption had insidiously

crept into the church, and the luxurious and comfortable lives led by some of the Buddhist monks had shaken the confidence of the people and undermined its prestige. The invidious distinction between the lay-followers and the regular clergy bears testimony to the decadence that had overtaken the simple faith of Buddha, which was an emphatic protest against all kinds of distinctions. The inferior position to which the lay-followers were relegated was resented by them, for the great bulk of the Hindu society desired to obtain eternal beatitude, while living the lives of householders, subject to all the joys and sorrows, penalties and rewards, which are the inevitable lot of those who choose to live in the world. But the principal reason why Hinduism succeeded in overpowering its rival seems to be that it had never completely lost its vitality.[1] The vicissitudes, it had passed through, had not abated one whit the enthusiasm and devotion of those who were considered its leaders ; and when Hinduism began to fortify itself by enrolling missionaries, its success was assured. The support of the Rajput princes, the zeal and learning of the Brahmans, their dominion over the mass mind through a complicated and elaborate ritual, the non-observance of which was said to have been attended by serious consequences in this world and the world to come, together with the growing indifference of the upper classes of society towards Buddhism, led to its decline, so that at the commencement of the ninth century when Śankara began to preach his Vedantic philosophy, its position became extremely difficult to maintain. A school of missionaries was founded, who were devoted like the disciples of Ignatius Loyola in Europe, to the service of the Brahmanical church, and whose

[1] The assumption that Buddhism was extinguished by the persecution of the Brahmans is untrue. Occasionally kings like Saśāṅka persecuted the dissenters, but such persecutions were minor factors in the movement which slowly restored India to the Brahmanical faith. The main cause, writes Smith, was the gradual assimilation of Buddhism to Hinduism, which attained to such a point, that often it is nearly impossible to draw a line between the mythology and images of Buddhists and those of the Hindus. (Smith, Early History of India, p. 339.)

active propaganda effected many conversions from among the Buddhists. The very genius of the Rajput age was against the principles of Buddhism; and in a time of perpetual warfare, when deeds of gallantry and heroism were valued more than acts of piety, the people naturally lent their ears to their Brahman advisers who stimulated their martial spirit by connecting them with great traditions in the past. The doctrine of *Ahiṃsā* could not flourish in a community which found its principal delight in war, and, no wonder, if the Rajput, whose life was one long series of romance and adventure, turned for the satisfaction of his religious craving to Hinduism, which certainly appealed powerfully to his mind by reason of its poetry, splendour, and the accumulated wealth of tradition. Thus Hinduism recovered its old ascendancy, and when the Muslims invaded Bihar towards the close of the twelfth century, they destroyed Buddhist monasteries and abodes of worship, so that not a vestige was left of that great faith which once counted its votaries from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin.

Art and Literature.

The architectural activity of the Hindus during this period was mainly confined to the building of temples. The most famous temples of the period in Northern India are those of Bhuvaneśvara, built in the seventh century A.D., of Khajurāho in Bundelkhand, and of Puri in Orissa. The Jain temple at Ābu was built early in the eleventh century and is one of the most exquisite examples of Indian architecture of the pre-Musalman period. In the Deccan also numerous temples were built, the most famous of which are those built by the rulers of the Hoysala dynasty. The first at Somanāthapur was built by Vināditya Ballāla in the eleventh century, the second at Belur by Viṣṇuvardhana Hoysala in the twelfth century and the third at Halevid built by another prince of the same dynasty towards the close of the twelfth century. The Pallavas, Chālukyas, and Cholas were also great builders. The Pallavas adorned their capital Kānchī with beautiful temples, some of which belong to the seventh century A.D. The temple of Tanjore,

which was built by Rāja Rāja Chola about 1000 A.D., bears testimony to the skill of the Southern master-builders. The Chālukyas were also great patrons of art. They adorned their capital Bādāmi with magnificent temples and one of them, Vikramāditya II (733—47 A.D.), built the famous temple of Virūpākṣa at Pattadakal which was probably a recognised seat of learning in the South. The Hindu architecture is an expression of the Hindu religion. To the Hindu, his whole life is an affair of religion. It is his religion which regulates his conduct in everyday life and its influence permeates through the various grades of the Hindu society. Nowhere is the religiousness of the Hindu more clearly manifest than in his architecture and sculpture, for it was through these, as a distinguished Indian scholar points out, that he sought to realise the all-embracing notion of his faith.

The temples, tanks and embankments of the Hindu kings were wonderful works of art. The Arab *savant* Al Biruni, who was very reluctant to admire things Indian, writes regarding them :—

> " In this they have attained to a very high degree of art, so that our people (the Muslims) when they see them, wonder at them, and are unable to describe them, much less to construct anything like them."

Even such an iconoclast as Mahmud of Ghazni was moved with admiration when he saw the beautiful temples of the city of Mathurā during one of his Indian raids—a fact which is recorded by his official chronicler, Utbi.

The triumph of Brahmanism was followed by an abundant outcrop of religious and secular literature. The religious controversies of the time produced an abundance of philosophical literature of which the most important are the commentaries of Śankara on the Bhagavadgītā, the Upaniṣads, and the Brahmasūtra. The court of Dhārā was adorned by such eminent literary men as Padmagupta, author of the *Navasāhasāṅka-charita*, Dhanañjaya, author of the *Daśarūpaka*, Dhanika,

commentator of the *Daśarūpaka*, Halāyudha, commentator of *Piṅgalachhandaḥsūtra* and other works, and Amitagati, author of the *Subhāṣitaratnasandoh*. Among the dramatists of the period are Bhavabhūti, author of the *Mālatīmādhava*, the *Mahāvīracharita* and the *Uttararāmacharita*, who flourished in the eighth century A.D. ; Viśākhadatta, author of the *Mudrārākṣasa* and Bhatta Nārāyaṇa, author of the *Veṇīsaṃhāra* (800 A.D.), and Rājaśekhara, author of the *Karpūramañjarī* and other works, who wrote in the early part of the tenth century A.D. Bhavabhūti was a court poet of Yaśovarman of Kanauj, but when the latter was defeated by Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa of Kashmir, the poet is said to have been carried to that country by the conquering monarch. Bhavabhūti, though influenced to some extent by Kālidāsa, is a poet of no mean order. He is strikingly original and is gifted, in an extraordinary measure, with a brilliant imagination. His works clearly reveal his superb mastery of diction, the richness and elevation of expression and depth of thought. He does not rank as high as Kālidāsa as a poet and Professor Keith rightly observes : " Of sweetness and charm of Kālidāsa he has as little as the power of suggestion displayed by his predecessor ; but he excels in drawing with a few strokes the typical features of a situation or emotion." Viśākhadatta presents a contrast to Bhavabhūti. Instead of being prone to inflated language and exaggeration he is forcible, clear and direct. The *Mudrārākṣasa* has more dramatic vigour than many other well-known Sanskrit dramas and its martial character is unmistakable. The plot of the *Veṇīsaṃhāra* is derived from the Mahābhārata. It is an interesting work of considerable originality, but certain portions of it are not entirely free from defects.

The Kāvya literature also deserves a passing mention. Māgha's *Śiśupālabadha* is a well-known work which draws its materials from the Mahābhārata, and describes the story of the destruction of Śiśupāla by Kriṣṇa. Another *mahākāvya* of importance is the *Naiṣadhacharita* of Śrī Harṣa (1150 A.D.)

who wrote probably under the patronage of Jayachandra of Kanauj. Śrī Harṣa presents to us in a versified form the story of Nala and Damayantī, one of the most pathetic scenes depicted by the supreme skill of the poet in the Mahābhārata. It is a work of 22 cantos written in the most ornate style loaded with luxuriant imagery and suffers by comparison with the story as it is related in the Mahābhārata in its original form. Besides the kāvyas proper there were written during this period historical kāvyas. Among them the most remarkable are the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* of Padmagupta who was a court poet of the king of Dhārā and of whom mention has previously been made, the *Vikramāṅkacharita* of Bilhaṇa written to commemorate the exploits of Vikramāditya VI, the Chālukya ruler of Kalyān. Bilhaṇa excels in description, and his style is lucid and simple and free from monotonous rigmarole and bombastic pedantry. The most remarkable historical work in verse is Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* composed in the middle of the twelfth century A.D. Kalhaṇa was a well-educated native of Kashmir who had taken part in the politics of his country and who was fully conversant with its affairs. He attempts to give his readers a complete history of Kashmir, and, though like all mediæval historiographers he combines fact with fiction, he sincerely endeavours to consult the varied sources of history. He is a poet writing history and therefore tries to describe events in as artistic a manner as possible. But as Professor Keith observes, he "has too little insight to read effectively the complex mind and character of man, which forbid simple pronouncements, so intermingled, are good and bad in all human hearts."[1] Though Kalhaṇa lacks the breadth of vision and the insight of a great historian, he is certainly more interesting than the Jain scholar Hemachandra who has left us voluminous works which lack accuracy, sound judgment and literary charm. Among the lyrical poets the most remarkable is Jayadeva, the author of the *Gīta Govinda*, who flourished in Bengal in the twelfth

[1] Classical Sanskrit Literature, p. 68.

century, and of whom mention will be made in another chapter.

Among prose-writers of this period the most famous is Daṇḍin, author of the *Daśakumāracharita* and the fragmentary *Avantisundarīkathā*, who flourished in the seventh century, and who excels other writers in sweetness of style. Another writer of eminence is Dhanapāla, whose *Tilakamañjarī* and *Yaśastilaka* are brilliant specimens of mediæval Sanskrit prose. The literary activity of the Hindus did not end here. A great many works on philosophy, literature, and other branches of learning were produced by eminent scholars both in the North and South, which cannot be discussed here for want of space.

Social Life.

The institution of caste existed. The superiority of the Brahmans was acknowledged and the highest honours were accorded to them by kings as well as the common people. But the Rajputs were no less high in the social scale. Brave and warlike, the Rajput was like the knight of King Arthur's Round Table ever devoted to the championship of noble causes. Tod has in his masterly way delineated the character of the Rajput in these words: "High courage, patriotism, loyalty, honour, hospitality and simplicity are qualities which must at once be conceded to them; and if we cannot vindicate them from charges to which human nature in every clime is obnoxious; if we are compelled to admit the deterioration of moral dignity from the continual inroads of, and their subsequent collision with, rapacious conquerors; we must yet admire the quantum of virtue which even oppression and bad example have failed to banish. The meaner vices of deceit and falsehood, which the delineators of national character attach to the Asiatic without distinction, I deny to be universal with the Rajputs, though some tribes may have been obliged from position to use these shields of the weak against continuous oppression."[1] The Rajput had a high sense of honour and a strict regard for truth. He was

[1] Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān, edited by Crooke, II, p. 744.

generous towards his foes, and even when he was victorious, he seldom had recourse to those acts of barbarity which were the inevitable concomitants of Muslim conquest. He never employed deceit or treachery in war and scrupulously abstained from causing misery to the poor and innocent people. The test of the civilisation of a community is the degree of esteem in which women are held in it. The Rajput honoured his women and though their lot was one of " appalling hardship " from the cradle to the crematorium, they showed wonderful courage and determination in times of difficulty and performed deeds of valour which are unparalleled in the history of the world. Their devotion to their husbands, their courage in moments of crisis—and these were unfortunately many in a Rajput woman's life—and their fearless example exercised a healthy influence on Rajput society in spite of the seclusion in which they were kept. But their noble birth, their devotion to their husbands, their high sense of honour, and their conspicuous resourcefulness and courage all combined to make their lives highly uncertain and Tod has described with great picturesqueness the fate of the Rajput woman in these words : " To the fair of other lands the fate of the Rajputani must appear one of appalling hardship. In each stage of life death is ready to claim her : by the poppy at its dawn, by the flames in riper years; while the safety of the interval depending on the uncertainty of war, at no period is her existence worth a twelve months' purchase. The loss of a battle, or the capture of a city, is a signal to avoid captivity and its horrors, which to the Rajputani are worse than death."[1] The custom of " Jauhar " or self-immolation—though its cruelty seems revolting to us—had its origin in that high feeling of honour and chastity, which led Rajput women to sacrifice themselves in the extremity of peril, when the relentless invaders hemmed in their husbands on all sides, and when all chances of deliverance were lost.

[1] Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān, editited by Crooke, II, p. 747.

But if the virtues of the Rajputs are patent, their faults are equally obvious. Their inconstancy of temper, their liability to emotion or passion, their clan-feeling, their perpetual feuds consequent upon the feudal conditions that prevailed among them, their use of opium, their incapacity to present a united front to the common enemy—all these placed them in a highly disadvantageous position, when they were matched against foes of tougher stuff. The practice of infanticide was common amongst them, and female children were seldom suffered to exist even in the most respectable families. Equally baneful was their custom of *Sati* which resulted from time to time in the deaths of a number of women in royal households which were universally polygamous. The practice became so common that even women of ordinary status burnt themselves to death sometimes of their own free will, but more often under the pressure of parents and kinsmen obsessed by a false notion of family pride. Political subjection afterwards demoralised the Rajputs to such an extent that a great many of them submissively accepted the rôle of flunkeys at the courts of Delhi and Agra. But the wars of the Rajputs did not disturb the ordinary husbandman in the peaceful pursuit of his occupation. Sieges, battles, massacres—all left him unmoved with the result that he became completely indifferent to political revolutions, and readily transferred his allegiance from one king to another.

The Hindu society was stirred by the religious movements of reformers like Rāmānujāchārya, who preached the cult of *bhaḳti*, and whose teachings marked a reaction against Śankara's *advaita* philosophy. He preached against Śankara's *Vedānta* and laid stress upon the attributes of a personal god who could be pleased by means of *bhaḳti* or devotion. He formed a link between the north and south, and succeeded in establishing his spiritual hegemony over a considerable body of Hindus in both parts of the country. Pilgrimages became common, and men moved about visiting sacred places—a fact which imparted a great stimulus to the deep religious fervour which was at this time a remarkable feature

of Hindu society. *Svayamvaras* were not frequently held, the last recorded one of importance being that of the daughter of Jayachandra of Kanauj, but *Sati* was common, and in beleaguered fortresses and cities no mercy was shown to the weaker sex, when it fell into the hands of the enemy. Mr. Kennedy describes the Rajput civilisation in these words:—

" . . . But while Brahmans of the highest rank were above politics, the lower classes were keen politicians, enforcing their interests by the threat of their curse and of religious penalties. The kings assumed a kind of semi-divinity, and surrounded themselves with a host of mercenaries or slaves. The nobles followed the example of the kings, built strong forts for themselves in inaccessible places, and supported their power by companies of bravos. The town guilds were strong enough to hold their own but the rural population was reduced to serfdom. Public and private wars were the universal fashion. But despite these wars, and the jealousy with which foreigners were regarded, there was considerable communication between the different parts of the country. Commerce flourished, poets and pandits went from court to court, flowers from Kashmir and water from the Ganges are said to have been daily offered at the shrine of Somnāth, kings and temples were immensely rich. Pilgrimages were a fashion, and the greatest sovereigns proclaimed themselves protectors of the holy places."

Rajput Government.

The government of the Rajputs was of a feudal character. The kingdom was divided into estates or fiefs held by jāgīrdārs, who were often of the same family as the prince. The strength and security of the state depended upon their loyalty and devotion. The *khālsā* land of the state was directly under the prince and was administered by him. The nobles or their vassals were divided into several classes and the etiquette of each class was prescribed by immemorial usage which was scrupulously observed. The chief source of income was the revenue from the *khālsā* lands which was further increased by taxes on commerce and trade. The vassals of fief-holders of

the prince had to render military service when they were called upon to do so. Like the followers of the German leader of whom we read in Tacitus' *Annals* they loved and honoured their prince and cheerfully followed him to the field of battle. They were bound to him by ties of personal devotion and service and were ever anxious to prove their fidelity in times of difficulty or danger. No price could purchase them and no temptation could wean them away from their chief. These feudal barons, if we may so call them, had to make payments to their chief resembling very much the feudal incidents of mediæval Europe. The knight's fee and scutage were not unknown ; feudal obligations were mutually recognised and we often find that greedy rulers had recourse to scutage to obtain money. Such government was bound to be inefficient. It fostered individualism and prevented the coalition of political forces in the state for a common end. The king was the apex of the system, and as long as he was strong and powerful, affairs were properly managed, but a weak man was soon reduced to the position of a political nullity. The internal peace of the state often depended upon the absence of external danger. When there was no fear of a foreign foe, the feudal vassals became restless and feuds broke out between the various clans with great violence as is shown by the feuds of the clans of Chondāwat and Saktāwat in the 17th century in the time of Jahangir.

India's Lack of Unity.

What India lacked was political unity and social solidarity. Her leaders counted by hundreds ; her energy was frittered away in petty squabbles between the various states. She may correctly be described during this period as merely a geographical expression—a lamentable feature, which made her helpless, when she was engaged in a death-grapple with the foreigners, who invaded her fair and fertile lands from time to time in ever-increasing numbers. Her decadent political system was easily overthrown by Muslim conquerors who laid the foundations of their empire in the twelfth century A.D. The story of this conquest will be described in the chapters that follow.

THE KINGDOMS OF THE DECCAN.

The Chālukyas.

The Satakarni kings who belonged to the Andhra dynasty ruled for 450 years, roughly from 230 B.C. to 266 A.D. One of these kings defeated the last Kanva emperor of Magadha in 27 B.C. Ambition led to wars with the satraps of Gujarat and Malwa in which victory rested alternately with the Satakarnis and the satraps.

The history of this period is hopelessly meagre, but we are told that a foreign tribe, called the Pallavas, entered the Deccan, ousted the Satakarnis, and established their sway over the whole country, stretching far to the south of the Godavari. The native Rāṣṭrakūtas struggled in vain against them. But they were finally dislodged by the Chālukyas,[1] a family of Rajput origin, who entered the Deccan in the 6th century of the Christian era. They occupied their capital Vātāpipur (Bādāmi) and in course of time mastered the whole country. The most remarkable of the line was Pulakesin II, who ascended the throne in 611 A.D.[2] He embarked upon a career of ceaseless conquests and waged wars against the rulers of Gujarat, Rajputana, Malwa and Konkan. The Pallavas of Vengī and Kāchīpurā did not tamely submit to Pulakesin's power ; they struggled on, but they were defeated, and their territory was annexed to the Chālukya empire. A few years later Pulakesin's brother, Viṣṇuvardhana, who was appointed viceroy of the conquered region, withheld allegiance, and founded a separate kingdom known in history as the kingdom of Eastern Chālukyas which was finally incorporated into the Chola empire towards the latter part of the eleventh century. Harṣa of Kanauj, who

[1] There is good reason to believe that the Chālukyas migrated from Rajputana to the Deccan. They are connected with the Gurjar tribes. (Bombay Gazetteer, 1896, I, Pt. I, pp. 127, 138, 463, note 2, 467.)
See the dynastic lists given in Ep. Ind., VIII, App. II.

[2] Bombay Gazetteer, I, Pt. II, p. 183.
This is the date accepted by Dr. Bhandarkar.
Smith gives 608 A.D. as the date of his accession.

could not bear to see the existence of a rival power, proceeded in person against him, but suffered a defeat at his hands in 620 A.D.[1]

The Southern powers, the Cholas and Pāndyas, frightened by the military prowess of Pulakesin, entered into friendly alliances with him and thus purchased immunity from his attacks. The Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, who visited the Deccan in 639 A.D., was impressed by the power and greatness of Pulakesin whom he describes in these words:—

> "He is of the race of Kshatriyas. His name is Pulakesin. His ideas are large and profound and he extends widely his sympathy and benefactions. . . . . The state maintains a body of brave champions to the number of several hundreds. Whenever there is a march, these warriors march in front to the sound of the drum. Besides, they intoxicate many fierce elephants. . . No enemy can dare stand before them in battle. The king, proud in the possession of these men and elephants, treats with contempt the neighbouring kingdoms."[2]

So great was the power of Pulakesin, but it was not destined to last long. The perpetual wars that he waged against his rival powers involved a heavy strain upon the military and financial resources of the empire, and when the Pallavas under Narasiṃhavarman fell upon Pulakesin, they inflicted a crushing defeat upon him. The Chālukya power suffered an eclipse, and the Pallavas became the dominant power in Southern India. But this disgrace rankled in the minds of the Chālukyas, and Pulakesin's son, Vikramāditya I, declared war upon the Pallavas and avenged the death of his father by seizing their

[1] This achievement was considered by his successors as the most important and that alone is mentioned in their copper-plate grants in the description of Pulakesin II. Pulakesin had become the lord of the three countries called Mahārāṣṭrakas containing ninety-nine thousand villages. The kings of Kaliṅga and Kośala trembled at his approach and surrendered to him.

[2] Indian Antiquary, VII, pp 290-91.

capital Kānchī.[1] The struggle went on with varying success, until, at last, in the middle of the eighth century Dantidurga, a chieftain of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa clan, emerged to the front by overpowering the Chālukyas and supplanted their power.[2]

With the fall of the main branch of the Chālukyas, the sovereignty of the Deccan passed into the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūtas. The Rāṣṭrakūta kings waged wars with the powers of the South and tried to extend the boundaries of their kingdom. Dantidurga, the founder of their greatness, was succeeded by Krisṇa I, who brought under his control all the territory formerly held by the Chālukyas, and commemorated his brilliant reign by erecting a monolithic temple at Ellurā, now in the Nizam's dominions, which is a fine specimen of rock-cut architecture. His successors, Govinda II and Govinda III, further enlarged their dominions by extensive conquests, and in the time of Amoghavarṣa, who came to the throne probably in the year 815 A.D., the wars with the Eastern Chālukya kingdom became more frequent. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas prided themselves on their military power, and their kingdom during the reign of Amoghavarṣa included all the territories comprised in the empire of Pulakesin II. Amoghavarṣa professed the Jain faith, which under royal patronage soon acquired considerable influence, and aroused the jealousy of its rival, Hinduism.[3] The conflicts between the two faiths intensified the struggles between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the other powerful kingdoms of the South that still adhered to the Brahmanical religion.[4] Krisṇa III defeated the Chola

The Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

[1] Ind. Ant., VI, pp. 86, 89, 92.
J. B. B. R. A. S., III, p. 203.
Ind. Ant., IX, pp. 127, 130-31.

[2] In a copper-plate grant of Dantidurga he is described as having become paramount sovereign after defeating the Vallabha. (J. B. B. R. A. S., II, p. 375.)
Krisṇa Rāja must have reigned between 753 and 755 A.D.

[3] In the Navasari grant Amoghavarṣa is spoken of as Vallabha and is styled Rāja Rāja, or king of kings, and also Vīra Nārāyaṇa.

[4] In an appendix at the end of a Jain work entitled *Uttarapurāna* by Gunabhadra, Amoghavarṣa is represented to have been a devoted worshipper of a holy Jain saint named Jinasena, who was the preceptor

king about 915 A.D. and took possession of Kānchī or Conjivaram and Tanjore.

These unending wars implied a heavy strain upon the financial and military resources of the dynasty, which had begun to show signs of decadence. While the Rāṣṭrakūṭas had exhausted their energies in wars, the Chālukyas had slowly gathered strength, and in 973 A.D. a representative of the Chālukya dynasty, Tailapa II, overpowered and dethroned the last Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch, Kakkala or Kakka II, and laid the foundations of a new dynasty known as the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī. He tried to cement his newly gained power by resting his claims upon his relationship to the famous Chālukya family, which had been ousted by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the 8th century A.D.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings were capable and energetic rulers, who not only increased the extent of their kingdom, but also lent their support to the encouragement of those civilised arts which tend to soften the severity of an entirely military government. Jainism had made progress in their dominion through their patronage,[1] but there was no religious persecution for the king had accepted the principle of religious toleration—a practice in which India stands unique in the history of the world. Royal patronage was freely extended to men of letters, and many a bard and poet sang the praises of his royal benefactors, and added to the literature of the country. Architecture was not neglected and some beautiful temples were erected in honour of Hindu deities. The rock-cut temple at Ellurā and the lifelike paintings and frescoes in the Ajantā caves bear eloquent testimony to the architectural progress made under

of the author and who wrote the first part of the work. The Sanskrit verses in which the allusion to Amoghavarṣa occurs are reproduced in a footnote in the Early History of the Deccan by Bhandarkar in the Bombay Gazetteer, I, Pt. II, p. 200.

There is ample documentary evidence to prove that this king was a great patron of the Digambara Jains.

[1] Jainism had certainly made great progress. The form of Jainism which prevailed in the country was that professed by the Digambara sect. A good many Digambara works were composed during the period.

these kings. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings, unlike the Gurjars of Bhīnmala, maintained friendly relations with the Arabs. This intercourse led to the development of commerce, and many an Arab merchant visited India and paid homage to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarchs, whose fame had extended far and wide.

The later Chālukyas of Kalyaṇī.

Tailapa II was an able and energetic ruler. His success over the Rāṣṭrakūṭas undoubtedly stimulated his ambition, and in a short time he brought under his sway all the territory over which the Chālukyas had ruled. He was engaged in a never-ending conflict with Munja, the Parmār Rājā of Dhārā, who defeated him as many as six times. This humiliation ever rankled in his mind, and Tailapa got the desired opportunity of revenge when Munja attacked him for the seventh time.[1] He was defeated, deprived of his liberty, and finally put to death probably in 995 A.D. by Tailapa, who celebrated his triumph by parading him in the guise of a beggar from door to door.

But Tailapa had to encounter a formidable rival in Rāja Rāja Chola who had come to the throne in 985 A.D. After Tailapa's death, the Chola potentate harried the Vengī territory at the head of a large army and inflicted untold misery upon the population. But these wrongs were avenged shortly afterwards by Someśvara I (1040—69 A.D.), surnamed "Āhavamalla," the wrestler in battle, in 1052 A.D., when he defeated the reigning Chola king at Koppam on the Tungabhadrā.[2] Someśvara added fresh laurels to his brow by delivering successful attacks upon Dhārā and Kānchī, and the ruler of Chedi. But soon

[1] Munja was the uncle of the celebrated Bhoja of Dhārā. Munja was taken prisoner by Tailapa. He was at first treated with consideration, but when he tried to escape, he was subjected to indignities and made to beg from door to door and finally beheaded. This event is alluded to in one of Tailapa's inscriptions. (J. R. A. S., IV, p. 12, and Ind. Ant., XXI, p. 168.

[2] A record of 1070-71 A.D. gives an account of this in these words —

"The Chola at last yielded his head to Someśvara in battle and thus losing his life broke the succession of his family."

afterwards he ended his life by suicide in 1068-69 A.D.,[1] and was succeeded by his younger son, Vikramāditya VI, in 1076 A.D. after the deposition of his elder brother. He reigned for 50 years and under him the country enjoyed an unbroken respite from war. His contemporary, the Chola king Kulottunga I (1070—1118 A.D.), was a peace-loving man ; he adopted a policy of live and let live. A long interval of peace made the development of art and literature possible under royal patronage. The court poet, Bilhaṇa, sang the praises of his hero, Vikramāditya, and the famous jurist, the author of the Mitākṣarā, an important branch of Hindu law, flourished during his reign.

But this glory was not destined to last long, and after the death of Vikramaka the power of the Chālukyas began rapidly to decline. The Cholas suffered a similar set-back, and both kingdoms felt the weight of the new Ballāla dynasty, which was founded by Bijjāla or Vijjāna of the Kalachuri race, who held the office of minister of war under Tailapa. With the help of some of the semi-independent chiefs, he conceived the design or usurping the throne of his master and kept him in his grip until 1157 A.D. Tailapa fled to Annigeri in the Dhārwār district from where he went further south and established himself at Banavasi.

This act of usurpation of Bijjāla coincided with the beginning of the revival of Śiva worship led by Vāsava, a celebrated reformer, who fanatically denounced the inequalities of caste and pleaded for equality among the devotees of Śiva. Tradition says that Bijjāla's persecution of two men of the Lingāyat sect whom he blinded caused a revolution in which the religious reformer as well as his great opponent lost their lives. The Lingāyat sect[2] flourished, gathered a large following among

[1] Aiyangar, South India and her Muhammadan Invaders. p. 231.
K. V. S. Iyer, Historical Sketches of the Deccan, I, p. 261.
Bilhaṇa, Vikramacharita, IV, pp. 46—68.
He drowned himself in the Tungabhadrā. This mode of death is called *Jalasamādhi*. It was a voluntary death. Ibn Batūtā who visited India in the 14th century also refers to this kind of death. (I.B., Paris ed. III, p. 141.)

[2] Mr. Edward Rice in his History of Kanarese Literature (Heritage of India Series), pp. 37—41, gives an account of the rise of the Lingāyat sect.

the merchant classes, and considerably weakened the hold of Buddhism and Jainism which received an effective check. The ruin of these two dynasties enabled the Chālukyas to grasp the sceptre again, but it slipped away from their feeble hands; and the whole of the Deccan came to be divided between the Yādavas with their capital at Devagir, the Kākatīyas who ruled at Warangal, and the Hoysala Ballālas who ruled at Dvārsamudra, and whose sway extended as far north as the Kriṣnā.[1] These three powers contended among themselves for supremacy in the Deccan with the result that by disabling themselves they prepared the way for the success of the Muslims. Rāma Chandra Yādava, the last powerful ruler of the Yādava dynasty, was overthrown by Kāfūr, the famous general of Alauddin Khilji in 1310 A.D., and the Kākatīya ruler Pratāp Rudra Deva II was defeated by him, and compelled to pay tribute to Delhi. Vīra Ballāla III struggled long against the Muslims, but he was at last overpowered and compelled like his rivals to render allegiance to the Delhi Sultan and to purchase his freedom by the payment of a tribute.

The Far South.

In the earliest times there were three important kingdoms in the Far South, namely, the Pāndya, the Chola and the Chera or Kerala. The Pāndya kingdom covered the area now occupied by the Madura and Tinnevelly districts with portions of Trichinopoly and Travancore State. The Chola kingdom extended over Madras and several other British districts on the east as well as the territory now included in the Mysore State. The limits of the principality of Chera or Kerala cannot be defined with precision,

The Lingāyats are the exclusive worshippers of Śiva. They are strictly vegetarian in diet, and on this account all other castes except Brahmans eat food cooked by them. The philosophical position of the Lingāyats is similar to the monistic and quasi-monistic systems of the Brahmans.

[1] Someśvara IV Chālukya ruled till 1189, and his rule was confined to the southern and south-western part of his dominions. His chiefs and feudatories, the Sindas, made common cause against him and compelled him to retire to his north-west frontier, after which nothing more was heard of him. A struggle for power followed, in which the three powers emerged as heirs to the vast Chālukya empire.

but scholars are of opinion that it included approximately the Malabar districts and the greater part of the Cochin and Travancore States. It would be wearisome to describe in detail the history of these kingdoms, and all that can be attempted here is to give a general sketch of the relations of the various southern powers towards one another and their ultimate fate. The three kingdoms of the Far South enjoyed a position of power and influence during the centuries before the Christian era and had trade relations with Ancient Rome and Egypt. But in the second century A.D. a new power came into prominence and that was of the Pallavas who ruled over the Telugu and west-coast districts from Vengipurā and Plakaddu (Palghāt) respectively: The Pallavas, who seem to have been in the habit of making plundering incursions into the territories of their neighbours, gradually increased their power in South India, overshadowed the ancient kingdoms and came into conflict with the Chālukyas. The Chālukya king, Pulakesin II, inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Pallava ruler, Mahendravardhan I, and annexed the Vengī province to his dominions. Exasperated at the loss of an important part of their territory, the Pallavas organised their forces, and paid the Chālukya king in his own coin next year. These dynastic feuds were inherited by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, when they supplanted the Chālukyas in the Deccan in the middle of the 8th century A.D. Before the continued attacks of a youthful and vigorous dynasty, which had just emerged on the stage of history, the Pallavas found it difficult to defend themselves. Internal disorder together with the rebellion of the Southern Ganges accelerated the decline of the Pallavas ; and the supremacy of the South passed into the hands of the Cholas, and Rāja Rāja Chola, who assumed sovereign authority in 985 A.D., extended his conquests far and wide.[1] By the end of 1005 A.D. he defeated all his rivals and built for himself a magnificent empire. But the incessant

[1] The history of the Cholas has been described at great length by Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in his 'Ancient India,' a work of considerable research on South Indian history.

strain of war proved too great even for the giant limbs of this mighty potentate of the South, and in 1011 A.D. he sheathed his sword with pleasure and devoted himself to the task of organising the administration. His son Rājendra Chola (1018—1042 A.D.) was, in accordance with the Chola custom, associated with him in the administration of the affairs of the kingdom. He turned out a chip of the old block and vigorously carried on the warlike policy of his father. His arms penetrated as far as the territory now occupied by the provinces of Prome and Pegu in modern Burma, and Bengal, whose ruler Mahīpāla was defeated and brought into subjection. Orissa was overrun and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands were also conquered. The Gangas of Mysore, who had been a thorn in the side of the Pallavas, were also subdued ; and this astute ruler consummated his policy of aggrandisement by forming a matrimonial alliance with the Chālukya ruler of Kalyāṇī, who was a formidable rival. The offspring of this marriage was Kulottunga I (1070—1118 A.D.) who united in his person the power of the Cholas and the Chālukyas.

After the death of Rājendra, the Chola kingdom fell upon evil times ; and the neighbouring powers who had suffered much at the hands of its rulers now arrayed their forces against it. The Chola ruler was defeated at the battle of Koppam in 1052 or 1053 A.D. by the Chālukya army, and this defeat led to the delimitation of the Chālukya and Chola frontiers. The Pāndyas, the Cheras, and the Gangas withheld their allegiance, and the confusion into which the kingdom had fallen is illustrated by the fact that several rulers occupied the throne in quick succession only to be removed from power, either by military force or by assassination. In 1070 A.D. Someśvara II and his younger brother Vikramāditya contended for succession to the Chālukya throne, while Vīra Rājendra Chola had a powerful rival in Rājendra Chola of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. Out of this civil war Vikramāditya emerged triumphant ; he seized the Chālukya throne and restored his brother-in-law Ādhi-Rājendra Chola to his patrimony. But

as the saying goes, one can do anything with bayonets except sit upon them. Ādhi-Rājendra who depended entirely upon Chālukya support failed to win the confidence of his subjects, and was shortly afterwards assassinated. He left no male heir, and, therefore, the crown lapsed to Rājendra Chālukya who is better known as Kulottunga I (1070—1118 A.D.).

Kulottunga I, who was a capable and statesmanlike ruler once more evolved order out of chaos, and established complete tranquillity throughout his wide dominions. He achieved great conquests, but he is distinguished from his predecessors by the care which he bestowed upon the organisation of the administration on a sound and efficient basis. Towards the close of his reign the Hoysala prince Bitti Deva, otherwise known as Viṣṇuvardhana (1100—1141 A.D.), drove out the Chola governors from the Ganga territory, and, before his death, established his sway over the country now covered by the Mysore state.

The Pāṇḍyas, meanwhile, developed their power and the Chola empire had to bear the blows of the Hoysalas, the Kākatīyas, and the Pāṇḍyas. The last powerful ruler of the Pāndya dynasty was Sundaram Pāndya,[1] who died in 1293 A.D. after having conquered the whole Tamil country and Ceylon. The great Venetian traveller Marco Polo, who visited South India in the 13th century, speaks of the great wealth and power of the Pāndya king. But in 1310 A.D. Kāfūr's raids, backed by the fanaticism of the entire Muslim community, destroyed the political system of the South and plunged the whole country into a state of utter confusion. The Chola and Pāndya kingdoms rapidly declined in power and were paralysed, as it were, under the weight of Muslim arms. The Deccan was not united again until the rise of the Vijayanagar kingdom in 1336 A.D.

[1] Marco Polo found him ruling at Madura.

CHAPTER II

THE ADVENT OF THE MUSLIMS

The Arabs.

THE earliest Muslim invaders of Hindustan were not the Turks but the Arabs, who issued out from their desert homes after the death of the great Arabian Prophet to enforce belief at the point of the sword, which was, according to them, "the key of heaven and hell." Wherever they went, plunder, destruction and cruelty of a most wanton type marched in their train. Their virility and vigour, coupled with their fanaticism and iconoclastic fury of which there was enough and to spare among these neophytes, enabled the Arabs to make themselves masters of Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Persia within a short space of twenty years. The conquest of Persia made them think of their expansion eastward, and when they learnt of the fabulous wealth and idolatry of India from the merchants who sailed from Shiraz and Hurmuz and landed on the Indian coast, they discounted the difficulties and obstacles which nature placed in their way, and determined to lead an expedition into India, which at once received the sanction of religious enthusiasm and political ambition. The first recorded expedition was sent from Umān to pillage the coasts of India in the year 636-37 A.D. during the Khilafat of Omar. Plunder and not conquest was the objective of these early raids, but the task was considered so difficult and dangerous that the Khalifa disapproved of such distant campaigns and prohibited all further attempts in this direction. He had a great repugnance to naval expeditions, which is said to have been caused by the description of the sea furnished to him by one of his lieutenants, as "a great

pool which some senseless people furrow, looking like worms upon logs of wood."[1] The sons of the desert were not destined to win their laurels on the high seas, and owing to the prohibitions and penalties of the Khalifa, all maritime enterprise was sternly repressed. But Omar's successors relaxed the prohibition, and expeditions were planned and undertaken so that every year the Muslims marched from their homes in search of fresh fields and pastures new. In 643-44 A.D. Abdulla bin Amar bin Rabi invaded Kirman and marched towards Sistan or Siwistan and besieged the ruler of the place in his capital and compelled him to sue for peace. Peace having been patched up, the victorious general proceeded towards Mekran, where he was opposed by the combined forces of the rulers of Sindh and Mekran, but the latter sustained a defeat in a night encounter. Abdulla wished to follow up his victory and to win further success on the other side of the Indus ; but the cautious policy of the Khalifa stood in his way and forbade all further progress.

The arms of Islam achieved splendid success everywhere. Egypt, Syria, Carthage, Africa,—all were reached within a few years, and in 710 A.D., at the battle of Guadalete the Gothic kingdom was destroyed by the Moors, who established their own power in the country and introduced the elements of Arabian culture among the semi-civilised European races. Persia had already been overrun as far as the river Oxus, and attempts had been made to annex the lands beyond that river to the Caliphate. These eastern conquests greatly increased the power and prestige of the Khilafat which attained to its pinnacle of fame under the Omayyads. Under Hajjaj, the governor of Irāq, who practically ruled over the entire country formerly comprised in the kingdom of Persia, and who was an imperialist to the core, the spirit of conquest found its fullest

[1] This was written to the Khalifa during the Egyptian expedition by Amru bin Asi, whereupon Omar forbade all navigation amongst the Musalmans and severely punished the infringement of this order. (Elliot, History of India, I, p. 416.)

scope, and Bokhara, Khojand, Samarqand, and Farghana were conquered by Muslim arms. Qutaiba was sent to Kashgar, where a treaty was concluded with the native Chinese. An army was also sent against the king of Kabul and another to chastise the pirates of Debal[1] in Sindh, who had plundered eight vessels full of valuable presents sent by the ruler of Ceylon for the Khalifa and Hajjaj. But this punitive expedition against Debal, which the Khalifa had sanctioned at the special request of Hajjaj, failed, and the Arab general who captained it was defeated and put to death by the Sindhians. Struck with shame and humiliation at this disastrous failure, Hajjaj who was a man of high-strung nature vowed vengeance upon the Sindhians, and planned a fresh expedition, better organised and equipped than the previous one. It was entrusted to Muhammad bin Qasim, who was pointed out by the astrologers as the luckiest man to be placed in charge of it.

Muhammad bin Qasim's invasion of Sindh, 712 A.D.

The story of Muhammad bin Qasim's invasion of Sindh is one of the romances of history. His blooming youth, his dash and heroism, his noble deportment throughout the expedition and his tragic fall have invested his career with the halo of martyrdom. Buoyed up with great expectations that were formed of him on account of his youthful and warlike spirit, this gallant prince started on his Indian expedition, well-accoutred, with 6,000 picked Syrian and Irāqian warriors sent by Hajjaj, with an equal number of armed camel-riders and a baggage train of 3,000 Bactrian camels. Necessaries as well as luxuries were amply supplied by the Khalifa, who had appointed Muhammad bin Qasim more on the score of his kinship with him than mere personal merit. When Muhammad reached Mekran, he was joined by the governor, Muhammad Hārūn, who supplied reinforcements and five catapults which were sent to

[1] Thattā is synonymous with Debal. Mr. Abbott discusses the whole question at length in his interesting monograph on Sindh (pp. 43—55). Also see Major Raverty's translation of the *Tabqat-i-Nasiri*, I, p. 295 (note 2).

Debal with the necessary equipments. Besides these Arab troops, Muhammad bin Qasim enlisted under his banner a large number of the discontented Jats and Meds, who had old accounts to settle with the intolerant Hindu government, which had inflicted great humiliations upon them. They had been forbidden to ride in saddles, wear fine clothes, to uncover the head, and this condemnation to the position of mere hewers of wood and drawers of water had embittered animosities to such an extent, that they readily threw in their lot with the foreigner. Though Muhammad bin Qasim treated them with scant respect as soon as he had gained a foothold in the country, this division of national sympathies was of incalculable help to him in acquiring knowledge of the country with which his men were but imperfectly acquainted.

Muhammad reached Debal in the spring of 712 A.D. There he was reinforced by a large supply of men, arms, and warlike machines. Forthwith Muhammad's men set themselves to the task of digging entrenchments defended by spearmen, each body of warriors under its own banners, and the *manjnīq* called the " bride " was placed with 500 men to work it. There was a large temple at Debal on the top of which floated a red flag which was pulled down by the Muslims to the complete horror of the idolators. A hard fight ensued in which the Hindus were defeated by the Muslims. The city was given up to plunder and a terrible scene of carnage followed, which lasted for three days. The governor of the town fled away without offering any resistance and left the field clear for the victorious general, who laid out a Muslim quarter, built a mosque and entrusted the defence of the city to a garrison of 4,000 men.

Having taken Debal by storm, Muhammad bin Qasim proceeded to Nirun,[1] the inhabitants of which purchased their freedom by furnishing supplies and making a complete

[1] Nirun was situated on the high road from Thattī to Haidrābād, a little below Jarak. (Elliot, I, pp. 396—401.)

surrender. He then ordered a bridge of boats to be constructed in order to cross the Indus. This unexpected move took Dāhir by surprise, and with his men he fell back upon Rāwar where he set his forces in order to fight against the enemy. Here the Arabs encountered an imposing array of war-elephants and a powerful army, thirsting to give battle to the Muslims under the command of Dāhir and his Thākurs (chiefs). Al-Biladuri[1] writes that a dreadful conflict ensued such as had never been heard of and the author of the *Chāchnāmā*[2] gives a graphic account of the valiant fight which was put forth by Dāhir and his Rajput allies. A naphtha arrow struck Dāhir's howdah and set it ablaze. At this inopportune moment Dāhir's elephant rushed into water to quench his thirst, and when he retreated, he was surrounded on all sides by the Arabs who showered arrows upon him. Dāhir fell upon the ground, but he at once raised himself up and had a scuffle with an Arab, who "struck him with a sword on the very centre of his head and cleft it to his neck." Driven to desperation by the death of their valiant king and leader, the Hindus assailed the Muslims with relentless fury, but they were defeated, and the faithful "glutted themselves with massacre." Dāhir's wife, Rānī Bāī and his son betook themselves to the fortress of Rāwar, where the last extremity of peril called forth the shining qualities of those hapless men and women whom death and dishonour stared in the face. After the manner of her tribe, this brave lady resolved to fight the enemies of her husband. She reviewed the remnant of her garrison, 15 thousand in number in the fort, and forthwith stones from mangonels and balistas, as well as arrows and javelins, began to be rained down thickly upon the Arabs, who were encamped under the walls of the fort. But

[1] Al-Biladuri, Elliot, I, p. 121.

[2] Chāchnāmā, Elliot, I, p. 170.

Several authors are of opinion that Muhammad took the village of Rāwar by assault. The *Chāchnāmā* gives a detailed account of the capture of the fort and the immolation of the royal ladies. (Elliot, I, pp. 122, 172.)

the Arabs proved too strong for the forlorn hope of Rāwar and conducted the siege with great vigour and intrepidity. When the Rānī saw her doom inevitable, she assembled all the women in the fort and addressed them thus :—" God forbid that we should owe our liberty to those outcaste cow-eaters. Our honour would be lost. Our respite is at an end, and there is nowhere any hope of escape ; let us collect wood, cotton and oil, for I think we should burn ourselves and go to meet our husbands. If any wish to save herself, she may." They entered into a house, where they burnt themselves, and by means of this ghastly holocaust vindicated the honour of their race.

Muhammad took the fort, massacred the 6,000 men whom he found there, and seized all the wealth and treasure that belonged to Dāhir. Flushed with success, he proceeded to Brahmanabad[1] where the people at once submitted to him. A settlement of the country followed immediately ; those who embraced Islam were exempted from slavery, tribute and the Jeziyā, while those who adhered to the faith of their fathers had to pay the poll-tax, and were allowed to retain possession of their lands and property. The poll-tax was levied according to three grades. The first grade was to pay silver equal to forty-eight dirhams, the second grade twenty-four dirhams, and the lowest grade twelve dirhams. When the people of Brahmanabad implored Muhammad bin Qasim to grant them freedom of worship, he referred the matter to Hajjaj, who sent the following reply :—

" As they have made submission and have agreed to pay taxes to the Khalifa, nothing more can be properly required from them. They have been taken under our protection and we cannot, in any way, stretch out our hands upon their lives or property. Permission is given them to worship their gods.

[1] It is a ruined city in the Sinjhoro Taluka of Thar and Parkar, district Sindh, Bombay, situated in 25° 52′ N. and 68° 52′ E., about 11 miles south-east of Shahdadpur in Haidrābād, and 21 miles from Hāla. (Imperial Gazetteer, IX, p. 8.)

Nobody must be forbidden or prevented from following his own religion. They may live in their houses in whatever manner they like."[1] Muhammad bin Qasim then devoted himself to the settlement of the country. The whole population was divided into four classes and twelve dirhams' weight of silver was allotted to each man because their property had been confiscated. The Brahmans were treated well and their dignity was maintained. They were entrusted with offices in the administration and the country was placed under their charge. To the revenue officers Muhammad said: "Deal honestly between the people and the Sultan, and if distribution is required, make it with equity, and fix the revenue according to the ability to pay. Be in concord among yourselves and oppose not each other, so that the country may not be distressed." Religious freedom was granted and in the matter of worship the wishes of the Brahmans were respected.

The victory of Brahmanabad was followed by the conquest of Multan, the chief city of the upper Indus. The author of the *Chāchnāmā* writes that the contest between the infidels and the faithful was fierce and bitter and lasted for seven days. At last the nephew of the Multan chief, in spite of the tremendous attack he delivered upon the Muslims, was overpowered and defeated. The garrison in the fort was put to the sword, and the families of the chiefs and warriors of Multan were enslaved. The people of Multan, merchants, traders, and artisans, together with the Jats and Meds of the surrounding country, whom the native government had persecuted, waited upon the conqueror and paid him homage. The usual settlement of territory followed, and Muhammad bin Qasim granted toleration to all unbelievers, and spared their lives on payment of a poll-tax. "The temples," said he, "shall be inviolate like the churches of the Christians, the synods of the Jews, and the altars of the Magians." Yet the amount of wealth that flowed

[1] Chāchnāmā, Elliot, I, pp. 185-86.

into the coffers of the Arabs was considerable. They accomplished their task with comparative ease with the help of the natives themselves. Now and then Muslim ferocity vented forth itself in dealing with the Hindu, but acts of wanton desecration were few and far between, and the Arabs doubtless displayed greater generosity than the Turks who followed them. Having conquered Multan Muhammad bin Qasim sent one of his generals, Abu Hakim, at the head of ten thousand horse towards Kanauj, but before he could open a fresh campaign, he received from the Khalifa the ominous decree of his doom.

The death of Muhammad bin Qasim.

But all these glorious conquests spelled disaster for Muhammad, and nothing availed to save him from the tragic fate that awaited him. His fall was as sudden as his meteoric rise. The author of the *Chāchnāmā* and Mīr Māsūm,[1] both, with slight variations, have related the gruesome story of Muhammad's death. They write that when the captive daughters of Raja Dāhir, Parmal Devi and Suraj Devi, were presented to the Khalifa to be introduced into his seraglio, the princesses, in order to avenge their father's death, invented the story, that before sending them to the Khalifa Muhammad bin Qasim had dishonoured them both, suggesting thereby that they were unfit for the commander of the faithful. The Khalifa[2] lost his temper and peremptorily issued an order that Muhammad bin Qasim should be sewn in the raw hide of an ox and be sent to the capital. So great was the might and majesty of the Khalifa, that Muhammad, on receipt of this order, voluntarily sewed himself in raw hide, and Mīr Māsūm writes that "three days afterwards, the bird of life left his body and flew to heaven." His dead body, enclosed in a box, was sent to the Khalifa, who ordered it to

[1] Chāchnāmā, Elliot, I, p. 209. Jarrett, Ain-i-Akbari, II, p. 345. Elliot, I, pp. 437-38.

[2] The Khalifa's name was Walid ibn-Abdul Malik. He became Khalifa in 86 A.H. (705 A.D.) and died in 96 A.H. (715 A.D.).

be opened in the presence of the daughters of Dāhir. The princesses expressed unalloyed satisfaction at the death of their father's murderer, but told the Khalifa that he was innocent, and that they had invented the story out of vindictive motives. The climax was reached when they admonished him to be more considerate in administering justice. The Khalifa was struck with remorse ; but how could he make amends for his mistake? He ordered the princesses to be tied to the tails of horses and be dragged until they were dead.[1] Thus perished the great hero, who had, in the short space of three years, conquered Sindh and established the Khalifa's sway on Indian soil. This story partakes of the nature of a myth. There is a great disagreement among our authorities on the point of Muhammad bin Qasim's death, but the account of *Futuhu-i-Buldan,* which says that Muhammad was seized, put in chains and tortured to death by the order of the Khalifa, seems to be more probable than the rest.

As a matter of necessity rather than of choice, the administration was left in the hands of the natives. The conquest placed plenty of land in the hands of the Arabs. The *iqtās* were held by grantees on the condition of military service and were exempt from all taxes except the alms (*Sadqah*). The Muslim soldiers were not allowed to cultivate lands and therefore the main burden of agricultural labour fell upon the natives who were 'reduced to the condition of villeins and serfs.' Some soldiers held grants of land while others received fixed salaries. As laid down in the sacred law, four-fifths of the spoils was given to the troops and one-fifth was kept for the Khalifa and it appears that the Khalifas observed this rule, because they were afraid of the opposition of these military men. Religious endowments were made, and land was

The Arab occupation of Sindh.

[1] Mīr Māsūm writes that after two months, the princesses were presented to the Khalifa and an interpreter was called in. When the veil was removed from their faces, the Khalifa fell in love with them. They told him that Muhammad had kept them for three days in his *haram.* (Tarikh-i-Māsūmī, Khudābakhsha, MS. F. 15.)

given in *waqf* (free-gift) to holy men and heads of monasteries. The Arab soldiers settled in the country, married Indian women and thus slowly a number of small military colonies came into existence, where in the enjoyment of domestic happiness these men forgot the pain of exile. These colonies were called *Junūd* and *Amsār* which mean 'armies' and 'cities.' In some places these colonies grew into flourishing cities and became centres of learning and culture. The most important colonies in Sindh were Mansurā, Kuzdār, Kandābel, Baizā, Mahfūzā, and Multan. Of the local troops some were disbanded and some retained in service. The leisure and luxury which the cessation of war rendered possible cooled the fanatical zeal of these adventurers to such an extent that it became necessary to enlist foreign mercenaries to conduct military campaigns. The desire for the profits of commerce further told upon their martial spirit. A busy trade grew up and the Arabs in Sindh kept up a regular communication with the rest of the Muslim world both by land and sea. Merchants of different nationalities carried Indian goods through Sindh to Turkistan and Khorasan and thence to Constantinople. Arab horses were imported into Sindh and arms and ammunitions were sent up the mouth of the Indus for carrying on military operations in the country. The Arab settlements of the Azdīs who were enterprising merchants occupied the whole coast of Kirman and Mekran and controlled much of the lucrative trade with foreign countries.

The Arabs granted toleration to the Hindus. They did so not because they felt respect for other faiths but because they were convinced of the impossibility of suppressing the faiths of the conquered peoples. At first there was a fearful outbreak of religious bigotry in several places, and temples were wantonly desecrated. At Debal, Nairun and Alor temples were demolished and converted into mosques. In some places those who had offered resistance were put to deah and women and children were made captives. The temple of the Sun at Multan was ravaged and its treasures were rifled by Muham-

mad bin Qasim. The principal sources of revenue were the land-tax and the poll-tax. The land-tax was rated at 2/5ths of the produce of wheat and barley, if the fields were watered by public canals, and ¼th if unirrigated. Of dates, grapes and garden produce ⅓rd was taken, either in kind or cash, and 1/5th of the yield of wines, fishing, pearls and of other produce, not derived from cultivation. Besides these, there were several other taxes, which were generally farmed out to the highest bidder. The *Chāchnāmā* speaks of other taxes levied upon the cultivators such as the *bāj* and the *Usharī*. Some of the tribes had to comply with demands which carried much humiliation with them. At one time the Jats living beyond the river Aral had to bring a dog when they came to pay their respects to the governor and were branded on the hand. Sumptuary laws were rigorously enforced and certain tribes were forbidden to wear fine apparels, to ride on horses and to cover their heads and feet. Theft by the subject race was held to be a serious crime and it was punished by burning to death the women and children of the thief. The native population had to feed every Muslim traveller for three days and nights and had to submit to many other humiliations which are mentioned by the Muslim historians. The Jeziyā was always exacted "with rigour and punctuality, and frequently with insult." The collection of the Jeziyā was considered a religious as well as a political duty, and so great was the importance attached to it that Hajjaj sent another man to collect it even during Muhammad bin Qasim's time. The unbelievers, technically called Zimmīs, had to pay according to their means, and exemption was granted to those who embraced Islam. There were no tribunals for deciding cases between the Hindus and Muslims. The amirs and chiefs, who still maintained their independence, exercised the right of inflicting capital punishment upon offenders within their jurisdiction. The Qazi decided cases according to the principles of the Quran, and the same practice was followed in cases between the Hindus and the Muslims, which, of course, resulted in great injustice to the

former. In the matter of public and political offences, the law made no distinction between Hindus and Muslims, but all suits relating to debts, contracts, adultery, inheritance, property and the like, were decided by the Hindus in their *panchāyats* or arbitration boards which worked with great efficiency. The public tribunals were to the Hindus "only the means of extortion and forcible conversion." They always fretted and chafed under the foreign tutelage, but their own disunion was responsible for it. The absence of that bond of sympathy between the conqueror and the conquered, which arises from mutual confidence, was a conspicuous feature of the Arab administration in Sindh.

The impermanence of Arab conquest.

The conquest was accomplished by tribes who were so different in their habits and sentiments that they could never act in unison. When religious fanaticism had subsided, they "showed themselves as utterly incapable, as the shifting sands of their own desert, of coalescing into a system of concord and subordination." The hereditary feuds among the various clans further weakened their position, which was rendered worse by the persecution of the Shias and several other heretical sects. The Arab conquest, as Stanley Lane-Poole rightly observes, was only "an episode in the history of India and of Islam, a triumph without results." The province of Sindh was well-known for the infertility of its soil, and the Arabs soon discovered that it was an unremunerative appanage of the Khilafat. The Hindu world, deeply conservative and philosophical, treated with supreme disdain the wealth and greatness of its physical conquerors, so that the even tenor of Hindu life was not at all affected by this "barbarian inroad." It was impossible for the Arabs to found a permanent power in India, for the Rajputs still held important kingdoms in the north and east, and were ever ready to contest every inch of ground with any foreign intruder, who ventured to invade their territory. Muhammad bin Qasim's work of conquest was left uncompleted, and after his death the stability of the Arab position was seriously shaken

owing to the ineffectual aid, which the Khalifas sent to their representatives in that inhospitable region. The decline in the power of the Khilafat seriously affected its possessions abroad and the distant provinces gradually ceased to respect the authority of the imperial government. Sindh was divided into several petty states which, though politically independent, acknowledged for the sake of convenience the spiritual supremacy of the Khalifa. From the year 871 A.D. when the Khalifa Muatmad gave the charge of Sindh to Yāqūb bin Lais, who had already been entrusted with the government of Balkh, Turkistan, Sijistan and Kirman, the province became free from the control of the Khilafat. The Arabs, who settled in Sindh, established their own dynasties at Multan and Mansura, and the chiefs of the Saiyyad families exercised authority over the upper and the lower Indus. Only a few settlements and a few families constituted the memorial of Arab conquest in India. The Arabs have left no legacy behind in the shape of buildings, camps, and roads. Language, architecture, art, tradition, customs, and manners were little affected by them, and all that remained was the *débris* of ancient buildings, which proclaimed to the world the vandalism of their destroyers. Out of the materials of the buildings which they demolished they built castles, cities and fortresses which have been destroyed by the cruel ravages of time.

The cultural effects of the Arab conquest.

It may be conceded at once, that the Arab conquest of Sindh, from the political point of view, was an insignificant event in the history of Islam. But the effects of this conquest upon Muslim culture were profound and far-reaching. When the Arabs came to India, they were astonished at the superiority of the civilization which they found in the country. The sublimity of Hindu philosophical ideas and the richness and versatility of Hindu intellect were a strange revelation to them. The cardinal doctrine of Muslim theology, that there is one God, was already known to the Hindu saints and philosophers, and they found that in the nobler arts, which enhance the dignity of man, the

Hindus far excelled them. The Indian musician, the mason, and the painter were as much admired by the Arabs as the philosopher and the man of learning. Tabari writes that Khalifa Hārūn once sent for an Indian physician to cure him of an obstinate and painful disease. The physician succeeded in restoring his patient to health and was allowed to return to India in safety. The Arabs learnt from the Hindus a great deal in the practical art of administration, and the employment of Brahman officials on a large scale was due to their better knowledge, experience, and fitness for discharging efficiently the duties of administration. Muslim historians are apt to forget or minimise the debt which the Saracenic civilisation owed to Indo-Aryan culture. A great many of the elements of Arabian culture, which afterwards had such a marvellous effect upon European civilisation, were borrowed from India. India, then, stood on a much higher intellectual plane, and the Arab scholars sat at the feet of Buddhist monks and Brahman pandits to learn philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, chemistry, and other subjects of study. The court at Baghdad extended its patronage to Indian scholarship, and during the Khilafat of Mansūr (753—774 A.D.) Arab scholars went from India to Baghdad, who carried with them two books, the *Brahma Siddhānta* of Brahmagupta and his *Khānda-khādyaka*. These works were translated by Alfazārī into Arabic with the help of Indian scholars. It was from them that the Arabs learnt the first principles of scientific astronomy.[1] The cause of Hindu learning received much encouragement from the ministerial family of the Barmaks during the Khilafat of Hārūn (786—808 A.D.). Though the Barmaks had been converted to Islam, they never felt enthusiastic about it, and prompted by their Hindu inclinations, they sent scholars to India to study medicine, astrology, pharmacology, and other sciences.[2] They invited Hindu scholars to Baghdad and appointed them as the chief physicians of their hospitals and

[1] Al Biruni, India, translated by Sachau, p. xxxi.

[2] Al Biruni, translated by Sachau, Introduction, p. xxxi.

asked them to translate from Sanskrit into Arabic works on medicine, philosophy, toxicology, astrology and other subjects. But it must be admitted that the Muslims soon secularised the learning they had borrowed from India, and presented it to the European world in a new garb, which was perhaps more acceptable to the European mind. When the Khilafat of Baghdad lost its importance after the extinction of the Abbāsid dynasty at the hands of Halāgū, the Arab governors of Sindh became practically independent. The cultural connection was broken and the Arabian scholars, no longer in contact with Indian *savants*, turned to the study of Hellenic art, literature, philosophy and science. There is ample reason to endorse Havell's view that " it was India, not Greece that taught Islam in the impressionable years of its youth, formed its philosophy and esoteric religious ideals, and inspired its most characteristic expression in literature, art, and architecture."[1]

[1] Havell, Aryan Rule in India, p. 256.

CHAPTER III

THE RISE OF THE GHAZNAWIDES

THE Arab conquest left few traces behind. It was only the occupation of a single province, which was by no means fertile or prosperous. But the work of conquest was, two centuries later, taken up by the Turks, who poured into India from beyond the Afghan hills in ever-increasing numbers. The government of the Khalifas lost its former strength after the fall of the Omayyad line, when Merwan II, the reigning Khalifa, was defeated and slain in 750 A.D. The Abbasids succeeded the Omayyads in the Khilafat, the fall of the latter having been brought about by their too much reliance upon the temporal power, and neglect of the spiritual functions that pertained to their august office. The capital was transferred from Damascus to Al-Kufa, and all distinctions between the Arabs and the non-Arabs were obliterated. The Khilafat now bore an altered character. It was no longer the sole spiritual guide of the Islamic world; and the sphere of its authority was narrowed by the independent dynasties that had come into existence. The Arabs had lost their old vigour and military zeal, and had now sunk into mere voluptuaries, frittering away their time in frivolous pursuits in their *harams*, or quarrelling among themselves, always placing personal or tribal interests above the interests of Islam. The Abbasids accelerated the process of decadence further by systematically excluding the Arabs from office. The old Arab aristocracy was replaced by a new class of officials, and the

The Turks.

entire administration was Persianised.[1] Persian officials carried on the work, and as the central government became weaker and weaker, the provincial governors showed a tendency towards independence. The Turkish guards, whom the Khalifas employed to protect their person, were a barbarian race, who soon relegated the Arab chiefs to the background, and dominated their masters. So great became their power that the Khalifa became a mere tool in their hands, and the Arabs, who had once been a fine and gallant race, fell from their high estate and lost their old virtues. The Khalifa's forces also consisted of Turks, a fact which greatly increased the strength and insolence of these prætorians. The decline in political power marched *pari passu* with moral degradation, and the court of the Khalifa became notorious for its laxity and luxury. Party feuds between the Shias and Sunnis poisoned the springs of national life. Plots even against the leading statesmen of the empire were common enough, and no official felt himself entirely secure. Espionage of a most revolting character demoralised the people ; every Amir kept his spies who reported to him what his fellows said and did in public or private. The Khalifa had become so powerless that he could not prevent libels even against himself and mischievous persons

[1] Dozy's Hist. de Islamism translated by Victor Chauvin, pp. 228-29 : " The ascendancy of the Persians over the Arabs, that is to say, of the conquered over the victors, had already, for a long while, been in course of preparation ; it became complete when the Abbasids who owed their elevation to the Persians, ascended the throne. These princes made it a rule to be on their guard against the Arabs, and to put their trust only in foreigners, Persians, especially those of Khorasan, with whom, therefore, they had to make friends. The most distinguished personages at court were consequently Persians. . . . The democratic point of view of the Arabs was, indeed, replaced by the despotic ideas of the Persians."

Browne, Literary History of Persia, p. 252.

See Al-Fakhri's description of the Abbasids. Browne, pp. 252-53 : " A treacherous, wily and faithless dynasty, wherein intrigue and guile played a greater part than strength and energy, particularly in its later days. Indeed the later rulers of the House lost all faculty of energy and courage, and relied solely on tricks and stratagems."

Von Kremer writes in a similar strain. See Browne, pp. 259, 260, 261.

lampooned him with impunity. The weakness of the central government had a serious effect in the provinces where the local governors turned into despots and carved out small principalities for themselves. The empire was split into a group of states governed by Persian, Turkish, Kurdish, Arab and other rulers who profited by the confusion that prevailed at Baghdad. Māvrā-un-nahr or Transoxiana became independent under its governor Ismail, the Samānid. The Samānids showed great favour to their Turkish slaves and Abdul Malik placed Khorasan in charge of his slave Alaptagin, who was a man of great ability and courage. Deprived of his office on the death of his patron, he betook himself to Ghazni where his father had been governor under the Samānids. Here in this sheltered region he acted more or less as an independent chief and defied the authority of his sovereign. After his death his son Ishāq and his slave Bilaktagin failed to enlarge the dominion inherited from him, but when power passed into the hands of another slave, Subuktagin, fresh conquests were made and the small chieftaincy of Ghazni was turned into a large and prosperous kingdom.

Subuktagin establishes his power.

After his death in 976 A.D. Alaptagin was succeeded by his slave Subuktagin[1] who had been purchased by him from a certain merchant, Nasr Haji, who had brought him from Turkistan to Bokhara. As he seemed to be a man of promise, Alaptagin gradually raised him to posts of honour and conferred upon him, in course of time, the title of Amir-ul-Umra to signify his recognition of his great talents. Subuktagin was an able and ambitious ruler. Not satisfied with the small kingdom he had inherited from his master, he coalesced the Afghans together

[1] The author of the *Tarikh-i-Majdūl* writes that Amir Subuktagin was descended from Yazdijurd-i-Shahryar, the last king of Persia. During the Khilafat of Osman his family and dependants fled to Turkistan, where they settled and intermarried with the people. After two or three generations they became Turks. Another authority says that Alaptagin purchased him at Nishapur.

Raverty, Tabqat-i-Nasiri, I, p. 70.

into a compact body, and with their help conquered Lamghan and Sistan, and extended the sphere of his influence. The Turkish attacks upon the Samānid power at Bokhara gave him the long-desired opportunity of establishing his own influence, and after years of continued fighting he succeeded in securing the province of Khorasan for his son Mahmud in 994 A.D.

His Indian raids.

Having secured his position in the Afghan hills, Subuktagin, like an orthodox Muslim, eager to acquire religious merit, turned to the conquest of India, a country of idolators and infidels. The first Indian ruler likely to check his advance was Jayapala, the Raja of Bhatinda, whose kingdom extended from Sarhind to Lamghan and from Kashmir to Multan.[1]

In 986-7 Subuktagin made his first raid into Indian territory and inflicted great misery upon the people. He conquered forts and captured cities "which had up to that time been tenanted only by infidels, and not trodden by the camels and horses of Musalmans." Jayapala was filled with grief when he heard of the heavy losses and cruel sufferings of his subjects and resolved to wreak vengeance upon the Muslims. He collected his forces, passed Lamghan and marched into the Amir's territory, for in the words of the official chronicler "Satan had laid an egg in Jayapala's brain and hatched it ; so that he waxed proud, entertaining absurd thoughts and anticipating an immediate accomplishment of his wishes, impracticable as they were."[2]

The Amir's forces marched from their northern homes, and encamped on the border of the Lamghan territory where Jayapala had also collected a large army. When Jayapala saw the heavy odds arrayed against him, he was frightened beyond measure, for his own troops were no match for the hardy and intrepid Turks, who thirsted for conquest as well as plunder. He sued for peace, and offered to pay tribute in

[1] Briggs, I, p. 15.

[2] Utbi, Elliot, II, p. 19.

was acknowledged, and he appointed one of his officers with ten thousand horse to the government of Peshawar. India was not conquered, but the Muslims discovered the way which led into her fertile plains. Exhausted by the stress of perpetual war and conquest, Subuktagin at last breathed his last in the month of Shaban, 387 A.H. (August, 997 A.D.) leaving a large and well-established kingdom for his son and successor, Mahmud. He was a brave and virtuous king who ruled his subjects with prudence, equity, and moderation for 20 years.

Mahmud's early ambitions.

After the death of Subuktagin, the sceptre of Ghazni passed into the hands of his son Mahmud, whom his father had always looked upon as a man of promise. It is related that a little before his birth, Subuktagin saw in a dream that a tree sprang up from the fire-place in the midst of his house, and grew so high that it covered the whole world with its shadow. Just at that moment he received the tidings of the birth of a son. The dream turned out to be a reality, and Mahmud attained to the position of one of the mightiest rulers of Asia, famed in far-off lands for his riches, valour, and justice. Brave and warlike, he shared in full his father's audacity and ambition; and to the qualities of a born soldier, he added boundless religious fanaticism, which ranked him among the great leaders of the Muslim Church. The cultured Arabs and Persians had nothing of the ferocity of temper and iconoclastic zeal, which was a predominant characteristic of the Turks, who were utterly devoid of those higher qualities which make up the dignity of man. The toleration of the Arabs—though it was not much—was foreign to these nomad tribes, whose passions could be easily worked up to fever heat by a capable and fanatical leader, who held out before them the prospect of plunder and proselytism. Mahmud was a fierce and fanatical Muslim with an insatiable thirst for wealth and power. Early in life he formed the grim resolve of spreading the faith of the Prophet at the point of the sword carrying destruction into

heathen lands. His investiture by the Khalifa Al Qādir bi-llah further sharpened his zeal, and he openly began to profess himself as a champion of Islam and a declared enemy of idolatry and unbelief. To such a greedy iconoclast, India with her myriad faiths and fabulous wealth presented a favourable field for the exercise of his religious and political ambitions. Again and again he ravaged her plains and advanced far into the interior, bringing back with him vast booty obtained from the plunder of the numerous temples of Hindustan. Every expedition against the Hindus amounted to a *jihād*, and Mahmud was always backed up by the irresistible vigour and unquenchable ardour of the Turkish hordes who followed him into Hindustan.

A revolution in kingship.

Soon after his accession Mahmud secured the recognition of his titles and dignities from the Samānid emperor Nuh, who confirmed him in the government of Balkh, Heart, Bost and Sarmadh. The Samānid power was fast declining and the imperial crown was tossed to and fro like a shuttlecock between the contending factions. When one of these factions put out the eyes of Mansūr, the young and handsome Samānid emperor, Mahmud was moved with indignation and advanced against those self-seeking officers who had committed the atrocious crime. He refused to pay homage to the puppet king whom they had placed upon the throne and declared himself independent ruler of Khorasan and Ghazni. The Khalifa sent him the diploma of investiture and conferred upon him the titles of *Yamin-ud-dowlah* (the right hand of the Empire) and *Amin-ul-Millat* (custodian of the faith). He abandoned the title of Amir and called himself Sultan—an appellation which literally signifies 'power' or 'authority.' Mahmud was the first Muslim sovereign to assume the title of Sultan and Professor Browne observes that it appears from Utbi's history that he styled himself like the Ottoman Sultans, "the shadow of God upon His Earth." Mahmud recognised no political sovereign and though he bowed to the Khalifa's authority as the spiritual

head of the Muslim world, he was to all intents and purposes an independent ruler.

Having settled the affairs of his kingdom, Mahmud turned his attention towards Hindustan. This country, with its vast wealth and ubiquitous idolatry, spurred his ambitions, and he led as many as seventeen invasions against her during the years 1000—1026 A.D.[1] The first expedition was directed against the frontier towns in 1000 A.D., which resulted in the capture of several fortresses and districts. Mahmud entrusted the conquered places to his own governor and having seized immense booty returned to Ghazni.

His expeditions.

But his ambitious and ardent nature allowed him no rest, and in the month of Shawwal, 391 A.H. (1000 A.D.), he again set out from Ghazni at the head of ten thousand picked horsemen for the purpose "of exalting the standard of religion, of widening the plain of right, of illuminating the words of truth, and of strengthening the power of justice." Jayapala, his father's inveterate enemy, mustered all his available forces, which consisted of twelve thousand horsemen, thirty thousand foot, and three hundred elephants. On the 8th Muharram, 392 A.H. (November 28, 1001 A.D.), a severe action was fought at Peshawar, in which the Musalmans defeated the Hindus, "killing 15,000 of them, spreading them like a carpet over the ground, and making them food for beasts and birds of prey." Jayapala, with 15 of his kinsmen and a host of other dependants, was captured, and an immense booty in the shape of pearls, jewels, and rubies fell into the hands of the conqueror.[2] A

Against Jayapala, the Raja of Bhatinda.

[1] Sir Henry Elliot enumerates seventeen expeditions which may be accepted. Several historians give their number as twelve which seems to be incorrect. (Vol. II, Appendix, Note D, pp. 434—78.)

[2] The Muhammadan historian Utbi, the author of *Tarikh-i-Yamini*, states that the booty which came into the hands of Mahmud was worth 600 thousand *dinars*. In addition to this, the conqueror obtained 500 thousand slaves, men and women. (Elliot, II, p. 26.)

There is no doubt that this is an exaggerated account.

Firishta writes that only one necklace belonging to Jayapala was worth 180,000 *dinars*. (Briggs, I, p. 38.)

treaty was made, by which he agreed to give fifty elephants, and his son and grandson as hostages as a security for fulfilling the conditions of peace. But Jayapala never forgot the disgrace that had been inflicted upon him, and like a brave man he preferred death to dishonour. He caused a funeral pyre to be erected, and after the manner of his race perished in the flames in order to save himself from humiliation.[1]

Against Bhīrā and other towns.

The third expedition was aimed against the city of Bhīrā[2] (1004-05 A.D.) on the left bank of the Jhelum, below the Salt range, which was soon annexed to the kingdom of Ghazni. This was followed by the invasion of Multan. The ruler of Multan was Abdul Fatah Daud who belonged to the sect of Karmatian heretics.[3] Mahmud started from Ghazni, but as the route was difficult

[1] Firishta writes that a custom prevailed among the Hindus that when a Raja was overpowered twice by strangers, he became disqualified to reign. (Briggs, I, p. 38.) Utbi also refers to this custom though with a slight variation. (Elliot, II, p. 27.)

[2] Firishta writes Bhatea. Elphinstone wrongly describes it as a dependency of Lahore at the southern side of Multan. The *Khulasat-ut-tawarikh* has Bhīrai. See Elliot, II, Appendix, pp. 439-40. It is on the left bank of the Jhelum below Pindadādankhān. It is often mentioned by Babar. General A. Cunningham remarks that until it was supplanted by Pindadādankhān, Bhīrā was the principal town in that part of the country. (Elliot, II, p. 392. Cunningham, Anc. Geog. India, p. 155.)

[3] The Karmatians derive their name from Hamdān Qarmat. They did not conform to orthodox Islam. Gradually the sphere of their influence widened, and in January, 930 A.D., they performed their greatest exploit when they invaded Mecca, and carried off the Black Stone and other sacred relics. They had a contempt for the ritual of Islam and deprecated the worship of shrines and visits to holy places and had no objection to taking forbidden meat. (Browne, Literary History of Persia, pp. 401, 403, 404.)

Broadly speaking the name Karmatian means the great movement for social reform and justice based on equality, which swept through the Muslim world from the ninth to the twelfth centuries of the Christian era. The movement was controlled by the Ismaili dynasty, who founded the Fatmid anti-caliphate in 297/910.

It was based on reason, tolerance and equality, with a system of graduated initiation and the ritual of a gild which—encouraging the rise of the trade gild movement and universities—seems to have reached the West and to have influenced the formation of European gilds and freemasonry. (Encyclopædia of Islam, No. 29, p. 767 ; Elliot, II, pp. 571—75.)

and troublesome he requested Anandapala, the king of the Punjab, to allow him to pass through his territory. Anandapala, who was an ally of the chief of Multan, refused permission and Mahmud directed his wrath against him. The Raja offered resistance, but he was overpowered and Utbi writes that the Sultan pursued the Rāi over hill and dale, over the soft and hard ground of his territory, and his followers either became a feast to the rapacious wild beasts of the passes and plains or fled in distraction to the neighbourhood of Kashmir. Mahmud advanced upon Multan, captured it by assault and "levied upon the people twenty thousand *dirhams* with which to respite their sins."[1]

Just at this time Mahmud was disconcerted by the news that the king of Kashgar had invaded his territory. Forthwith he entrusted his Indian possessions to Sewakapala,[2] a Hindu convert, and returned to Ghazni. But as soon as Mahmud turned his back, Sewakapala abjured Islam and withheld allegiance to Ghazni. This drew down upon him the wrath of the conqueror who marched against him and defeated him. He was deprived of his liberty and was compelled to pay 400 thousand *dirhams* as a penalty for his disloyalty and bad faith.

The sixth expedition (1008-09 A.D.) was aimed against the Raja of Lahore for having assisted Daud of Multan in his treasonable designs. Anandapala like the gallant Rana Sanga who contested the sovereignty of Hindustan with Babar on the plain of Kanua in

Against Anandapala.

[1] This is Utbi's account. Firishta says, an annual tribute of twenty thousand gold *dinārs* was levied upon him. (Briggs, I, p. 41.)

[2] The *Tabqat-i-Akbari* writes him as Sukhapala, the grandson of the Raja of Hind. Firishta has various readings. Utbi calls him Nawāsā Shah and his opinion we cannot summarily reject. Shah might have been a title conferred upon him by Mahmud as a mark of favour. He was probably the grandson of Jayapala by a daughter, and this is the meannig of Nawāsā because Utbi in his account of the Kanauj expedition makes Bhimapala, the great-grandson of Jayapala, complain that his uncle had been forcibly converted to Islam. Sir Henry Elliot is of opinion that he was probably given as a hostage to Mahmud, and it was during his stay at Ghazni that he was converted.

See Elliot, II, Appendix, p. 444.

1527, organised a confederacy of the Rajas of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kalinjar, Kanauj, Delhi and Ajmer, and marched at the head of an invincible host to give battle to the foreigner. This is Firishta's account and does not represent a correct state of affairs. There is epigraphic evidence to prove that Anandapala invited his fellow-princes to join the confederacy, but it seems improbable that the states which Firishta mentions did actually take part in the campaign. Delhi and Ajmer were not yet powerful enough to lend support to the coalition formed by Anandapala. Whoever the actual participants in this war may have been, there is no doubt that Anandapala collected a large army to defend his country and his liberty against the Turks. The Hindus rapidly increased in numbers, and so great was the enthusiasm that wealthy Hindu ladies sold their jewellery and melted down their golden ornaments to furnish succour to their husbands, while the poor exhibited a remarkable spirit of sacrifice by contributing what little they had earned by manual labour. The Khokhars[1] also threw in their lot with the Hindus.

Mahmud was deeply impressed by the earnestness of the Hindus. His six thousand archers at once began the attack, but they were repulsed by the 30,000 Khokhars who, bareheaded and barefooted, with their daggers and spears in their hands, rushed fearlessly into the thick of the fight and slew and smote three or four thousand Muslims. Mahmud dismayed by this furious charge, withdrew and wished to stop the fight, but all of a sudden, the elephant, on which Anandapala was seated, took fright and fled from the field of battle. This was taken as a signal for flight, and the panic-stricken Hindus dispersed pell-mell in utter confusion in all directions. Abdulla Tai and Arslan Jazib, the generals of the Sultan, pursued the

[1] The Khokhars are a totally distinct tribe from the Ghakkars. The Khokhars are to be found in the Multan district and districts further to the north-west, towards the Indus, in the Sindsagar Doab.

The Ghakkars are still further northwards. Firishta always confounds the Khokhars with the Ghakkars.

enemy for two days and nights. Their chase resulted in the capture of many Hindus, who were all put to death. An enormous booty, including a large number of elephants, fell into the hands of the victors.

The conquest of Nagarkot (1008-9 A.D.).

Flushed with success, Mahmud marched against the fort of Kangra, also known as Nagarkot or Bhimanagar.[1] The fortress stood on the top of a hill, where the Hindus had deposited untold treasures, all dedicated to their idols. The Muslims besieged the fortress and when the Hindus saw the enemy coming like a swarm of locusts, they opened the gate out of fear and 'fell on the earth, like sparrows before a hawk, or rain before lightning.' The defenders outside found their task a hopeless one, while those who were inside were mostly priests averse to bloodshed and war. Mahmud easily became master of the fortress, and seized immense booty, an estimate of which can be formed from the somewhat exaggerated account of it given by Utbi. He writes: "The treasures were laden on the backs of as many camels as they could procure, and the officers carried away the rest. The stamped coin amounted to seventy thousand royal *dirhams,* and the gold and silver ingots amounted to seven hundred thousand four hundred *mans* in weight, besides wearing apparel and fine cloths of Sus, respecting which old men said they never remembered to have seen any so fine, soft, and embroidered. Among the booty was a house of white silver, like to the houses of rich men, the length of which was thirty yards and the breadth fifteen. It could be taken to pieces and put together again. And there

[1] The *Habib-us-Siyar* and the *Tabqat-i-Akbari* say that this expedition was undertaken in 400 A.H. (1009 A.D.). The *Tarikh-i-Yamini*, which is certainly a better authority, says that in pursuit of the enemy, Mahmud went as far as the fort called Bhimanagar. This shows that the campaign must have been continuous.

Nagarkot or Kangra is situated in the Kangra district in the Punjab. From very ancient times it has been a stronghold of Katoch Rajas. The temple plundered by Mahmud was probably situated within the fort and was not the temple of Devi in Bhawan, as has been supposed. (Imp. Gaz., XIV, p. 397.)

was a canopy, made of the fine linen of Rum, forty yards long and twenty broad, supported on two golden and two silver poles which had been cast in moulds."[1]

Firishta writes that Mahmud carried off an enormous booty including 700,000 gold *dinars*, 700 *mans* of gold and silver plates, 200 *mans* of pure gold in ingots, 2,000 *mans* of unwrought silver and 20 *mans* of jewels, pearls, diamonds, rubies and other precious stones. It is difficult to accept the actual figures furnished by Utbi and Firishta, but there is no doubt that Mahmud acquired immense wealth by plunder during this expedition.

The Sultan returned in triumph to Ghazni, where he displayed the " jewels and unbored pearls and rubies, shining like sparks, or like wine, congealed with ice, and emeralds like fresh springs of myrtle, and diamonds in size and weight like pomegranates." Envoys from foreign countries, his own nobles, and subjects gathered at Ghazni to behold the wealth, which far exceeded the treasures of the mightiest kings of the world.

Causes of his rapid success.

The acquisition of vast treasures whetted the rapacity of these adventurers, and they repeated their raids with astonishing frequency. The dissensions of the Rajput chiefs made their task easy, and though numerically the Hindus were superior to their invaders, their inability to make common cause against their enemies frustrated their designs and rendered all resistance ineffectual. There was no feeling of national patriotism, not even an approach to it. Each prince had to fight for his own safety, and whenever a confederacy was organised, its members often fell out among themselves and disregarded all rules of discipline. The pride of the clan or the tribe interfered with the discipline of the coalition, and this lack of obedience, so essential to the success of a military campaign, paralysed the plans of leaders. The need of defending their hearths and

[1] Utbi, Tarikh-i-Yamīnī, Elliot, II, p. 35.

homes drew them together, but self-interest predominated over the interests of Hindustan. The Muslims, eager to obtain wealth and destroy idolatry never experienced dearth of recruits on account of the religious passions which they could excite. After the conquest of Ghor, Mahmud marched towards Multan in 1010 A.D. to punish the rebellious chief Daud whom he defeated and imprisoned in the fort of Gurak. Three years later, he proceeded against Bhimapala of Nardin or Nandanath,[1] whom Utbi calls "Nidar Bhima," captured his fortress and seized vast booty. The Raja fled to the mountain valleys of Kashmir, whither he was pursued by the Muslims. Mahmud appointed his own governor, and after plundering Kashmir and compelling a great many people to embrace Islam he returned to Ghazni.

Against Thanesar.

But far more important than these raids was his expedition against Thanesar in the year 1014 A.D. The object of the expedition is thus described by Utbi: "The Sultan learnt that in the country of Thanesar there were large elephants of the Sailamān (Ceylon) breed, celebrated for military purposes. The chief

[1] Firishta places this expedition after the expedition to Thanesar. According to him the reigning chief was the grandson of Jayapala. He makes no attempt to identify Nindunah. He simply says the fortress of Nindunah was situated on the mountains of Bālnat. Bālnat is a mountain overhanging the Jhelum. The *Tarikh-i-Yamīnī*, which is more reliable, places this expedition after the Bālnat expedition. Nizamuddin Ahmad says (Biblioth. Ind., p. 8) :—" In the year 404 A.H., the Sultan marched against the fort of Nandanah which is situated among the Bālnat Hills. Naro Jayapala left tried warriors for the protection of the fort and went himself into the valley of Kashmir. The Sultan, on arrival, surrounded the fort and began to run mines and to take all other measures necessary for its capture. The people in the fort surrendered it on receiving assurances of safety."

Mr. De in a footnote to his translation of the *Tabqat* says, Naro Jayapala is probably Trilochanapala, the grandson of Jayapala. Sir Henry Elliot calls him Bhimapala. Utbi in his *Tarikh-i-Yamīnī* gives an account of this expedition. It is difficult to fix the site of Nandanah or Nindunah. There is a great divergence of views with regard to its location among scholars.

It is probably the same place as is mentioned in Wassāf as a noted town in the Jūd Hills.

of Thanesar was on this account obstinate in his infidelity and denial of God. So the Sultan marched against him with his valiant warriors, for the purpose of planting the standards of Islam and extirpating idolatry." On the banks of the river which flowed below the town, the Hindus fought desperately against the invaders, but they were defeated, and so terrible was the carnage that the water of the stream became red with the blood of the slain. The fort of Thanesar was captured and the city and its temples were plundered.[1]

These splendid victories spread Mahmud's fame all over the Muslim world, and the Ghazi of the faith found no difficulty in attracting to his banner zealous recruits from Transoxiana, Khorasan, and Turkistan. Ardent spirits offered themselves as volunteers to fight in the crusades against infidelity, and the armies of Mahmud soon swelled to enormous dimensions. With large forces at his beck and call, he now determined to invade Kanauj, renowned in the East as the imperial capital of Hindustan. In 1018 he started from Ghazni, crossed all the rivers of the Punjab, and after traversing impervious forests crossed the Jamna on the 2nd December, 1018 A.D. He captured all the forts that blocked his way. When he reached Baran (modern

The Conquest of Kanauj.

[1] The river mentioned is probably Saraswati which flows near Thanesar.

Firishta's account (Briggs, I, pp. 50—53) of this expedition is inaccurate both in date and details. He places it in the year 1011 A.D. and writes that Anandapala on being informed of Mahmud's projected invasion of Thanesar addressed to him a letter of remonstrance to which he replied that the duty of the Muslims was to engage in *jihad* against the idolators. The Raja of Delhi, on receipt of this threatening message, appealed to his brother-princes to check Mahmud's advance against Thanesar. But Mahmud forestalled the Hindus and captured the place. Then he wished to proceed against Delhi but he was dissuaded from doing so by his nobles. All this is apocryphal, for Anandapala could not possibly be living at this time. Delhi was at this time an obscure town.

Al Biruni makes no mention of it and Utbi says nothing about it. For Mahmud's Indian plans and campaigns Al Biruni and Utbi are certainly better authorities than Firishta. See Carr Stephen's Archæology of Delhi, pp. 10-11.

Bulandshahr),[1] the local Raja, Hara Datta, tendered his submission and with ten thousand men embraced Islam. A copper-plate belonging to this line of kings has been discovered here which makes mention of Hara Datta's submission to Mahmud. The Sultan then marched against Kulchand, the chief of Mahawan[2] on the Jamna. The Hindus put forth a gallant fight, but they were defeated and nearly 50 thousand men were killed and drowned in the river. In a fit of despair, Kulchand slew his wife with a dagger, and then thrust it into his own body to escape humiliation. A vast booty including 185 elephants fell into the hands of the Sultan, who after this victory proceeded against Mathurā, the sacred city of the Hindus. Utbi describes Mathurā as a city full of temples, solidly built, and of exquisite design, but neither massiveness nor exquisiteness availed to save them from Muslim inconoclasm. They were razed to the ground by the orders of the conqueror who captured immense booty. From the following description of Mathurā recorded by Utbi the reader will form an idea of the grandeur of that ancient city in those times.

"In that place, in the city, there was a place of worship of the Indian people ; and when he came to that place he saw a city, of wonderful fabric and conception, so that one might say this is a building of paradise, but its accidents or qualities could only come by the aid of the infernals and an intelligent man would hardly receive favourably the account of it. They had brought immense stones, and had laid a level foundation

[1] Nizamuddin and Firishta both have reversed the order of this march. Firishta says, the Sultan first went to Kanauj and from there to Meerut, then to Mahawan and then to Mathurā and then against Chand Rāi. This order is wrong. The *Tarikh-i-Yamīnī*, the *Rauzat-us-Safa* and the *Habib-us-Siyar* give the correct order which has been followed in this work.

Firishta is wrong in calling Hara Datta Raja of Meerut. (Briggs, I, p. 57.)

Stanley Lane-Poole (Mediæval India, pp. 24-25) has indistinctly followed the order of this march. He states in a summary fashion that Mahmud crossed the Jamna, plundered Mathurā and reached Kanauj.

[2] Mahawan is now the headquarters of a tahsil in the Muttra district.

upon high stairs (or steps). Around it and at its sides they had placed one thousand castles, built of stone, which they had made idol temples, and had (cemented) fastened them well. And in the midst of the city they had built a temple higher than all, to delineate the beauty and decoration of which the pens of all writers and the pencils of all painters would be powerless, and would not be able to attain to the power of fixing their minds upon it and considering it. In the memoir which the Sultan wrote of this journey he thus declares, that if any one should undertake to build a fabric like that, he would expend thereon one hundred thousand packets of a thousand *dinars*, and would not complete it in two hundred years, with the assistance of the most ingenious masters (architects). And amongst the mass of idols there were five idols made of pure gold, of the height of five cubits in the air ; and of this collection of idols there were (especially) two, on one of which a jacinth was arranged, such a one that if the Sultan had seen it exposed in the *bazar*, he would have considered an underpriced at fifty thousand *dinars*, and would have bought it with great eagerness. And upon the other idol there was a sapphire (hyacinth) of one solid piece, of azure water, of the value of four hundred weights of fine *miskāls* (five weights of a dram and a half) each, and from the two feet of an idol they obtained the weight of 400,000 *miskāls* of gold. And the idols of silver were a hundred times more, so that it occupied those who estimated their standard weight a long time in weighing them. They devastated (all that city) and passed therefrom towards Kanauj. . . . ."[1]

Mahmud, then, proceeded towards Kanauj and appeared before its gates in January, 1019 A.D. According to the Muslim chronicler, Kanauj contained seven forts and ten thousand temples, which had existed, so the belief ran, from times immemorial. Rajyapala, the Parihār Raja of Kanauj, submitted without offering any resistance. The Sultan captured

[1] Kitāb-i-Yaminī, translated by Rev. Reynolds, pp. 455-56.

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the seven forts in a single day and sacked the whole town. Utbi writes that there were in Kanauj nearly ten thousand temples in which the idolators performed their worships. They were destroyed ; the inhabitants were slain and their wealth was seized. Passing through the country of Bundelkhand, Mahmud returned to Ghazni.

The defeat of the Chandela Prince.

This abject surrender of the Parihār chieftain gave umbrage to his fellow-Rajput princes, who regarded it as highly derogatory to their honour. Ganda, the Chandela Raja of Kalinjar, was the first to give expression to his disapproval of this pusillanimous conduct.[1] His son Vidyadhara, with the help of the prince of

[1] Tabqat-i-Akbari (Biblioth. Ind.), p. 12.

Briggs, I, p. 63.

Utbi does not mention the name of the Raja, but he says (Elliot, II, p. 47) that the Chandela Raja was always engaged in a career of victory, and at one time he fought against the Raja of Kanauj, who was in the end compelled to retreat. For an account of the war between Ganda and Mahmud we have to rely upon later historians, for Utbi's narrative abruptly breaks off here.

There is serious disagreement among historians regarding this expedition. Dr. Vincent Smith takes the view stated above. But some Indian scholars have severely criticised Nizamuddin's version on the ground that he is a later writer. To assert anything dogmatically on this ground would be absurd, for Nizamuddin's sources were sometimes excellent. Utbi, who is a contemporary writer, is very brief and does not give us much help. Dr. Majumdar's account of Rajyapala materially differs from that usually accepted. He says there is no mention of Rajyapala being killed by the Indian chiefs for his pusillanimity in Al-Utbi's account. Dr. Majumdar thinks that according to Dubkund inscription Rajyapala was killed by the Kachchhapaghata chief Arjuna, an ally or feudatory of the Chandela chief Vidyadhara, son of Ganda. He doubts the story related by Nizamuddin Ahmad and expresses the opinion that the Chandela chief had no justification in finding fault with Rajyapala when he had himself fled before Mahmud's army both before and after this event. Mr. C. Vaidya has expressed a similar view in his 'History of Mediæval India' (Vol. III, pp. 81—86). He writes: "The course of events was this. In the 12th expedition against Kanauj (1019) Rajyapala did not submit but fled to Bāri. In the 13th expedition Mahmud led an army against Rajyapala and Bāri and conquering him in the battle of the Rahib accepted his submission on condition of payment of tribute. In May, Rajyapala was attacked and killed by Nanda (Ganda) assisted by Gwalior which Mahmud learnt at Lahore in 1022 March and he led an expedition in 1022 December against Gwalior and Kalinjar and exacted submission from both in January, 1023. In this view Ganda does not appear to be craven-hearted as he is made to appear." Mr. Vaidya's patriotic assumption is not supported by evidence.

Gwalior, attacked Rajyapala and slew him in battle. When Mahmud received intelligence of the murder of his vassal, his anger knew no bounds, and he resolved to chastise the Chandela prince. He left Ghazni in the autumn of 1019 A.D. and crossed the Jamna, where, to his utter astonishment, he found the Parihār chieftain Trilochanapala encamped to assist Ganda, the leader of the confederacy against Rajyapala. The Sultan advanced into the Chandela country in the teeth of opposition, and found Ganda ready for battle with a large army, which, according to Firishta, consisted of 36,000 horse, 45,000 foot and 640 elephants, and according to Nizamuddin Ahmad, of 36,000 horse, 145,000 foot and 390 elephants.[1] When Mahmud saw the huge army, he regretted his hasty decision, and characteristically like a zealot of the faith, knelt down upon a mound and prayed to God to grant victory to the banner of Islam. But luckily for him, during the night, Ganda became hopeless of success, and fled from the field of battle at night, leaving his entire baggage and other materials of war.[2] The Chandela camp was plundered by the soldiery of Mahmud, and a large booty was captured, which included 580 elephants. In 1021-22 A.D. Mahmud again returned to India. He laid siege to Gwalior and having compelled the submission of its chief proceeded towards Kalinjar, the famous fortress of the Chandela Raja Ganda. Ganda fully understood the strength of his

Dr. Majumdar rejects Nizamuddin's version, because it is not supported by Utbi who is not a detailed chronicler. He does not himself adduce any evidence to prove conclusively the correctness of his view.

See Dr. Majumdar's article on 'The Gurjara Pratihārs' in the Journal of the Department of Letters, volume X (1923, pp. 1—76), published by the Calcutta University.

[1] Briggs, I, p. 64.

Tabqat, Biblioth. Ind., p. 12.

[2] Mr. Vaidya (History of Mediæval India, volume III, p. 86) doubts Ganda's running away at night when he had such a large army at his command. Utbi, whose authority Mr. Vaidya recognises, says that Chand Rai (Ganda) departed secretly with his property, elephants and treasure to the hill country which was exceedingly lofty and concealed himself in impervious forests. (Elliot, II, pp. 48-49.)

enemy. He elected to conclude a peace with the Sultan.[1] Having accepted immense riches and jewels, the victorious Sultan returned to Ghazni.

Expedition against Somnath.

But the most important expedition was directed against Somnath in the year 416 A.H. (1025 A.D.). Having heard of the fabulous wealth which this temple was supposed to contain, Mahmud resolved to proceed against it. He left Ghazni with 30,000 horse and volunteers and marching through difficult country by way of Multan reached the town of Ajmer, which was thoroughly sacked, and the whole country was laid waste.[2] From Ajmer the Sultan marched towards Nehrwala, which he captured without much opposition from the chief of the place, Raja Bhima, and in a few days stood before the gates of Somnath. Al-Qazwini[3] who borrowed his account from the *Kāmil-ut-tawārīkh* of Ibn Asīr, describes the temple in these words: "Among the wonders of that place was the temple in which was placed the idol called Somnath. This idol was in the middle of the temple without anything to support it from below, or to suspend it from above. It was held in the highest honour among the Hindus, and whoever beheld it floating in the air was struck with amazement, whether he was a Musalman or an infidel. The Hindus used to go on pilgrimage to it, whenever there was an eclipse of the moon, and would then assemble there to the number of more than a hundred thousand. They believed that the souls of men used to meet there after separation from the body, and that the idol used to incorporate them at its pleasure in other bodies, in

[1] Firishta and Nizamuddin both say that in order to please Mahmud by means of flattery, Ganda sent some panegyrical verses in Hindi, which were very much liked by him. In return, Mahmud conferred upon him the government of 15 forts. (Briggs, I, p. 67. Tabqāt, p. 14.)

[2] It is not clear on whose authority Mr. H. B. Sarda says that Mahmud was wounded, and raising the seige he retired to Anhilwad in 1024 A.D.

[3] Asar-ul-Bilaud, Elliot, I, pp. 97-98. Also Elliot, II, pp. 468-69.

For further descriptions of the temple see Elliot, II, pp. 471, 472, 476.

accordance with the doctrine of transmigration. The ebb and flow of the tide was considered to be the worship paid to the idol by the sea. Everything of the most precious was brought there as offering, and the temple was endowed with more than 10,000 villages. There is a river (the Ganges) which is called sacred, between which and Somnath the distance is 200 *parasangas*. They used to bring water of this river to Somnath every day, and wash the temple with it. A thousand Brahmans were employed in worshipping the idol and attending on the visitors, and 500 damsels sung and danced at the door—all these were maintained upon the endowments of the temple. The edifice was built upon fifty-six pillars of teak, covered with lead. The shrine of the idol was dark, but was lighted by jewelled chandeliers of great value. Near it was a chain of gold weighing 200 maunds. When a portion of the night closed, this chain used to be shaken like bells to rouse a fresh lot of Brahmans to perform worship."[1]

Mahmud invested the fortress, which stood on the sea-shore and was washed by the waves. The Rajput princes, from far and wide, gathered to save their cherished idol. The garrison scoffed at the besiegers in the fond hope that their deity would completely annihilate the invaders. The Muslims began the attack with the usual battle cry of *Allah-u-Akbar* and scaled the walls of the fortress. The Hindus repelled the assault with such stubborn courage that the assailants had to recede from the position they had occupied. Next morning, the besiegers tried to scale the walls again, but they were hurled down with irresistible force by the defenders who had now resolved to fight to the last man. Meanwhile reinforcements came under Bhima Deva, king of Gujarat, which inspired

[1] Somnath Patan or the town of Somnath is situated on the west coast of Kathiawad and is at present included in the Junagarh territory. The old temple is in ruins and a new temple has been built by Ahalyābāī near the site of the old but the grandeur of the temple is still indicated by its ruins. The temple destroyed by Mahmud was probably built by Bhoja Parmār of Malwa as is evidenced by an inscription.

the Hindus with fresh courage.[1] Seeing these heavy odds arrayed against him, Mahmud was filled with dismay. He jumped down from his horse and again addressed a fervent appeal to the Most High for assistance. This dramatic display of his devotion to the cause touched the hearts of the ignorant zealots of Islam who followed in his wake, and with one voice they declared their resolve to fight and die for him. The battle raged loud and fierce and a scene of terrible carnage followed, and about 5,000 Hindus lost their lives. Mahmud then entered the temple which was a superb structure, whose lofty roof was supported by 56 pillars, all beautifully worked and studded with precious stones. Approaching the idol, he ordered two fragments to be broken off which were sent to Ghazni, where they were thrown down at the threshold of the great mosque to give satisfaction to the true believers. It is related that when Mahmud was thus breaking the idol, the Brahmans offered him immense wealth, only if he spared what remained of their god, but the champion of Islam replied with brutal indifference that he did not want his name to go down to posterity as Mahmud the idol-seller, instead of Mahmud the breaker of idols. All appeals for pity, all offers of wealth by the pious votaries of a faith that gave solace to millions of people all over India, were made in vain to this relentless fanatic, whose next blow smashed the sacred *lingam* into pieces. The Muslim soldiery rifled the treasures of the temple and Mahmud easily acquired possession of a large heap of diamonds, rubies and pearls of incalculable value. Firishta conveys the impression that the idol was hollow inside, and as soon as Mahmud struck it with his club, jewels and precious stones came out. This statement is open to doubt for Al Biruni, who knows better than Firishta, writes that the *lingam* was made of solid stone, the upper part of which was broken by the Sultan and the lower part was sent to Ghazni. Forbes in his *Rāsmālā* makes no mention of the hollowness of the idol and simply says that it was broken into

[1] The Muslim chroniclers write Bhima as Dābshilīm,

pieces and the 'work of spoliation continued and was rewarded by the discovery, in the vaults below the adytum, of untold treasure.'[1]

Thus did Mahmud satisfy to the utmost the Muslim sentiment of glory, and in the eyes of his followers, he figured as a devoted champion of the faith. They followed him without a murmur wherever he led them. The Raja of Nehrwala was attacked next for taking part in the defence of Somnath.[2] He fled and the country was easily conquered. This was followed by the subjugation of the Bhatti Rajputs. Mahmud during his return journey was much troubled by Bhima Deva, and the troops suffered considerably in the Ran of Kutch, owing to the possible junction of Bhima Deva and the Chohān prince of Ajmer. He adopted a more westerly route and proceeded to Ghazni by way of Sindh.

Against the Jats.

The last expedition was undertaken in 417 A.H. (1026 A.D.) against the Jats of the Salt range. After the break up of the kingdom of Lahore the Jats had grown very powerful, and begun to make devastating raids into the neighbouring districts. They had molested Mahmud's army on its return journey from Somnath, and it was to punish them for their audacious act that he undertook this expedition. Nizamuddin and Firishta both agree that the Sultan ordered 1,400 boats to be built, each of which was furnished with arms and guarded by 20 archers with bows and arrows, grenades and naphtha. The Jats also had a flotilla of eight thousand boats to meet the Turks, but they were defeated and many of them were put to the sword.[3]

[1] Forbes, Rāsmālā, Vol. I, p. 77.

[2] The author of the *Habib-us-Siyar* (Elliot, IV, pp. 184-85) writes that the Sultan entrusted Somnath to Dābshilīm or Devashīlam, a Hindu prince who agreed to pay tribute. See Khondāmīr's account of the siege of Somnath in the same work. (Elliot, IV, pp. 180—83.)

[3] Briggs, I, pp. 81-82.

Tabqat-i-Akbari (Biblioth. Ind., pp. 16-17).

This account is not supported by any other historian. As Sir Henry Elliot says (II, Appendix, p. 477), its chief improbability consists

Mahmud was a great king. It was no mean achievement to develop a small mountain principality into a large and prosperous kingdom by sheer force of arms. It is true, circumstances favoured his rise, and the peculiar condition of the neighbouring powers in the north, which had lost their capacity to hold down aspiring chieftains, afforded ample scope for the exercise of his political and military genius. The fall of the Samanids, the ever-present mutual bickerings and dissensions of the Hindu princes, their notorious inability to combine against a common enemy, the waning power of Persia, and the extraordinary zeal of the Turks—callow converts to Islam—all these were factors which contributed to his success, and made every expedition a triumph for him and the faith which he espoused. It was impossible to occupy Hindustan permanently—indeed it was not the objective on which Mahmud had set his heart. Besides, the Turks still fondly looked back to their verdant fields and meadows in the Afghan hills and found the sultry climate of India unbearable. All that Mahmud wanted was to compel the custodians of temples and occupants of thrones to disgorge to him the vast wealth which they possessed, and when this was done, he returned to his native land unmindful of annexation or permanent conquest. But still the task was a formidable one. The difficulties presented by man and nature were almost insurmountable, but Mahmud was made of the stuff of which martyrs are made. He recked nothing of personal comfort, and his march through the sandy deserts of Rajputana to the temple of Somnath in far-off Gujarat, testifies to the boldness of conception, vigour of mind, and undaunted courage against heavy odds. His first expedition to India had revealed to him the weakness of the Hindu political system. The great Napoleon used to say, "In war all is mental," and Mahmud's

Achievement of Mahmud.

in Mahmud's being able to organise a fleet of 1,400 boats at Multan and its being opposed by 8,000 boats constructed by the predatory Jats. Again, it is doubtful why Mahmud, who was so strong on land, should choose to fight a naval engagement.

whole military career proves how consistently he acted according to the spirit that underlies this dictum.

The fear of a Central Asian invasion often haunted his mind, and the problem of safeguarding his northern frontier, which was always exposed to attack, gave him not a little trouble, but he maintained his position with success, and was ever ready to try conclusions with any one who challenged his authority, or encroached upon his domain. A born military leader, he never shrank from war ; rather he took delight in it, and was always sustained in his endeavours by the thought that he was doing it all for the glory of Islam. When the Turks invaded the province of Baward, Mahmud's generals, whom they had defeated over and over again, entreated him to captain the expedition himself. Forthwith he marched against them and inflicted a crushing defeat upon them in 1027 A.D. A few other conquests crowned the career of this extraordinary man, and at last he died on Rabi-us-Sāni 23, 421 A.H. (April, 1030 A.D.), at Ghazni at the age of sixty, leaving untold treasures and vast possessions behind.[1] At his death his kingdom extended from Bokhara and Samarqand to Gujarat and Kanauj in the Doab and included Afghanistan, Transoxiana, Khorasan, Tabaristan, Sistan, Kashmir and a large portion of North-Western India. But it did not last long. Within seven years of the conqueror's death his work was completely undone by the Sāljūq Turks who advanced towards the Afghan regions with irresistible force.

Estimate of Mahmud.

Although a great conqueror, Mahmud was no barbarian. Himself illiterate, he appreciated the works of art and freely extended his patronage to men of letters. He listened to the creations of poets and the conversations of divines with great interest, and drew around himself, by means of his lavish generosity, a galaxy of eminent poets and scholars. From all parts of Asia, learned men resorted to his court and sang the praises of the

[1] This is the date which his tomb at Ghazni bears.

conqueror, who even in the midst of an arduous campaign, snatched a brief interval to listen to a song or an enthralling quatrain. Among these men were some leading figures of the eastern world of letters, such as the versatile Al Biruni, the mathematician, philosopher, astronomer and Sanskrit scholar ; Utbi, the historian, Farābī, the philosopher, and Baihākī, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Subuktagin,* whom Stanley Lane-Poole aptly describes as the " oriental Pepys." It was an age of poetry, and some of the poets who lived at Mahmud's court were well-known all over Asia. The most celebrated among them were Uzāri, a native of Raye in Persia, who received from Mahmud 14,000 *dirhams* for writing a short panegyric ; Asadi Tūsi, a native of Khorasan, Unsuri, the greatest genius of the age, whom, as Firishta says, 400 poets and learned men, besides the students of the University of Ghazni, acknowledged as their master ; Asjadi and Farrukhi, a pupil of Unsuri, who obtained a pension from the Sultan. But the most famous of all these was Firdausi, the author of the world-famed *Shahnama,* whose great epic has placed Mahmud among the immortals of history. Firdausi had been promised 60 thousand *mishkāls* of gold for completing the *Shahnama,* but when the great work was finished, the poet received only 60 thousand silver *dirhams.*[1] At this he was so offended that he wrote, after the fashion of Voltaire, a satire upon the Sultan, thus justifying the ill-name given by Horace to all writers of verse as the irritable breed, and left Ghazni for good.[2] Mahmud at last made amends for his mistake ; he sent 60 thousand gold coins with a robe of state and an apology for his improper treatment, but when this belated present arrived, the poet's corpse was being carried in a bier to the grave.

[1] Firdausi was born at Tūs in Khorasan about 339 A.H. (950 A.D.) and died in 411 A.H. (1020 A. D.). Mahmud had promised him a handsome reward, but he was deprived of it through the intrigues of Ayāz, one of Mahmud's favourites who entertained ill-feelings towards the poet. (Elliot, IV, pp. 190—92.)

[2] This is Browne's rendering of Firdausi's satire in his " Literary History of Persia":

Mahmud was stern and implacable in administering justice and was always ready to protect the person and property of his subjects. An anecdote, illustrative of his desire to do justice, has come down to us, which relates that one day a petitioner complained to the Sultan that his nephew was showing improper attentions to his wife, and that he did not desist from visiting her in spite of his remonstrances. Mahmud bade the man come to him when the evil-minded person next paid a visit to his wife. The man obeyed the royal command, and when he appeared again to complain, the Sultan covered himself with a loose cloak and accompanied him to his house. He put out the candle, lest pity and affection should deter him from doing what he deemed his duty, and severed the offender's head from his body. The story of the old merchant woman who reprimanded Mahmud for conquering lands which he could not properly administer is too well known to need mention. There is no need to reiterate the charge of avarice brought against the Sultan. Among our Indian authorities Nizamuddin and Firishta both assert that when he was about to die, he ordered that all his wealth should be placed before his eyes.[1] The same authorities say that he grieved over his impending separation from them and sighed bitterly, but did not give the smallest thing to anybody.[2] The charge cannot

Long years this Shahnama I toiled to complete,
That the king might award me some recompense meet,
But naught save a heart writhing with grief and despair,
Did I get from those promises empty as air!
Had the sire of the king been some prince of renown,
My forehead had surely been graced by a crown!
Were his mother a lady of high pedigree,
In silver and gold had I stood to knee!
But, being by birth not a prince but a boor,
The praise of the noble he could not endure!

[1] Briggs, I, p. 84. Mirkhond, Rauzat-us-Safa, Elliot, IV, pp. 134-35. Tabqat-i-Akbari, Biblioth. Ind., p. 17.

[2] Professor Browne in his 'History of Persian Literature' (pp. 118-19) thus describes Mahmud's character :—

"As regards Mahmud's character, we naturally find in the verses of his court-poets (save such as were disappointed of their hopes like Firdausi) and in the works of state historians nothing but the most exaggerated

be refuted. Mahmud loved money passionately and for its sake he waged so many wars in distant and inhospitable lands. But it can be pleaded in extenuation that if he loved money, he also spent it lavishly. He promoted learning by establishing a university at Ghazni, a library, and a museum adorned with the trophies of war, which he brought from conquered lands. It was through his liberality that beautiful buildings arose at Ghazni, which made her one of the most beautiful cities of the East.

Mahmud was richly endowed with creative genius. He governed his subjects according to the principles of justice, protected commerce and maintained order in the lands so that caravans could freely pass between Khorasan and Lahore. The provincial governors were kept under firm control and were not allowed to oppress the people. His brother Nasr, who was governor of Nishapur, was a capable and public-spirited officer, and Utbi writes of him, " so noble, pure, kind, and liberal was his disposition that a harsh word was never heard from him during his whole life, and he offered no wrong or violence to

praise, but Ibnu'l-Athīr (under the year A.H. 421, A.D. 1030) in his obituary notice of this monarch says, after praising him for his intelligence, devoutness, virtue, patronage of learned men, and strenuousness in waging war on the unbelievers, that his one fault was love of money and a certain lack of scruple in his methods of obtaining it. 'There was in him,' he says, 'nothing which could be blamed save that he would seek to obtain money in every way.' Thus, to give one instance, being informed of a certain man from Nishapur that he was of great opulence and copious wealth, he summoned him to Ghaznā and said to him, 'I have heard that you are a Carmathian heretic.' 'I am no Carmathian' replied the unfortunate man; 'But I have wealth wherefrom what is desired (by your Majesty) may be taken, so that I be cleared of this name.' So the Sultan took from him some portion of his wealth, and provided him with a document testifying to the soundness of his religious views. In the eyes of most Muslims, so great a champion of the faith, one who was such a scourge to idolators and so conspicuous an iconoclast, is raised above all criticism; but there is no doubt that Ibnu'l-Athīr has laid his finger on a weak spot in the Sultan's character and that, besides being greedy of wealth (which, no doubt, largely explains the persistence with which he prosecuted his Indian campaign), he was fanatical, cruel to Muslim heretics as well as to Hindoos (of whom he slew an incalculable number), fickle and uncertain in temper, and more notable as an irresistible conqueror than as a faithful friend or magnanimous foe."

any one."[1] Mahmud carefully watched the activities of the market and sent his officers to examine the weights and measures used by tradesmen. Pious benefactions were also made and Utbi informs us that 'he expended nearly one thousand *dinars* in promoting justice and gladness for the people and in honourable and pious liberalities.'

It is not difficult to determine Mahmud's place in history. The foregoing remarks have made it abundantly clear what a great personality he was. To the Musalmans of his day, he was a Ghazi, a champion of the faith, who tried to extirpate infidelity in heathen lands. To the Hindus, he is to this day an inhuman tyrant, a veritable Hun, who destroyed their most sacred shrines and wantonly wounded their religious susceptibilities. But the unbiassed enquirer who keeps in mind the peculiar circumstances of the age must record a different verdict. In his estimate, Mahmud was a great leader of men, a just and upright ruler according to his own lights, an intrepid and gifted soldier, a dispenser of justice, a patron of letters, and deserves to be ranked among the greatest kings of the world.

But his work did not endure. In his scheme, consolidation did not keep pace with conquest, and that is why the mighty fabric he had built up, crumbled to pieces in the hands of his weak successors. As Lane-Poole correctly points out, no new institutions or methods of government were initiated by him, and he did not attempt to organise and consolidate what he had acquired. The elements of decay silently gathered strength ; they began to assert themselves as soon as his master-hand was stiffened in death. The empire was a huge agglomeration of peoples, who could be held in check only by the argus-eyed Sultan. The enemies whom he had subdued were only waiting for an opportunity to strike a blow for independence. The vast wealth, which he had brought to Ghazni, fostered luxury, which in its turn demoralised the brave men

[1] Reynolds, Kitāb-i- Yamīnī, pp. 485-86.

who had fearlessly done battle for him. The court of Ghazni became a nursery of weaklings, from whom the sceptre was snatched by those who knew how to wield it.

Al Biruni on India.

Al Biruni was born in the territory of Khiva in 973 A.D. When Khiva was conquered by Mahmud, he was taken prisoner and brought to Ghazni. He came to India in the train of Mahmud and wrote a full account of the social and political condition of the Hindus which throws much light upon the history of that age. Al Biruni was a versatile scholar who took a deep interest in Hindu learning, conversed with Brahman philosophers and was profoundly impressed by their intellectual subtlety and metaphysical speculations. His sincerity is transparent and his convictions are courageous. He dwells upon the ruinous effects of Mahmud's invasions on India and writes: "Mahmud utterly ruined the prosperity of the country and performed those wonderful exploits by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions and like a tale of old in the mouths of the people. Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims. This is the reason too why Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us and have fled to places, which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares, and other places." The chief faults of the Hindus according to him are their complete isolation from the nations of the earth, their ignorance of the outside world, their want of sympathy and communication with other peoples whom they call *Mlechchhas*.

The whole country was divided into a number of states often at war among themselves. The leading kingdoms were Kashmir, Sindh, Malwa and Kanauj. Caste existed and distinctions between the various castes prevailed. Early marriage was common and women who lost their husbands were condemned to perpetual widowhood. Parents arranged marriages for their children and no gifts were settled, though the husband made a gift to his wife which became her *Strīdhana*. The

Hindus worshipped a multitude of gods, but this was confined to the vulgar and the ignorant. The educated Hindus believed God to be ‘ one, eternal, without beginning and end, acting by free will, almighty ; all-wise, living, giving life, ruling, persevering.’ Speaking of the administration of justice he writes that written plaints were generally filed in which the case against the defendant or accused was stated. Oral complaints were also received. Oaths were administered and cases were decided according to the deposition of witnesses. The criminal law was extremely mild like the spirit of Christianity. The customs and manners of the Hindus were based upon the principles of virtue and abstinence from wickedness. Equality of man in the eye of the law was not known. The Brahmans were exempt from capital punishment. If a Brahman committed murder, the punishment for the crime was expiation which consisted in fasting, prayer and charity. Theft was punished according to the value of the stolen property and in certain cases mutilation of limbs was permitted. The king took one-sixth of the produce of the fields, and labourers, artisans, and the trading classes, all paid taxes on their incomes. Only Brahmans were exempt from the payment of taxes. Image-worship was universally prevalent and there were numerous temples all over the country. The cruel practice of *Sati* was common and widow-remarriage was strictly forbidden.

Such was India which Al Biruni saw in the tenth century. The heart had gone out of Hinduism and superstition, greed and ignorance had taken the place of learning, piety and philanthropy. There was no political unity and often powerful princes sided with foreigners against their own kinsmen and jeopardised by their selfish action the common interests of their motherland. Society was far from compact and the various component groups, dominated by the influence of caste, followed their own line of action and often acted in antagonism to one another, forgetful of the injury they did to the common cause. The disintegrating tendencies worked with full force, and the disorganised princes and peoples of Hindustan had to surrender

their lands and liberty to the foreign invaders, who swept across our plains with overwhelming might, and diverted the course of our ancient civilisation into a different channel.

CHAPTER IV

THE FALL OF THE GHAZNAWIDES

MUHAMMAD, who had proclaimed himself king, was set aside by Masud, his younger brother, through the help of the army in 1031 A.D. Masud was a true son of his father, full of ambition, courage, and warlike zeal. Brave and outspoken, this high-spirited prince had once offended his father by expressing his firm belief in the maxim that dominion belongs to the largest sword. He was generous to such a degree that he was described as Khalifa by his contemporaries. Of his physical accomplishments, Minhāj-us-Sirāj writes that no man could lift his mace with one hand from the ground and no iron target could stay his arrow. The magnificence of the court of Ghazni was unrivalled in that age, and Baihākī relates in his memoirs how the Sultan used to display his wealth and splendour. At times he repaired to the Firūzī garden, one of the loveliest spots in Ghazni, where he sat under the green pavilion, surrounded by his courtiers and nobles, all waiting upon him in perfect obsequiousness, and held a review of the royal forces. When the review was over, the Sultan and his party sat down to a sumptuous feast, which was accompanied by a busy drinking bout and musical performance. Fifty goblets and flagons of wine were placed in the middle of a small tent and the party drank to its heart's content, when the Amir said: "Let us keep fair measure, and fill the cups evenly, in order that there may be no unfairness." One by one the tipsy courtiers rolled away in a state of unconsciousness from the royal presence, but

Masud and his court.

the Amir continued to enjoy himself until he had drunk to the dregs 27 cups—a fair measure of the depravity of the court of Ghazni. He, then, sent for his carpet, and with the sobriety of a total abstainer, recited his prayers and came back to his palace. It was usual for a Muslim court to take delight in such orgies ; even the great Mahmud was not free from such enjoyments, but Masud carried them to excess and himself became the leader of a notorious party of sots and debauchees.

Execution of Hasnāk.

But Masud had an able minister in Khwājā Ahmad Maimandī, whom he had liberated from prison and restored to office.[1] The Khwājā at first hesitated, but when the Sultan pressed him, he yielded to his wish and accepted the ministerial portfolio. When he was formally admitted in the court, the Sultan invested him with a dignity second to his own, and ordered those, who were present, to execute the orders of the Khwājā, as if they were his own. Hājib Bilaktagin, the captain of the guards, was commanded to take the minister to the royal wardrobe, so that he might dress himself in official costume. Thus was the restored minister clad in a garment of scarlet cloth of Baghdad, embroidered with flowerets, and he wore a long turban of the finest muslin with a delineated lace border and a large chain, and a girdle of one thousand *mishkāls* studded with turquoises.

When he was presented to the Sultan according to royal custom, he offered him a valuable bunch of pearls valued at ten thousand *dinars*, whereupon the Amir, to signify his favour, conferred upon him a ring studded with a turquoise, on which his name was inscribed. Most loyally the Khwājā accepted the proffered royal gift and swore allegiance to the throne. When he went home, high officials of the state as well as the common people of Ghazni waited upon him to offer their congratulations. Presents poured in on him from all sides, and precious articles of gold and silver, pieces of fine cloth, Turkish

[1] The Khwājā had served Mahmud as minister for 18 years, but owing to the intrigues of the Amirs he was condemned. (Dastūr-ul-Wuzrā, Elliot, IV, p. 151.)

slaves, horses, and camels came in, which he gratefully sent to his master. The latter was so impressed by the Khwājā's unselfishness that he reciprocated his gratitude by conferring upon him a reward, which consisted of ten thousand *dinars*, 500 thousand *dirhams*, ten Turkish slaves of great price, five horses from the royal stables and ten Abdus camels. Having gained the confidence of the Sultan, the Khwājā set himself to the task of organising his office which had become notorious for delay and lack of promptness under his predecessor. The business of the state had so far been practically treated as nobody's business. But the Khwājā addressed the civil and military officers in a stern tone and impressed upon them the necessity of promptness and regularity in the discharge of public business. Petitions were heard, and suits were disposed of to the entire satisfaction of the parties concerned; and the administration began to display a new vigour and activity.

While the Khwājā was thus honoured, his predecessor in office was put in chains and subjected to a most cruel treatment. Once so powerful and influential, Hasnāk had fallen on evil days and evil tongues. He was accused of Karmatian heresy, and the orthodox clamoured for his life. He denied the charge, but the judges and assessors, who tried him, found him guilty and pronounced the sentence of death upon him. Among those who thirsted for his life was Khwājā Bu' Suhal, who vehemently pleaded for a sentence of death and received a sharp rebuke from the exalted culprit. The ex-minister appealed to Maimandī for pity and begged him to take care of his family. With tears in his eyes, the Khwājā promised to grant his wish, but the verdict was irrevocable. The Khalifa of Baghdad had urged upon Masud the desirability of executing Hasnāk, the Karmatian, who had offered fealty to the house of Egypt. On the appointed day, Hasnāk was taken to the scaffold, and there he stood a victim of adverse fate, only with his turban and trousers on, his hands clasped together, and his body "white as silver, and his face like hundreds and thousands of pictures." The spectators were filled with grief;

they sympathised with him and execrated those who had resolved to take his life. The crowd made an uproar, but it was dispersed by the horsemen present. When it was announced that he was to be stoned in accordance with the Khalifa's order, a mournful silence pervaded the beholders who had gathered to witness the fatal catastrophe. Hasnāk was taken to the gibbet and mercilessly hanged. After the execution Hasnāk's head was served up in a dish at a feast held by Bu'-Suhal to the complete horror of the guests. Such were the fiendish cruelties in which the society of Ghazni delighted; and it appears that although good men felt grieved, public opinion never rose in revolt against such enormities. Hasnāk's head was hung upon the gibbet, where it remained suspended for seven years.[1] Baihākī writes that his feet dropped off, and his corpse was entirely dried up, so that not a remnant of him was left to be taken down and buried in the usual manner. His mother, when she came to know of her son's fatal end, wept aloud in terrible anguish and cried: "What a fortune was my son's; a king like Mahmud gave him this world, and one like Masud, the next." Such was the uncertainty of life and tenure of office under the demoralised Ghaznawides.

Affairs in India.

But Masud was no *roi fainéant*. He had inherited his father's warlike spirit, his power of command, and his capacity for dealing hard strokes when necessary. His contemporaries feared him both on the score of his physical prowess and kingly dignity. He now turned his attention to the affairs in India, which had been left in charge of Ariyārak.

Secure in the possession of a vast territory without any restraining influences, the Ghaznawide commander of Hind, who was an ambitious man by nature, had begun to behave as an autocrat and cared little for the fiats of his sovereign. The

[1] Khondamīr writes in his *Dastūr-ul-Wuzrā* that Hasnāk, when he was minister, often spoke of Masud in disrespectful language to Sultan Mahmud. Masud satisfied the grudge he bore him when he became king. (Elliot, IV, p. 153.)

gravamen of the charge against him was that he was contumacious and arrogant, and created disturbance when the royal authority was enforced. He had given proof of his ambitious designs, even in the time of Mahmud, but so great was the awe in which that mighty conqueror was held, that the plans of Ariyārak were never allowed to mature. Masud, though a slave to drink and dissipation, possessed one redeeming quality ; he knew how to assert his dignity when his own authority was flouted or disregarded. The separation of the Indian province, which had never been reconciled to Muslim domination, from the empire of Ghazni, was not an impossibility at a time when the Turks were pressing hard and seeking outlets for their expansion. Khwājā Ahmad Hasan, by his seductive wiles, induced Ariyārak to proceed to Ghazni, and promised to intercede with the Sultan on his behalf. The Khwājā's diplomacy succeeded ; and the governor, moved by his " soft words and venerable looks," accompanied him to the capital altogether unmindful of the cruel fate that awaited him. Like other Muslim *condottieri* of the early middle ages, Ariyārak was also addicted to drink, and when he was invited to a drinking feast, he readily accepted the invitation. But to his utter surprise he was arrested by Baktagin, the captain of the guards, and his feet were bound in fetters, and on the 19th Rabī-ul-Awwal, A.H. 422 (March, 1031 A.D.), he was cast in prison, where he was probably poisoned sometime afterwards, and the immense wealth that he had accumulated was confiscated. Arrangements were forthwith made for a successor, and Ahmad Niyāltagin was appointed to the command of the Indian province. The new governor was a tried officer ; he had acted as

A poet of Nishapur wrote an elegy upon Hasnāk, which deserves to be quoted:

"They cut off the head of him who was the head of heads,
The ornament of his country, the crown of the age.
Whether he was Karmatian, Jew, or Infidel,
'T was hard to pass from the throne to the scaffold."

treasurer to the late Sultan, Mahmud, and acquired considerable knowledge of public affairs. The Khwājā invested him with the official robes of honour, and advised him to carry out with fidelity the articles of the covenant into which he had entered with the Sultan. Then he addressed a warning—so useful to a man serving in a despotic state—to Niyāltagin in these words: "You must not say anything to any person respecting the political or revenue matters, so that no one's word may be heard against you, but you must perform all the duties of a commander, so that that fellow may not be able to put his hand upon your sinews and drag you down." He was asked not to encroach upon the jurisdiction of Qazi Shirāz, the civil administrator who was a quarrelsome colleague, and to co-operate with the superintendent of the Intelligence Department, whose duty it was to send reports of all that happened in India. Some of the Dailamī chiefs and refractory slaves, who had been guilty of sundry acts of disloyalty, were also sent with him to India to be kept away from the court; and Niyāltagin was asked by the Khwājā to keep a vigilant watch upon their movements and to disallow all sorts of convivial parties and social intercourse among them. With this advice and warning, Niyāltagin was sent to take charge of his new office, and the Khwājā, who was an adept in dealing with political men, required him to leave his son at Ghazni as a hostage under the pretext that he was anxious to prevent his association with the bodyguards and to give him an education befitting the rank of his father. A few days later, in the desert of Shahābār, when the governor waited upon the Sultan with all the paraphernalia of royalty, the latter addressed him in these words, "Ahmad, rejoice, and be happy; be careful to understand the value of this favour; keep my image ever before your eyes and do good service, so that you may attain to great honour." Little did Masud know that his commands were to be more honoured in the breach than in the observance by the new viceroy, who after a short time, in Baihākī's words, "turned away from the path of rectitude and took a crooked course."

Ahmad Niyāltagin, on coming to India, found it difficult to get on with his colleague, Qazi Shirāz, a hot-tempered, pugnacious man, who wanted to impose his will upon others. The minister at Ghazni had clearly defined the jurisdictions of the Qazi and the royal generalissimo, and had warned Niyāltagin against the spell which the civil functionary used to exercise over his colleagues in order to bring them completely under his thumb. The new governor did not consult the Qazi in the discharge of his duties ; and soon a quarrel broke out between the two officers over the appointment to the command of an expedition. It was an act of improper interference on the part of the Qazi, and when the matter was referred to Ghazni, the home government endorsed the view of Ahmad Niyāltagin, and entrusted to him the command on the ground that he was a fitter person than Abdullah, the Qazi's *protégé*. The Qazi received a strong rebuff from Ghazni, and was ordered to leave military affairs alone. This discomfiture of his rival and colleague gave much satisfaction to Niyāltagin, and he soon undertook an expedition to Benares, the sacred city of the Hindus on the Ganges in the East. No Muslim army had ever penetrated as far as Benares, and the prospect of plunder greatly stimulated the zeal of the faithful. The expedition was a success ; the markets of the drapers, perfumers, and jewellers were plundered and an immense booty, consisting of gold, silver, perfumes, and jewels, was seized by the victorious army. The Qazi could not bear the success of his rival, and he despatched secret agents and spies to Ghazni to inform the Sultan that Niyāltagin, who gave himself out as the son of Sultan Mahmud to mislead the public mind, had made enormous private gains and had received a supply of seventy slaves from Turkistan who were all disaffected ; and he maliciously insinuated that Niyāltagin aimed at independence. The tidings of Niyāltagin's victory also reached Ghazni that the conquest of Benares had resulted in the exaction of tribute from the Thakurs and the seizure of immense booty, including a number

Ahmad Niyāltagin.

of elephants. The Sultan kept the Qazi's message hermetically sealed in his bosom, but letters poured in from India, all confirming the report that the army of Lahore and the Turkomans had entirely gone over to Niyāltagin, and that "numerous turbulent fellows" of all classes from Lahore had flocked to his banner. In every possible way, the enemies of Niyāltagin sedulously impressed upon the Sultan the seriousness of the situation, and urged immediate intervention. In the midst of these conflicting reports, the truth of which it was not easy to decide promptly, the Sultan did not know what to do. He convoked a council of his leading officials in the garden of Sudhazārā and invited them to express their opinion on the subject. Indeed, the position was a difficult one ; in the west there were rebellions in Khorasan, Khatlan, and Bukharistan, and the policy of appointing half-loyal and ambitious persons to the Indian command had produced disastrous consequences.

Official after official volunteered to go to Hindustan to restore order, but the choice at last fell upon Tilak, a Hindu of low birth, but of great ability and courage. Tilak[1] was the son of a barber, of handsome appearance and eloquent tongue, a calligraphist, who could write beautifully in Hindi and Persian. He was highly proficient in the art of dissimulation and amours, and witchcraft, which he had learnt in Kashmir. He soon gained the affection of Qazi Shirāz, Bū'-l-Hasan, who became enamoured of him on account of his handsome features

[1] Baihākī describes Tilak as Tilak the Hindu, while Firishta and Nizamuddin write him as Tilak bin Jaisen (or Husain in some MSS.). The Calcutta text of the *Tabqat-i-Akbari* has Tilak bin Husain. From this it appears that Tilak was a Hindu convert. Briggs (I, p. 105) takes him to be a Hindu, but he cannot be accepted as an authority. Baihākī, who must have been in the know, is not very explicit on the subject, but a careful perusal of his narrative leads one to the conclusion that he was not a convert. Baihākī writes (Elliot, II, p. 128) later in his narrative that Tilak rendered valuable services to Sultan Masud, that is, he brought all the Hindu Kators (Thakurs) and many outsiders under his rule. This would not have been possible, if he were not a Hindu.

If Tilak was a pure Hindu, it is remarkable that the army of Ghazni at this early period should have contained Hindu troops. It is clear that demoralisation had taken such root in the Hindu society that Hindus could be hired to fight against their own countrymen under foreign colours.

and his varied accomplishments. The Qazi kept a watch over him, but Tilak secretly escaped to Khwājā Ahmad Hasan, the Qazi's great rival, and complained to him of the Qazi's conduct. The matter was brought to the notice of Sultan Masud who probably reprimanded the Qazi for his unseemly behaviour. Tilak's engaging manners charmed all those who came in contact with him, and he soon acquired a great influence with Sultan Masud. The Khwājā had a great influence with Sultan Masud. He was so completely prepossessed in Tilak's favour that he made him his private secretary and the official interpreter between the Hindus and the state. As a mark of royal favour, he was granted a gold-embroidered robe, a jewelled necklace of gold, a canopy and an umbrella ; and kettle-drums were beaten, and ensigns with gilded tops were unfurled at his residence in accordance with Hindu fashion to proclaim his elevation to high official dignity. Thus was a Hindu entrusted with an important command, and the philosophical Baihākī rightly observes : "Wise men do not wonder at such facts because nobody is born great, men become such. But it is important that they should leave a good name behind." This elevation of men of humble birth to high rank on the ground of merit alone was a principle which was invariably followed by Muslim administrators in India and we shall see, as we proceed, what a vigour and stability its application imparted to the Islamic state in this country.

In the middle of Ramzān, 425 A.H. (July, 1033 A.D.), news came from Lahore that Niyāltagin had arrived there with a large force, and that perpetual fighting was going on between him and the Qazi which had thrown the whole neighbourhood into a state of turmoil and disorder. Tilak marched at the head of a large army towards Hindustan to chastise the rebel. When he reached Lahore, his presence struck terror into the hearts of the followers of Niyāltagin,[1] who, frightened by the

[1] Baihākī writes that in the extremity of peril Niyāltagin attempted to kill his son with his own hand, but he was prevented by the Jats who carried him off on an elephant to a place of safety.

punishments that were inflicted upon disloyal persons, deserted his banner and implored forgiveness. Finding that resistance would be of no avail, the rebellious governor, deserted by his friends and partisans, fled for dear life, but he was hotly pursued by Tilak's party which consisted mostly of Hindus. In a sharp engagement that followed during the night, Ahmad was defeated, and the Turkomans who fought with him left him in a body and begged for mercy. But the vanquished rebel escaped from the field of battle and successfully eluded the grasp of his pursuers. At last, a price of 500,000 *dirhams* was set on his head by Tilak, and soon the Jats and other tribes of the Punjab joined in the pursuit, and tried diligently to trace the fugitive. The Jats, who were well familiar with the desert and the wilds, succeeded in their venture ; they caught hold of Ahmad whom they assailed with arrow, spear, and sword. The Turkish blood was up, and Ahmad gallantly defended himself single-handed, only to perish in a fresh encounter. His head was cut off by the Jats, who, after considerable haggling, obtained from Tilak a reward of 100,000 *dirhams*. Masud was delighted at the news of victory, and he sent letters of congratulation to Tilak for the valour and skill which he had shown in restoring order in Hindustan. Encouraged by this success, the Sultan determined to fulfil his old vow of capturing the fort of Hānsi,[1] and expressed his wish to lead an expedition to India. Either wilfully or by mistake, he described the political situation in the west in favourable colours and considerably minimised the dangers that threatened the empire in that quarter. In vain did the veteran Khwājā urge upon him the impolicy of such a step ; he suggested that the acts of rapine, slaughter, and incendiarism of the Turks in a single province, if it were conquered by them, could not be compensated even by ten holy wars at Hānsi. But to these remonstrances the obdurate Amir replied : "The vow is upon my own person."

[1] Hānsi is a city with a ruined castle, 11 miles to the east of Hisar. (Tieffenthaler, I, p. 134.) This fort was known as the "Virgin" for nobody had yet been able to capture it.

He bade them be of one hand, one heart, one opinion, so that the business of the state might not suffer during his absence. The ministers bowed their heads in profound submission and promised to carry out his command. Prince Maudud was appointed governor of Balkh, and the Khwājā was invested with plenary authority at Ghazni.

Capture of Hānsi.

The Sultan started from Ghazni viâ Kabul in October, 1037 A.D. But when he reached the river Jhelum, he fell ill and was confined to bed for 14 days. After the fashion of Babar, the first Mughal emperor at Kanuā, he renounced wine in a fit of repentance, flung all the vessels into the river, and enjoined upon all his officers total abstention from any kind of liquor during the campaign. After a long march the town of Hānsi was reached and the Muslims laid siege to the fortress, hitherto deemed impregnable by the Hindus. The beleaguered garrison heroically defended itself, and did not relax its vigour in the slightest degree. At last, the Muslims laid mines under the fortress in five places and took it by storm ten days before the close of Rabī-ul-Awwal. The Brahmans and other men of dignity were slain, and the women and children were made captives, and the vast spoils seized in the fort were divided among the troops. Having placed the fortress in the charge of a trustworthy officer, the Sultan marched towards Sonpat,[1] a place not far from Delhi. The local chief offered no resistance and fled into the woods, leaving behind him all his treasure which was captured by the Muslims. The victorious Sultan now returned to Ghazni, where, on the 3rd of Jamād-ul-Awwal, he celebrated the festival of New Year's Day. A grand feast was held at which the Sultan drank wine to his heart's content, and made ample amends for that enforced abstinence, which he had imposed upon himself during his sojourn in India.

The expedition to India turned out a blunder. Taking advantage of the Sultan's absence the Sāljūq Turks pressed

[1] This city is situated north of Delhi. (Tieffenthaler, I, p. 133.)

hard on the territories of Ghazni.[1] The peace made with them in 1032 after the defeat of the Ghaznawide general Īltutmish at the hands of Alaptagin, the commander of the Turkish host, proved only a temporary truce. They continued to harry the provinces of the empire, and when the people of Balkh complained of their aggressions, Masud resolved to advance against the intruders. Meanwhile Tughril Beg, the Sāljūq, raided Ghazni and sacked a portion of the town ; he siezed Nishapur in 1037, brought Khorasan under his sway, and laid the foundations of the Sāljūq dynasty. A year later, when the Turkish general invaded Badwird and Tedzen, Masud, fully realising the magnitude of the danger, marched against the invaders at the head of a large army, but at Dandankan[2] near Merv, he was overpowered by the Turks on March 23, 1040 A.D. This crushing defeat had a serious effect upon the fortunes of the empire of the Ghaznawides. Three years later Masud's son Maudud attempted to check the tide of the Sāljūq invasions, but he was defeated and the power of the Sāljūqs was firmly established in Khorasan. The western possessions of the Ghaznawides gradually slipped away and they were obliged to concentrate their attention upon India.

Masud's flight to India.

The Sultan, who was terribly frightened, ordered preparations to be made for a journey towards Hindustan. The ladies of the *haram* were asked to pack up all their precious belongings, and the treasures in the palace were collected to be conveyed to Hindustan. The aged minister pleaded with the Sultan to

[1] The founder of their power was Tukāk, the father of Sāljūq who migrated from Turkistan to Transoxiana and embraced Islam. He and his successors often gave trouble to Mahmud and after his death they captured Khorasan, but were turned back. No sooner was Masud seated upon the throne than the Ghuzz attacked Khorasan, and rebellions broke out in several parts of his empire, yet he faced the situation with courage, and with the help of a large army brought from India he repelled the Ghuzz from Tūs and Nishapur and reconquered Tabaristan. But in 1037 Tughril Beg seized Khorasan and laid the foundations of Sāljūq dynasty.

[2] Dandankan is described by Abul Feda as a small town of Khorasan famous for its cotton manufactures. Authorities differ as

remain at Ghazni for his hasty departure was fraught with danger to the state, but Masud obstinately refused to listen to counsels of prudence. In vain did the minister venture to remind him of the fatal results of his obstinacy in the past, but he was snubbed as a dotard whose senility had impaired his judgment. The royal party marched towards Hindustan, but when it reached Marigalah,[1] the Turkish and Hindu slaves of the Sultan mutinied. They seized his person, and placed upon the throne his brother Muhammad, whom he had blinded at the time of his own accession. The exalted captive was afterwards taken to the fortress of Giri, where he was put to death in 433 A.H. (1041 A.D.).[2] Thus perished by the cruel hand of the assassin, a king whom Firishta describes as a "prince of uncommon personal strength and courage, affable, and of easy access, generous to prodigality, particularly to learned men, whose company he was so extremely fond of, that many were induced to come from all parts to his court." Masud, like his father, extended his patronage to men of letters, built mosques, and endowed schools and colleges in the various cities of his wide dominions.[3] He possessed princely dignity

to the date of this battle. Three dates are generally given—430, 431 and 432 A.H. The *Habib-us-Siyar* seems to support the year 1040 A.D. (Elliot, IV, p. 198. Briggs, Firishta, I, p. 110. Raverty, Tabqāt-i-Nasiri, I, p. 92.)

[1] A pass situated between Rawalpindi and Attock, a few miles east of Hasan Abdal. The hills in its vicinity used to be infested with robbers, who generally chose this pass for attacking travellers and caravans of traders.

[2] The *Tabqat-i-Nasiri* gives 432 A.H. as the year of Masud's death. But it appears that he was not murdered until the 11th of Jamad-ul-Awwal of 433 A.H., when his nephew Ahmad, son of the blind Muhammad, put him to death. Muhammad, who was unaware of this act, is reported to have reproached the perpetrators of the crime.

Khondamīr gives 433 A.H. (1041-42 A.D.) as the date of this incident. (Habib-us-Siyar, Elliot, IV, p. 198.)

[3] Khondamīr describes Masud as the "protector of the learned." He mentions several learned men who dedicated their works to him. Among the works of the time mentioned are "*Tafhīm-ut-tanjīm*," a work on astrology by Abū-Rihān and "*Qānun-i-Masūdī*" by the same author, and "*Kitāb-i-Masūdī*," a work on Islamic jurisprudence by Abū Muhammad Naishī.

in an abundant measure ; he possessed a strong will, countless armies, able ministers, and all the trappings of royalty. But what could they avail against the inexorable decrees of fate? Baihākī, who had seen the Ghazni monarchy in its palmiest days as well as in the days of its decadence, observes in a characteristically fatalistic vein : "man has no power to strive against fate."

The weak successors of Masud and the pressure of the Sāljūq Turks.

Subsequent events proved Masud's fears to have been groundless, and his flight to India an act of thoughtless unwisdom. The Turks were pre-occupied with the conquest of Persia and other adjoining lands, and had scarcely time to meddle in the affairs of Ghazni. After Masud's death, his son Maudud ascended the throne, but he had to fight his uncle Muhammad, whom he defeated in an engagement, and avenged the death of his father. All the accomplices of Muhammad, who had participated in that heinous crime, were cruelly put to death, and thus the young prince discharged his filial obligations to his deceased father. He was followed by a series of weak rulers, whose uneventful careers deserve little mention. The Sāljūq encroachments continued, and the empire lost much of its territory. But matters considerably improved, when Ibrahim assumed the reins of government in the year 451 A.H. (1059 A.D.). He infused a fresh vigour into the administration and fully established the authority of the crown over the recalcitrant tribes. Qazi Minhāj writes : "The troubles and disorders which had befallen upon that empire, through the vicissitudes of the times and continual warfare, were all, during his reign, remedied and rectified, and the affairs of the empire of the great Mahmud assumed fresh vigour." After his death in 492 A.H. (1098 A.D.), he was succeeded by Alauddin Masud, who owing to the dread of the Sāljūqs espoused a Turkish princess, a sister of Sultan Sanjar, a sure indication of the waning power of the Ghaznawides. He was followed, a few years later, by Malik Arslān who waded to the throne through the blood of his brothers, only one of whom, Bahrām, was suffered to exist.

Arslān treated his step-mother with indignity,[1] and this imprudent conduct drew down upon him the wrath of her brother, Sanjar, who supported the claims of Bahrām, a rival candidate for the throne of Ghazni. Sanjar advanced upon Ghazni at the head of a large force, and in an encounter that followed, he inflicted a crushing defeat upon Arslān. To escape disgrace and death, he fled towards Hindustan, where he died in a state of misery in the year 511 A.H. (1117 A.D.).[2] Thus the Sāljūqs acquired influence in the affairs of Ghazni, and as Bahrām, the new ruler, owed his crown to Sanjar, the latter naturally came to occupy the position of king-maker and lord-protector of the realm. Bahrām was a capable and energetic ruler ; he undertook several expeditions to Hindustan to chastise the rebellious chief Bahlim, who was defeated, and all his sons and adherents were made prisoners.

The Sāljūqs established their influence at Ghazni, but they never intended permanently to stay in the lands of the Hindukush. The pasture lands and verdant meadows of Khorasan appealed to them more than the valleys of the Afghan hills, and they always yearned to get back to the regions of the west. The Indian province, though never definitely incorporated with the kingdom of Ghazni, was tranquil, and Bahrām had recently vindicated his authority by quelling the revolt of Bahlim. The country of the Punjab and Multan was thoroughly subdued, and the suzerainty of Ghazni was fully established. Time and again, the Hindus raised their heads, as they had done in 1043 A.D., when they organised a confederacy against the Muslims and laid siege to Lahore. But all their efforts had proved abortive and each time the Muslim arms had triumphed against

[1] It is said that he requested her to dance before him. This was an insult which Sanjar could not brook, and he espoused the cause of his nephew Bahrām.

[2] Minhāj and Firishta say that Sanjar stayed at Ghazni for 40 days, but no sooner was his back turned than Arslān once again tried to recover his capital. Sanjar again took the field in person and expelled Arslān from Ghazni.

them. There was no fear of a recrudescence of Hindu rebellion, and the Ghaznawides felt no difficulty for the time being in retaining their hold over the province of the Punjab.

Bahrām's reign would have ended gloriously, had it not been for the quarrels that arose between him and the Maliks of Ghor, a small mountain principality between Ghazni and Herat. These high-spirited and warlike people had settled in this mountainous region and accepted the leadership of the Suri chieftains. They had felt the spell of Mahmud's personality, and actuated by devotion to a great leader, they had fought under his banner in far-off inhospitable regions. But when the sceptre of Ghazni passed into the feeble hands of Mahmud's successors, they treated them with scant respect. Military campaigns, boldly conceived and mightily achieved, were the only things that could keep these highlanders occupied, and qualities of successful generalship were constantly needed to tame the fierce spirit of men, who ever longed for the glories of war and conquest. Matters came to a crisis, when a Suri prince was put to death by Bahrām's order. This cruel murder produced a feeling of consternation among them. They at once flew to arms to avenge the death of their chief. Saif-ud-din Suri, a brother of the deceased, led an attack upon Ghazni and captured it in 1148. Bahrām was expelled from his dominions, but he soon recovered his power by means of a conspiracy. He re-entered the capital in triumph and defeated Saif-ud-din who was paraded through the city and then decapitated.

This atrocious murder was followed by disastrous consequences. Alā-ud-din Husain, surnamed *Jahān-soz* or World-incendiary, the murdered chief's third brother, burnt with rage when he heard of this crime and swore to wreak vengeance upon the house of Ghazni. At the head of a large army he marched upon Ghazni. Bahrām Shah gathered together his forces, but he was defeated and his son Daulat Shah was slain in battle. Alā-ud-din followed up his victory and took the city of Ghazni by storm. The finest buildings of the city, exquisite memorials of the greatness and splendour of Mahmud,

were demolished, and during the seven days the Ghori chieftain remained in occupation of the town, ' the air, from the blackness of the smoke, continued as black as night ; and those nights, from the flames raging in the browing city, were lighted up as bright as day.' Rapine and massacre were carried on with the greatest pertinacity and vindictiveness and men, women and children were either killed or made slaves. The dead bodies of all the Sultans of Ghazni except those of Mahmud and Ibrahim were dug out from their graves and treated with indignity and burnt. After this retribution 'Alā-ud-din returned to Ghor where he devoted himself to the pursuit of pleasure. He began also to show open hostility towards Sultan Sanjar who advanced upon Ghor at the head of a large army and defeated and captured Alā-ud-din. He was afterwards allowed to go to Ghor and was restored to his former dignity. The Ghuzz Turkomans ravaged Afghanistan and the Ghorid and Ghaznawide governments were abolished for a while. It was during this period of turmoil that Alā-ud-din died in 1161 A.D.

During Alā-ud-dīn's invasion of Ghazni, Bahrām had fled to Hindustan and died on the way. He was succeeded by his son Khusrau Malik who ascended the throne at Lahore. He was a pleasure-loving youth, without capacity for the work of government or strength of will, and under him the elements of disorder began to assert themselves with a redoubled force. The administration fell into disorder, and the Amirs as well as the lesser officials of the state became ungovernable. The Sultan failed to deal with the temper of the times properly, and in the provinces as in the capital, the authority of the central power began to be disregarded. Immersed in the pursuit of pleasure, Khusrau Malik did nothing to shield himself against the Ghorian attack. The power of Ghazni rapidly declined, and the house of Ghor rose into prominence. When Alā-ud-din Jahān-soz's son died in 1163, his nephew Ghiyās-ud-din bin Sām succeeded to the principality of Ghor. He fought against the Ghuzz, brought Ghazni under his control, and entrusted it to the charge of his brother Muiz-ud-din, better

known in history as Muhammad Ghorī, while Ghiyās was content to rule at his native castle of Firūzkoh. Muiz-ud-din, who had an inborn aptitude for war and adventure, raided Ghazni and led repeated attacks upon Hindustan. In 577 A.H. (1181 A.D.), he appeared before the gates of Lahore, and compelled Khusrau Malik to make peace and surrender his son, a stripling of four years, as security for the fulfilment of treaty obligations. But even this did not satisfy his ambition. He appeared again and laid siege to Lahore. The whole country was overrun, and the fort of Sialkot was captured and garrisoned. Another raid was attempted in 1186 A.D., and Lahore was reduced. The noble sentiments of honour and chivalry were unknown to these barbarians, and the Ghorī chief had recourse to foul play in order to get rid of his enemy. By stratagems and false promises, Khusrau Malik was induced to come out of the fortress.[1] He was at once taken prisoner and sent to Ghazni, from where he was removed to Firūzkoh. There the elder Ghorī confined him in the fortress of Balarwān in Ghurjistan, where after a few years, probably in 598 A.H. (1201 A.D.), he was put to death. A similar catastrophe befell his son Bahrām Shah, and the line of Subuktagin came to an inglorious end. A great dynastic revolution was brought about at Ghazni and the 'sovereignty of Iran, the throne of Hindustan, and the territory of Khorasan came under the sway of the Maliks and Sultans of the house of Shansabānī.'

[1] Firishta describes the stratagem thus:—

Muiz-ud-din informed Khusrau Malik that he wanted to be on terms of peace with him. As a proof of his sincerity, he sent back his son with a splendid escort to his father. Khusrau advanced a part of the way to meet his son, when all of a sudden he was surrounded by Ghorī's horsemen in the night. In the morning when the Sultan awoke, he found himself a prisoner. Muiz-ud-din demanded the cession of Lahore. This demand was at once complied with, and he marched into the city in triumph. (Briggs, I, pp. 158-59.)

Fall of the empire.

Thus, after nearly two centuries, the empire of Ghazni disappeared from history. An empire, which rested purely upon a military basis, could not last long without capable and warlike rulers. Mahmud, though a great captain of war, had established no institutions, devised no laws for the orderly governance of his extensive dominions. There was no principle of cohesion or unity in the empire. Even outward security of life and property was not provided in the remoter parts, as is illustrated by the anecdote of the outspoken old woman, who reproached Mahmud for conquering lands that he could not manage. The untold wealth that he had brought from the lands of Hind fostered luxury, and his successors rapidly degenerated in character. For such weaklings, it was impossible to keep in check the turbulent tribes over whom Mahmud had exercised sway. The gallant chiefs, who had followed him through deserts and mountains into distant lands, ceased to pay homage to men in whom a degrading sensuality had killed all martial spirit. The Turks pressed on ; the Amirs and officials of the empire flouted the authority of the crown ; and once the rotten character of the political system became known, disorders began on all sides. The Turks continued to grab large slices of Ghazni territory, and their pressure proved too great for the rulers of Ghazni. To men like Tughril and Sanjar, the profligate Ghaznawides could offer no resistance. They came like a whirlwind and by sheer audacity and vigour defeated and overawed their opponents. As disorder increased in the regions beyond the Hindukush, India also began to seethe with discontent. As a matter of fact, it was impossible at that time to hold India successfully from Ghazni. The Indian problem engaged the most serious attention of the rulers of Ghazni, but their multifarious troubles made it difficult for them to deal properly with it. The chiefs of Ghor, who had supplanted them, were men of a different stamp. Better equipped for the arduous duties of the battle-field, they possessed qualities which were necessary to lead and command the

unruly Turks. They knew how to employ their valour and energy for purposes of self-aggrandisement. Head and shoulders above his kinsmen, stood Muhammad Ghorī, who, having got rid of all rivals in his native land, attempted the conquest of Hindustan and brought her princes and peoples under his sway.

CHAPTER V

THE CONQUEST OF HINDUSTAN AND THE RISE OF THE SLAVES

Muhammad's Indian Expedition.

MUHAMMAD GHORI'S attempt to seize the Muslim provinces of Hindustan was a remarkable success. His expedition against the Bhatti Rajputs of Uchha had succeeded owing to the baseness and infidelity of the Rani who had her own husband assassinated in order to make way for the foreigner.[1] Multan was taken from the Karmatian heretics in 570 A.H. Muhammad had marched by way of Uchha and Multan against the Raja of Nehrwala, who, though an inexperienced youth, defeated the Sultan and compelled him to retreat. This was followed by an attack upon Peshawar which was captured, and the whole of Sindh down to Debal and the sea-coast was subdued, and immense wealth came into the hands of the victors. Lahore was the next object of attack ; the forces of Khusrau Malik offered a desperate resistance and baffled the attempts of the besiegers to capture the fortress. Muhammad concluded a

[1] The Raja was besieged in his fort, but Muhammad Ghori finding it difficult to take the place sent a word to the Rani promising to marry her if she would deliver up her husband. She replied that she was too old for marriage but she had a daughter whom she would give to the Sultan and in a few days remove the Raja, if he left her in free possession of her wealth. The Sultan accepted the proposal and the Rani in a few days brought about the death of her husband and opened the gates to the enemy. Muhammad did not abide by his promise. He married the daughter but sent the mother to Ghazni where she died afterwards in sorrow and disappointment. The daughter too did not long survive this grief and died in the space of two years.

This is Firishta's story. It is difficult to vouch for its accuracy. (Briggs, I, pp. 169-70.)

mainspring of the system, and the whole country was divided into small districts, each held by a petty chief or jagirdar who rendered military service to his liege-lord in the hour of need. These chiefs or fief-holders were divided into grades, and the relation of lord and vassal was maintained through the various social ranks by the process of sub-infeudation. The rivalries and feuds of the various clans hampered unity of action, and the invidious caste distinction among the Rajputs themselves prevented the inferior classes from being amalgamated with the proud noblesse, thus depriving the community of the chance of recruiting its strength by the elevation of capable men of humble birth to higher rank and dignity. Only the well-born could hold fiefs, and this exclusive spirit brought into existence an aristocracy which tended to become hereditary, and therefore selfish. Offices passed from father to son, and thus the state had to depend upon a class of men, who insisted on privileges, and who lacked both merit and efficiency. It was impossible for these Rajput governments, based as they were upon a system of feuds, to last long, and, no wonder, if the first shock of the Muslim invasion shook Rajput India to its foundations.

Having organised his forces, Muhammad marched towards the frontier town of Sarhind,[1] which occupied an important strategic position, and captured it. The approach of Muhammad Ghori alarmed the Rajput princes who stirred themselves betimes to check the advance of the Muslims. The most powerful Rajput clans that exercised authority in northern India were (1) the Gaharwārs, afterwards known as the Rathors of

[1] Sarhind is an important town. It had a great strategic importance in the middle ages. Rennell, Memoir of a Map of Hindustan, pp. 67-68. Firishta writes it Bhatinda; Briggs has Bituhunda, pp. 67-68. The *Tabqat-i-Nasiri* has Tabarhindah (Raverty, *Tabqat*, I, pp. 172, 457) but all other writers have Sarhind.

Sarhind is correct; Bhatinda is some hundred miles west of Thanesar. A look at Rennell's map in his 'Memoir of a Map of Hindustan' opposite to page 65 will show that it was Sarhind that was occupied. Sarhind was also called Tabarhindah.

Kanauj, (2) the Chohāns of Delhi[1] and Ajmer, (3) the Pālas and Senas of Bihar and Bengal, (4) the Baghelās of Gujarat, and (5) the Chandelas of Jaijākbhukti or modern Bundelkhand. Mention has already been made in the first chapter of the rise and growth of the power of these clans. The most powerful of these were the rulers of Delhi and Kanauj, whose rivalry was bruited all over India, and whose feuds and dissensions made it impossible for either to stem the tide of foreign invasion. Being the most powerful and influential princes of the Doab, they were the first to feel the force of Muslim arms and had to bear the brunt of the attack.

Prithvīrāja, who had succeeded to the kingdoms of Delhi and Ajmer, and who had established a great reputation for chivalry and heroic exploits, marched against the Ghori chief at the head of a large army, which, according to Firishta, included 200,000 horse and 3,000 elephants, assisted by his fellow Rajput princes, and encountered the Muslim host at Tarain,[2] a village fourteen miles from Thanesar in 1191 A.D. Jayachandra, the Rathor Raja of Kanauj, was the only prince who kept aloof from this war ; for Prithvīrāja had insulted him by carrying off his daughter by force.[3] The Rathor chieftain

[1] Delhi was founded sometime in 993-94 A.D.

[2] In most histories it is written as Narain, which is incorrect.

The name of the village is Tarain. Probably this mistake is due to the Persian script. Briggs writes Narain which is now called Tirauri (I, p. 172).

Lane-Poole incorrectly writes Narain (Mediæval India, p. 51).

[3] Tod positively asserts that when Prithvīrāja ascended the throne Jayachandra not only refused to acknowledge his supremacy, but set forth his own claims to this distinction. He was supported by the prince of Patan, Anhilwad, and also by the Parihārs of Mandor. Kanauj and Patan, writes the same authority, had recourse to the dangerous expedient of entertaining bands of Tartars, through whom the sovereign of Ghazni was enabled to take advantage of their internal broils.

This is quite different from saying that Jayachandra invited Ghori to invade Hindustan. It is quite probable that Jayachandra might have aspired to the position of the paramount sovereign of all Hindustan and might have challenged Prithvīrāja's claim to that distinction.

Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān, edited by Crooke, I, p. 299.

regarded this as an intolerable affront, and watched with secret satisfaction the result of the battle between Muhammad and the Chohān warrior of Delhi. The Sultan followed the time-honoured tactics of the right, left, and centre, and himself occupied a position in the middle of his army. The Rajputs charged both wings of the Muslim army with tremendous vigour and scattered them in all directions. Cut off from his troops and surrounded by his relentless enemies on all sides, the Sultan found himself in a highly perilous situation.

But he retained his presence of mind and with a wonderful courage struck the Raja's brother, Govind Rai, on the mouth with his sword and knocked out his teeth.[1] The gallant Rajput at once returned the blow, struck his formidable antagonist in the arm, and inflicted a severe wound. Stunned by this blow, the Sultan forthwith turned back and began to bleed fearfully. His strength was exhausted, and he was about to fall down from his horse, but a high-spirited Khilji warrior sprang up from behind, supported the Sultan in his arms, and carried him off the field of battle.[2] The disaster which befell the Sultan caused a panic in the army which immediately dispersed in all directions. The Muslims were pursued for 40 miles by the enemy, but a place of safety was soon reached, where the Sultan also arrived after a short time. The soldiers gathered round their

[1] Firishta writes Chand Ray and the *Tabqat-i-Akbari* writes Khand Rai. But the oldest copies of the *Tabqat* have Govind. The Hindu bard, Chand, calls him Rai Govind, which is the correct name.

[2] There are conflicting accounts of this battle in different histories. It is needless to enter into a discussion of the discrepancies in these accounts. The narrative given above represents the actual state of things on the field of battle. It is in agreement with Hindu histories also.

Minhāj-us-Sirāj writes in his *Tabqat* (I, p. 460) :—

" The Sultan turned his charger's head round and receded, and from the agony of the wound he was unable to continue on horse-back any longer. Defeat befell the army of Islam so that it was irretrievably routed, and the Sultan was very nearly falling from his horse. Seeing which, a lion (hearted) warrior, a *Khalj*, a stripling, recognised the Sultan, and sprang up behind him, and, supporting him in his arms, urged the horse with his voice, and brought him out of the field of battle."

leader, and once again the dispirited troops were full of life and vigour. The Sultan hastened to cross the Indus and returned to his own country. Never before the Muslims had experienced such a terrible rout at the hands of the infidels. The Rajputs pushed on the siege of Sarhind ; the beleaguered garrison stubbornly defended itself for 13 months, and at last tired the besiegers into granting favourable terms. When the Sultan reached Ghor, he punished all those Amirs and officers who had fled from the field of battle. They were publicly disgraced and paraded round the city with every mark of indignity and humiliation.

The defeat of Prithvīrāja.

This defeat at the hands of Rai Pithaurā ever rankled in the mind of Muhammad Ghori, and he determined to wreak vengeance upon the Hindu princes.[1] With a large army, well organised and accoutred, consisting of 120,000 men, Turks, Afghans and others, the Sultan marched from Ghazni towards Hindustan in 1192 A.D. It was during this march that an old sage of Ghor waited upon him and entreated him to set free the officers who had been disgraced by the Sultan after his defeat at Tarain. The forces of the Sultan encamped near Tarain, where he divided them into four sections and distributed them for battle. The prospect of a bloody contest with the Muslims put Prithvīrāja on his mettle. Alarmed for the safety of Hindu India, he called upon his fellow Rajput princes to rally round his banner to fight the Turks. His appeal met with an enthu-

[1] Major Raverty quotes from 'The History of Jammun' which says, Jayachandra of Kanauj, whom Prithvīrāja had mortally offended, was in communication with Ghori, but it is a matter of regret that his references can never be verified. Tod also says, 'the princes of Kanauj and Putun invited Shihab-ud-din to aid their designs of humiliating the Chohān.'

See Raverty's note 1 in the *Tabqat-i-Nasiri*, I, pp. 466-7.

This account has been borrowed from Chand Bardai who in his *Rasau* says that Jayachandra had invited Ghori to attack the Chohān. But there is no corroboration of this by any of the Muslim historians. If this had been a fact, the Muslim historians would have certainly mentioned it. See Chapter I.

siastic response, and in a short time he succeeded in collecting a huge army, consisting of a large number of infantry, 300,000 horse and nearly 3,000 elephants. As many as 150 Rajput princes joined the colours of Prithvīrāja and solemnly swore to stand by their leader whatever the consequences of the battle might be. Chand relates in his *Rasau* that Samarsī of Chittor, brother-in-law of Prithvīrāja, also joined the host. This is improbable, for his period is from 1273 to 1301 A.D. and the battle was fought in 1192 A.D. This mistake was pointed out by Prof. Keilhorn long ago.

When the battle commenced, the Hindu cavalry checked the advance of the Muslims. At this the Sultan, leaving the central portion of the army in the rear, divided the rest into five divisions, four of which, each of 10,000 light-armed horse, were to attack the enemy from all sides and then retire under the pretext that they were fleeing from the field of battle. From morning till sunset the battle raged fiercely and the Ghorian generals used these tactics. While the enemy was tired, the Sultan, at the head of 12,000 horse, made a desperate charge and "carried death and destruction throughout the Hindu camp."[1] The Rajput valour proved of no avail against these mounted archers and a fearful carnage ensued on all sides. The Hindu generals had little profited by their past experience and did not understand the efficacy of a mobile cavalry in dealing with their central Asian enemies. The result of the battle was a foregone conclusion. The Hindus in spite of their incredible numbers were defeated by the Muslims. Prithvīrāja

[1] Firishta describes the manœuvre which was adopted by Muhammad Ghori in order to harass and break the Hindu army. As was expected, it succeeded well enough. (Briggs, I, pp. 176-77.)

Raverty, *Tabqat-i-Nasiri*, I, p. 468.

The author of the *Tabqat* is not very clear on this point.

Badāonī (I, p. 70) and the author of the *Tabqat-i-Akbari* (Biblioth. Ind., p. 39) simply say that the army was divided into four sections.

Firishta's account is certainly more complete than that of any of these writers.

fled from the field but he was captured near Sirsuti[1] and finally "despatched to hell."[2] The defeat of Prithvīrāja was an irreparable blow to Rajput power. Perhaps, Jayachandra rejoiced in the fall of his formidable rival, but little did he know that two years later the same tragic fate was to overtake him. The demoralisation caused by this defeat pervaded all grades of Indian society, and there was now left no one among the Rajputs who could draw to his banner his fellow princes to withstand the attacks of the Muslims. They found their task easy, and Sirsuti, Samana, Kuhram and Hansi were reduced without much difficulty. The Sultan proceeded towards Ajmer, which was given up to plunder, and some thousands of the inhabitants were put to the sword.

While the Sultan was at Ajmer, he "destroyed the pillars and foundations of idol temples, and built in their stead mosques and colleges, and the precepts of Islam, and the customs of the law were divulged and established." Ajmer was made over to a son of Prithvīrāja[3] on promise of punctual payment of tribute. Having left his faithful lieutenant Qutb-ud-din Aibek in charge

[1] It was a city on the banks of the ancient Saraswati. In Akbar's time Sirsuti was one of the mahals of Sarkar Sambhal. Ibn Batūtā speaks of it as a large city in the year 1334 A.D. (Paris ed., III, p. 143.)

[2] Chand's statement in his *Rasau* that Prithvīrāja was taken to Ghazni, where he was kept in prison and afterwards blinded, is wrong. Tod says, Prithvīrāja was defeated, taken prisoner, and killed in 1192 A.D.

Tod writes: "Six invasions by Shihab-ud-din occurred ere he succeeded. He had been often defeated and twice taken prisoner by the Hindu sovereign of Delhi, who with a lofty and blind arrogance of the Rajput character set him at liberty." This is obviously incorrect.

Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, I, pp. 147-48.

The author of the *Taj-ul-Masir* says that Prithvīrāja fled from the battle-field, but he was captured near Sirsuti and beheaded. (Taj-ul-Masir, Elliot, II, pp. 296-97.)

Also see V. N. Rao's Ancient Hindu Dynasties (Hindi), pt. I, pp. 259-60.

[3] Ajmer was given to Golā or Kolā, a natural son of Prithvīrāja. Firishta (Briggs, I, p. 178) says: "Afterwards on a promise of a punctual payment of a large tribute, he delivered over the country of Ajmer to Golā, a natural son of Prithvīrāja."

of his Indian possessions, the Sultan returned to Ghazni. Qutb-ud-din, in a short time, conquered Mirat (Meerut), Kol[1] and Delhi, the last of which he made the seat of his government.

Delhi and Ajmer had been conquered and the power of the Chohāns broken, but the Muslims were far from being masters of Hindustan. Beyond Delhi, in the heart of the Doab, lay the principality of the Rathor clan, whose ruler, Jayachandra, famous alike

Conquest of Kanauj.

The *Taj-ul-Masir* (Elliot, II, p. 214) speaks of the Kolā (natural son) of the Rai of Ajmer. It says, the Rai was taken prisoner but was afterwards released. He was again detected in some intrigue and was put to death (p. 215).

Again the same authority says (page 219) that Hirāj (the correct form is Hari Rāj), the brother of the Rai of Ajmer, had gone into rebellion and had turned his face towards the siege of the fort of Ranthambhor, and that the son of Pithaurā, who had been advanced under the protection of the sublime court, was in a state of extreme danger.

This is a reference to the same son of the Rai, and Firishta's statement is corroborated. The *Tabqat-i-Nasiri* (I, p. 458) has Rai Kolā.

Raverty in his note (No. 6, I, p. 458,) writes Kolā. Speaking of Prithvīrāja he says, Rai Kolā Pithaurā had arrived near at hand (pp. 458-59). This is incorrect.

[1] Kol is a place near Aligarh. It has an old fortress which still exists.

Elliot, II, 219—22.

Ibn Batūtā misreading the inscription on the Jām-i-Masjid has given 584 A.H. (1188 A.D.) as the year of the conquest of Delhi. But he is incorrect. The author of the *Tabqat-i-Nasiri* says that Aibek died 20 years after the conquest of Delhi, and the date of his death is given as 607 A.H. (1210 A.D.). Edward Thomas says that according to the *Taj-ul-Masir* the date of the conquest of Delhi is 587 A.H. (1191-92 A.D.) but it is given nowhere in the text. It is clear from the *Tabqat-i-Nasiri* that Delhi was conquered by Qutb-ud-din after the defeat of Rai Pithaurā which took place in 588 A.H. (1192-93 A.D.). The correct date is near 589 A.H. Firishta says that in the year 588 A.H. Muhammad Ghori appointed Aibek to the chief command of the army to protect his conquests in Hindustan. He reduced the fort of Meerut and laid siege to Delhi which was reduced after a keenly contested battle. From Firishta's account it appears that this event took place towards the end of the year 588 A.H.

Ibn Batūtā, Paris ed., II, p. 161.

Major Raverty, Tabqat-i-Nasiri, I, p. 528.

Edward Thomas, The Chronicles of Pathan Kings, p. 33.

Carr Stephen, Archæology of Delhi, p. 36.

Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 61.

in legend and history, was reputed as a most powerful prince of the time. His dominion extended as far as Benares in the east, and his capital, Kanauj, was a place of considerable political and strategic importance. Jayachandra had, perhaps, hoped that after the death of Prithvīrāja he will be left undisputed master of Hindustan, but all his expectations were doomed to disappointment. To establish Muslim sovereignty in Hindustan, the Rathors must be reduced, and in 1194 Sultan Muhammad marched from Ghazni against the Raja of Kanauj. At the head of a numerous army, which contained more than 300 elephants, the redoubtable Rathor took the field in person. No confederacy seems to have been organised by him to withstand the Muslim forces ; probably the defeat of Prithvīrāja had cooled the enthusiasm and crushed the spirit of the Rajputs who might have otherwise rallied round his banner. Our authorities give a brief account of this campaign. The *Taj-ul-Masir* says, the Sultan started from Ghazni at the head of fifty thousand ' mounted men clad in armour and coats of mail ' against the Rai of Benares who was proud of his enormous forces and his war elephants. He was defeated and killed and immense booty was obtained which included three hundred elephants. This is supported by the *Tabqat-i-Nasiri*, which says that in the year 590 A.H. (1193 A.D.) the Sultan marched from Ghazni and advanced towards Kanauj and Benares, and in the vicinity of Chandwār[1] he defeated Rai Jayachandra and obtained three hundred and odd elephants. Briefly told the facts are as follows: The Rajput army was encamped in the plain between Chandwār and Etawah, and in an engagement that ensued, the vanguard of the Muslim army inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Hindus. Jayachandra who was proud of his troops and war elephants received a mortal

[1] In some MSS. it is Chandwār and in others Chandīwar. Major Raverty says (Tabqat, I, p. 470) that the only place bearing a similar name at this time, and in the direction indicated, is what is styled Chandpūr, and Chandanpūr, in the district of Farrukhabad, on the route from Bareilly to Fatahgarh, lat. 27° 27′, long. 79° 42′. The place was somewhere between Kanauj and Etawah.

wound from an arrow and fell down on the earth. His head was carried on the point of a spear to the commander and his body " was thrown to the dust of contempt." The royal army then proceeded to the fort of Asnī[1] where the Rai had deposited his treasure. It was captured and much booty came into the hands of the Sultan. Benares was attacked next and here the army of Islam ' destroyed nearly one thousand temples, and raised mosques on their foundations ; and the knowledge of the law became promulgated, and the foundations of religion were established.' Such acts of vandalism were common to the zealots of Islam, who were in moments of victory powerfully swayed by a " remorseless feeling which sanctified murder, legalised spoliation, and deified destruction." The Hindu chiefs came forward to pay their homage and coins were struck in the Sultan's name. It appears, no resistance worth the name was offered to the Muslims and they easily acquired possession of the whole country. The Gaharwārs after this discomfiture migrated to Rajputana where they founded the Rathor principality of Jodhpur. The Sultan marched towards Kol and leaving Qutb-ud-din in charge of the country returned to Ghazni, laden with the spoils of war.

Qutb-ud-din's career in Hindustan was one of unbroken triumphs. The Rai of Ajmer who was a vassal of Ghazni had been expelled by Hari Rāj called Hirāj in the *Taj-ul-Masir* who had usurped the kingdom. The Rai solicited the aid of Qutb-ud-din who marched against him at the head of a large army. The usurper risked an engagement in which he was slain, and the country was restored to the Rai ; but a Muslim governor

[1] Asnī cannot be identified. Asī is mentioned by Utbi (Elliot, II, p. 47) as a place having a fort surrounded by an impenetrable and dense jungle, full of snakes which no enchanters could tame, and so dark that even the rays of the full moon could not be discerned in it. The author of the Etawah District Gazetteer says (p. 127) that Asī lay further to the east than Kanauj and it is difficult to fix the locality of the fort of Asī with any approach to certainty. We learn, however, from the *Jam-ut-tawarikh-i-Rashidi* (Elliot's Historians, I, pp. 37-38) that Asī lay to the south-west of Kanauj at a distance of 18 *farsangs*.

was appointed to exercise control over him. From Ajmer Aibek marched his forces against Bhima Deva, the Raja of Nehrwala, whom he defeated and exacted full reparation for the defeat which his master had sustained previously at his hands. Gwalior, Biyana, and other places were quickly subdued by Qutb-ud-din and were compelled to acknowledge the suzerainty of Ghazni.

Conquest of Bihar.

The conquest of Bihar was accomplished with astonishing ease by Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khilji,[1] an "intrepid, bold and sagacious" general, whose military reputation had gained him from Qutb-ud-din a robe of honour. Having undertaken several predatory expeditions into the territories of Bihar, he led an organised attack against the province, probably in 1197 A.D. at the head of a small detachment of 200 horsemen. By an intrepid move Muhammad captured the fortress, and immense booty fell into his hands. Bihar was the only province in India where Buddhism was still seen in a living form, its preservation there being due to the patronage of the kings of the Pāla dynasty who were all staunch Buddhists. There is no doubt that it was that latter-day Buddhism, which had lost sight of the great ideals of its founder, and had accepted image-worship and a number of rites which were in conflict with the true spirit of the faith. The Muslim historian, who based his account upon the information supplied by two eye-witnesses, makes no distinction between the different classes of infidels, and records that the inhabitants, who were all clean-shaven Brahmans, were put to death. These were Buddhist monks who lived in a monastery or *vihāra* which was demolished, and a large number of books were seized from the library which was

[1] The Khiljis were Turks, a number of whom had settled in Garmsir, from where they came into Hindustan and entered the service of Sultan Muiz-ud-din. Much futile speculation has been indulged in with regard to the origin of the Khiljis, but for practical purposes it will suffice to say that they were Turko-Afghans who had come to seek employment in India.

See Chapter VIII for a full discussion of the subject.

scattered by the invaders.[1] It was the idolatry of mediæval Buddhism which stimulated the zeal of the Muslims, and the débris of the Buddhist *vihāras* and *stūpas* that exist to this day bear testimony to the iconoclastic zeal of the Muslims. The Muslim raid on Bihar gave a death blow to Buddhism; but it appears from an inscription of Vidyādhara dated Samvat 1276 (1219 A.D.) that it did not wholly disappear from Northern India.[2] Having gained possession of Bihar, and taking the spoils of war with him, Muhammad waited upon Qutb-ud-din, who was highly pleased with his exploits, and as a mark of confidence conferred upon him a robe of honour from his own special wardrobe.

Conquest of Bengal.

The conquest of Bihar was followed by the conquest of Bengal. Minhāj-us-Sirāj, who derived his knowledge of the Bengal expedition from one Shams-ud-din, a soldier of Farghanah in the service of Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar, writes:—"Muhammad Bakhtiyar caused a force to be prepared, pressed on from Bihar, and suddenly appeared before the city of Nudiah in such wise that no more than eighteen horsemen could keep up with him, and the other troops followed after him. On reaching the gate of the city, Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar did not molest any one, and proceeded onwards steadily and sedately, in such manner that the people of the place imagined that mayhap his party were merchants and had brought horses for sale, and did not imagine that it was Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar until he reached the entrance to the palace of Rai Lakhmaniah, when he drew his sword and commenced his onslaught on the unbelievers."[3]

[1] The author of the *Tabqat-i-Nasiri* says that there was no Hindu alive to explain the contents of these books. But in the next sentence he says that when these books were read, it was found that the fortress was a college which was called *vihāra* by the Buddhists. Raverty, *Tabqat-i-Nasiri*, I, p. 552.

[2] Führer, The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur, pp. 70—73.

[3] Tabqat-i-Nasiri, I, pp. 557-58. Minhāj writes (I, pp. 551-52) that there were two brothers, Nizamuddin and Shams-ud-din, natives of Farghana in the service of Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar. He met Shams-ud-din at Lakhnauti in 1243 A.D. and his account of the conquest

The same authority adds that the Raja was at his dinner ; and when the shrieks and lamentations of the victims outside reached him, he lost his nerves and fled barefooted by a back-door of his palace. The treasures in the palace were rifled, and the women, servants, and dependants of the Rai were seized. Rai Lakhmaniah fled towards Dacca,[1] where his descendants continued to rule as petty chieftains for many years. This is an exaggerated account of what actually happened and the error about the name of the 'aged Rai' of Bengal has been exploded by modern research. Muhammad destroyed the city of Nudiah and made Lakhnauti or Gaur his capital. He brought the whole country under his sway and introduced the elements of Muslim administration. The Khutbā was read, and coins were struck probably in the name of Sultan Muiz-ud-din[2] for whom the general felt a great reverence, and colleges and monasteries were founded for pious men. Of the enormous booty seized at Nudiah Muhammad sent a large portion to his master Qutb-ud-din.

In 1202 A.D. Qutb-ud-din advanced against Parmardi or Parmāla, the Chandela prince of Bundelkhand. The latter could hardly resist the Muslims, when such mighty warriors of the age as Prithvīrāja and Jayachandra had succumbed to their attacks.

Conquest of Kalinjar.

The Raja was defeated and the fort of Kalinjar, which was famous all over Hindustan for its strength, fell into the hands of the victors. The temples were destroyed, and "fifty thou-

of Bengal is based upon the information supplied by him. That Bengal was conquered is indubitable, but there is serious disagreement about the manner of the conquest.

[1] The Raja fled towards Vikramapur near Sonārgāon which was a place of refuge for all those who were discontented at Gaur. He died sometime after 1205 A.D.

[2] The original passage in the *Tabqat-i-Nasiri* has been translated in Elliot, II, p. 309, to the effect that he caused the Khutbā to be read in his own name, but in Major Raverty's translation there is nothing to convey this impression. He states clearly in a foot-note (I, p. 559) that there is nothing in the text to this effect.

Also see Thomas, Chronicles, p. 110.

sand men came under the collar of slavery, and the plain became black as pitch with Hindus."[1] The forts of Kalpi and Badāon were subdued next, and in this way all the important places in Northern India were brought under the sway of Ghazni by Qutb-ud-din. Well did the viceroy justify the confidence which his master reposed in him.

The tide turns.

The rulers of Ghazni were not satisfied with their Indian possessions. They fondly looked towards the west, and the lands of the Oxus had a fascination for them which they could not resist. Ever since the days of Mahmud, the rulers of Ghazni had tried in vain to annex these lands permanently to their empire, but the venture had resulted only in loss and disappointment. Muhammad who had larger territories to manage in India than any of his predecessors followed the same practice and invaded Khwarizm at the head of a large army in the year 601 A.H. (1204 A.D.). The Shah of Khwarizm obtained assistance from Khorāsān and Gur Khan of Karākhitā, and the combined forces marched to encounter the enemy. The troops of Ghori were pressed so hard by the Shah and his allies that he was compelled to give battle. The result of this unequal struggle was a foregone conclusion. The forces of Ghori were completely routed, and the Sultan hardly escaped with his life.[2] Such a disaster leads to confusion in a state, where everything depends upon the personality of the ruler, and as soon as the news of Muhammad's discomfiture was circulated abroad, the forces of disorder

[1] Taj-ul-Masir, Elliot, II, p. 231.

The order in which these conquests were accomplished is as follows:—

(1) Ajmer, (2) Thangar or Biyana, (3) Gwalior, (4) Nehrwala, (5) Kalinjar, (6) Mahobā, Kalpi, (7) Badāon.

Firishta and the author of the *Taj-ul-Masir* more or less agree in their order of events. Briggs, I, pp. 179-80. Elliot, II, pp. 225—32.

The *Tabqat-i-Nasiri* also agrees with a slight variation, I, p. 470.

[2] The *Taj-ul-Masir* says that the Sultan sustained a slight misfortune and reverse, which is not correct.

began to work. A Ghazni officer hastily went to India and declared himself governor of Multan by producing a forged royal order, and he was accepted by the army. Ghazni, where Taj-ud-din Yaldoz had established himself as ruler, shut its gates against the Sultan and refused admittance. The turbulent Khokhars stirred up strife and harried the districts of the Punjab. Thus, in all parts of the empire there were revolts and conspiracies to overthrow the authority of the Sultan. But he was not unnerved by this gloomy prospect. He recovered Multan and Ghazni and then marched to Hindustan to chastise the Khokhars. Pressed hard by the Sultan's forces from the west and Qutb-ud-din's forces from the east, the Khokhars found it difficult to maintain their position. Nevertheless, they fought an action near a ford of the Jhelum, in which they suffered a crushing defeat. Having obtained this victory, the Sultan, accompanied by Qutb-ud-din, returned to Lahore.

The Khokhar snake was scotched but not killed. Having failed in an open engagement, the Khokhars had recourse to treachery. They burnt with rage to avenge the deaths of their kinsmen who had been killed in the late war. Blood for blood was the simple principle of justice that appealed to these barbarians. Some of them formed a conspiracy to take the life of the Sultan. On his way from Lahore to Ghazni, the Sultan halted at Dhamyak in the Jhelum district, where he was stabbed to death by a fanatic of the Mulahidah sect in March, 1206 A.D.[1] How true were the words of Imam Fakhr-ud-din Razi

[1] The *Taj-ul-Masir* says that the Sultan halted in a tent within the precincts of Dhamyak on the bank of a pure stream. Here, while he was saying his evening prayer, some impious men came running and killed three armed attendants and two chamber-sweepers. They, then, surrounded the Sultan's tent and one or two men out of these three or four ran up to him and inflicted five or six wounds upon him. (Elliot, II, pp. 235-36.)

Firishta more or less agrees. Briggs, I, pp. 105-06.

Raverty, Tabqat-i-Nasiri, I, pp. 484-85.

It says, in the year 601 A.H., at the halting place of Dhamyak he attained martyrdom at the hand of a disciple of the Mulahidah sect and died.

addressed to the Sultan, when the former grew tired of waiting upon him: "Oh! Sultan Muiz-ud-din, sometime hence neither will this greatness and glory of yours remain nor the flattery and hypocrisy of Razi."

Estimate of Muhammad.

Minhāj-us-Sirāj bestows lavish praise upon Muhammad for his munificence and patronage of learned men. Firishta who is less fulsome in his adulations also commends his generosity towards the literati and says that "he bore the character of a just monarch, fearing God, and ever having the good of his subjects at heart." Not so fanatical as Mahmud, Muhammad was certainly more *political* than his great predecessor. He saw clearly the rotton political condition of India and made up his mind to found a permanent dominion. Mahmud's love of wealth had blinded him to the gains of far-reaching importance, which the Indian conquest was bound to bring to the conqueror. Muhammad Ghori, from the outset, took a different course; he tried to consolidate his conquests, and in this work he had the valued assistance and co-operation of his able lieutenant Qutb-ud-din who afterwards founded a dynasty of the kings of Delhi.

Mahmud never aimed at permanent conquest. The Arabs, before him, had occupied a province which was by no means a highly productive one. Mahmud had come sweeping across the country like a whirlwind, but he had returned to his native land after the acquisition of vast booty. Wealth and not

A learned man of the time wrote the following eulogy upon the Sultan's death:

"The martyrdom of the sovereign of sea and land, Muiz-ud-din,
From the beginning of the world the like of whom no monarch arose,
On the third of the month Shaban in the year six hundred and two,
Happened on the road to Ghazni at the halting place of Dhamyak."

Lane-Poole's statement that he was no patron of letters is not correct.

Raverty, Tabqat-i-Nasiri, I, p. 487.

Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 60.

Lane-Poole, Mediæval India, I, p. 55.

Ranking, Al-Badāonī, I, p. 79.

territory, the extirpation of idolatry and not conquest, were the objects of his raids ; and when these were accomplished, he cared nothing for the myriad peoples of India. He had no wish to found an empire on Indian soil. Muhammad was a real conqueror. He conquered the country and aimed at permanent settlement. A complete conquest of India was impossible as long as warrior-blood throbbed within the veins of the Rajput race. But for the first time, the Muslims had brought extensive territory under their direct sway. Qutb-ud-din was appointed viceroy of Hindustan and charged with the duty of extending further the dominion of Islam—a fact which clearly shows the object which Muhammad had in mind. It is true, he did not stay in India ; but like other ambitious men of his age, he yearned for the conquest of the lands of Persia and the Oxus. Every ruler of Ghazni turned his eyes westwards for territorial expansion, and it would be wrong to blame Muhammad for following a traditional policy. His work in India was more solid. The empire of Ghazni broke up after his death ; indeed it was impossible for it to flourish without a great man at the helm of affairs, but the Muslim power which he founded in India increased as time passed, and from humble beginnings the kingdom of Delhi gradually developed into one of the greatest empires of the East. It was no mean contribution to the greatness of Islam.

Qutb-ud-din Aibek's elevation to the throne.

Sultan Muiz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sam died without a male heir. Minhāj-us-Sirāj writes that on one occasion when a favourite courtier spoke to the Sultan about the default of male heirs, he replied with absolute indifference : "Other monarchs may have one son, or two sons : I have so many thousand sons, namely, my Turki slaves, who will be the heirs of my dominions, and who, after me will take care to preserve my name in the Khutbā throughout those territories." After the death of his master, Qutb-ud-din Aibek naturally came to the forefront. He was elected Sultan by the Turkish Amirs and generals and his assumption of royalty was

acquiesced in by the chief of Ghor. He became the ruler of Hindustan and founded a dynasty of kings, which is called after his name. Originally Aibek[1] was a slave. He was purchased by the Qazi of Nishapur, through whose favour, along with his sons, he read the Quran, became an adept in horsemanship and archery and acquired a reputation for courage and manly bearing.. After the Qazi's death, he was sold by his sons to a merchant who took him to Ghazni and sold him to Sultan Muiz-ud-din. Though ugly in external appearance, Aibek was endowed with " laudable qualities and admirable impressions "; and by sheer dint of merit he rose gradually to the position of *Amir Ākhur* (master of the stables), and acted as the leader of the escort of the foragers of the stable, when the Sultan marched against the Shah of Khwarizm. During the Sultan's expeditions in Hindustan, Aibek loyally served him, and as a reward for his signal services he was left in charge of the Indian possessions. As viceroy of Hindustan, he found ample scope for the exercise of his military qualities, and in a short time secured and extended the conquests made by his master. He strengthened himself by matrimonial connections ; he married the daughter of Taj-ud-din Yaldoz, gave his sister in marriage to Qubaicha, and bestowed his daughter upon Iltutmish, one of his own slaves.

[1] Major Raverty says Ibāk means *weak-fingered* and in a long explanatory note he tries to show that it was a nickname. Firishta clearly states that he was called Aibek because his little finger was broken. The passage in the text of the *Tabqat-i-Nasiri* does not bear the interpretation which Major Raverty puts upon it. Besides, it does not appear that in Turki the word *Ibāk* means finger. It seems to me that Aibek was the real name of the slave. There were many slaves at that time who bore the name Aibek.

Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1911-12, p. 20.

Major Raverty, Tabqat-i-Nasiri, I, pp. 513-14.

Briggs, Firishta, I, p. 190.

Thomas, The Chronicles of Pathan Kings, p. 32.

Ranking, Al-Badāoni, I, p. 77.

See footnote 2 in which the translator says, *Ai* in Turki means moon and *bek* means lord. He holds that it was the connection with the moon which was the cause of the name and not the broken finger.

Aibek captured Hansi, Meerut, Delhi, Ranthambhor and Kol, and when Muhammad marched against the Raja of Kanauj, he proceeded as far as Peshawar to meet him, and was entrusted with the command of the vanguard of the royal army. After the Sultan's return to Ghazni, he conquered the country as far as Benares, and took the field against Hari Rāja, brother of Prithvīrāja, who had expelled Kolā from Ajmer and defeated him. Soon afterwards, Gwalior was reduced, and in 1197 A.D., Quth-ud-din led his forces against Nehrwala, whose chief was worsted in a hotly contested engagement, and the whole country was ravaged by the Muslims. For six years, *i.e.*, from 593 A.H. to 599 A.H. (1196—1202 A.D.) there was cessation of warfare in India, which was probably due to the fact that Ghiyas-ud-din and Muiz-ud-din, both, were occupied with the affairs of Khorasan, and were busy making plans to check the growing power of their formidable rival, the Khwarizm Shah. In 599 A.H. (1202 A.D.) Qutb-ud-din marched against the fort of Kalinjar in Bundelkhand, hitherto deemed impregnable by the Hindus.[1] The fort was besieged ; and the Hindus determined to offer resistance but they were overpowered. Vast booty fell into the hands of the Muslims and 50,000 persons, male and female, were made prisoners, and according to Firishta " elevated to the excellence of Islam." Mahobā was occupied next ; and the victorious general returned to Delhi by way of Badāon which was also subdued. Bengal and Bihar had already been occupied by Muhammad Khilji, son of Bakhtiyar, who had acknowledged the suzerainty of Qutb-ud-din. All Hindustan, from Delhi to Kalinjar and Gujarat and from Lakhnauti to Lahore, was brought under the sway of the Turks. Although Qutb-ud-din effectively wielded the powers of a despot, the distant lands comprised in the empire of Delhi were not thoroughly subdued, and the teeming millions of Hindus in the country had not yet

His career of conquest.

[1] This has been mentioned before.



View of Qutb-ud-din's Great Screen.

completely acquiesced in the establishment of Muslim rule in Hindustan.

Qutb-ud-din was a high-spirited and open-handed monarch. Hasan Nizami, the author of the *Taj-ul-Masir*, who was well acquainted with him, bestows lavish praise upon him and says that he administered the country well, dispensed even-handed justice to the people, and exerted himself to promote the peace and prosperity of the realm. The metaphorical assertion of the same chronicler that, during his reign, the wolf and the sheep drank water out of the same pond, points to the Sultan's solicitude for justice and impartiality. The roads were freed from robbers, and the Hindus were treated with kindness, though the Sultan, like 'a mighty fighter in the way of God,' captured thousands as slaves during his wars. His generosity is praised by all writers who style him as *lākhbakhsha* or giver of lākhs. Minhāj-us-Sirāj writes that his gifts were bestowed by hundreds of thousands, and his slaughters likewise were by hundreds of thousands, so that by his liberality and enterprise the region of Hindustan became full of friends and empty of enemies.

Qutb-ud-din as ruler.

Aibek was a powerful and capable ruler who always maintained a high character. Only once in his life did he give himself up to debauchery and indulgence, when he found himself in possession of Ghazni after the defeat of his rival Yaldoz, but his laxity alienated the sympathies of the people of Ghazni with the result that Yaldoz recovered his power with astonishing promptness. Brave and energetic, sagacious and just, according to Muslim ideas, Aibek was devoted to the faith, and as the founder of a large kingdom on foreign soil among races whose martial prowess was well-known, he ranks among the great pioneers of Muslim conquest in India. He gave proof of his religious zeal by building two mosques, one at Delhi and another at Ajmer, both of which were constructed out of the materials of the demolished temples. Qutb-ud-din died

in 1210 A.D. from a fall from his horse, while he was playing *chaugān*,[1] leaving a large kingdom to his successor.

Confusion after Aibek's death.

Ārām succeeded his father, but after a brief reign of one year during which he exercised an imperfect sway over his father's wide dominions, he was defeated and dethroned by Īltutmish who was then governor of Badāon. At the time of Ārām's death Hindustan was parcelled out into four principalities—Sindh was held by Nāsir-ud-din Qubaichā ; Delhi and its contiguous territory were in the possession of Īltutmish ; Lakhnauti was held by the Khilji Maliks, Ali Mardān Khilji having ceased to pay homage to Delhi after the death of Qutb-ud-din ; Lahore was held alternately by Nāsir-ud-din Qubaichā, Shams-ud-din Īltutmish, and Yaldoz who was supreme at Ghazni.

[1] *Chaugān* was something like modern polo. In the early middle ages it was a favourite game in Persia and India.

CHAPTER VI

THE EXTENSION AND CONSOLIDATION OF SLAVE RULE

ĪLTUTMISH who ascended the throne in 607 A.H. (1210 A.D.) is the greatest of the slave kings. He was the slave of a slave[1] who rose to eminence by sheer dint of merit, and it was solely by virtue of his fitness that he superseded the hereditary claimants to the throne. Even Qutb-ud-din had no legal title to the throne, and Īltutmish acted on the principle, so common in Muslim history, that power belongs to the man who can wield it. But he did not find the throne of Delhi a bed of roses. He was confronted with a dangerous situation which caused him not a little embarrassment. Rivals like Yaldoz and Qubaichā who exercised *de facto* sovereignty within their jurisdictions, aspired to universal dominion and made no secret of their ambitions ; while some of the Muizzi and Qutbi Amirs watched with sullen resentment the usurpation by a slave of the throne, which lawfully belonged to the line of Aibek. The absence of any valid title to the throne, coupled with that odium which attaches to the slave of a slave in a country like India, added to his anxiety. Besides, there were numerous Hindu princes and chieftains, who were still brooding over their loss of independence all over Hindustan, and whose recognition of the sovereignty of the Muslims was only nominal. But Īltutmish was not the man to fail or falter in the face of

Iltutmish's accession to the throne.

[1] Iltutmish was purchased by a certain merchant Jamal-ud-din, who brought him to Ghazni. From there he was taken to Delhi and was sold to Qutb-ud-din along with another slave named Bak. Sultan Muhammad Ghori is reported to have said to Qutb-ud-din: 'Treat Iltutmish well, for he will distinguish himself.'

difficulties however serious, and in grim earnestness he set himself to the task of dealing with the situation in a bold and decisive manner. The first to offer strong opposition were the Muizzi and Qutbi Amirs who gathered in the immediate neighbourhood of Delhi and broke out into open rebellion. The Sultan marched from Delhi, defeated them in front of the plain of Jud and put most of their leaders to death.

Suppression of rivals.

Having overpowered all the Amirs and noblemen who opposed his succession to the throne, he brought the whole of the kingdom of Delhi together with its dependencies of Badāon, Oudh, Benares, and the country of the Siwalik under his control. But his safety depended upon the suppression of his rivals, and he at once turned his attention towards them.

Yaldoz was purchased by Sultan Muhammad, when he was young in years, and was appointed chief of the Turkish slaves. His ability and courage won him the confidence of the Sultan who conferred upon him the office of *Wali* of Kirman. Minhāj-us-Sirāj writes: 'He was a great monarch, of excellent faith, mild, beneficent, of good disposition, and very handsome.' After the death of his master he became ruler of Ghazni with the consent of the Maliks and Amirs and the chief of Ghor, who granted him a letter of manumission, and waived his claims to the throne in his favour. Yaldoz ascended the throne of Ghazni; but he was expelled by Qutb-ud-din who made himself master of the country. Rapid success demoralised Qutb-ud-din; his drunken orgies provoked the disgust of the people of Ghazni who invited Yaldoz to assume charge of the kingdom. Yaldoz was a spirited soldier; he had undertaken several expeditions with success in the lands beyond the Hindukush, but when pressed by the Shah of Khwarizm, he retreated towards Hindustan, defeated Nāsir-ud-din Qubaichā, governor of Sindh, and established himself in the Punjab. Īltutmish, who could not afford to see a formidable rival established in a province so near the northern frontier, marched against him and inflicted a crushing defeat

upon him in 1215 A.D. in the vicinity of Tarain, the historic battle-field, where Rai Pithaurā had lost his life and kingdom in an encounter with Muhammad of Ghor. Yaldoz was taken prisoner and sent to the fortress of Badāon, where, in the usual fashion of Muslim kings, he was put to death. The defeat of Yaldoz was followed by an attack upon Nāsir-ud-din Qubaichā, who after an unsuccessful engagement tendered his submission in 1217 A.D. But it was not until 1227 A.D. that he was finally subdued.

The invasion of Chingiz Khan.

This danger was nothing in comparison with the storm which burst upon India in 1221 A.D. The Mongols under Chingiz Khan came down from their mountain steppes in Central Asia and ravaged the countries that came in their way. The name Mongol is derived from the word Mong, meaning brave, daring, bold. The Mongols were at first merely one tribe of a great confederacy ; their name was probably extended to the whole, when the prowess of the imperial house, which governed it, gained supremacy.[1] The Mongol was a ferocious savage and from Howorth's description of Qutula Khan called Kubilai by D'ohsson, a typical Mongol hero, we can form some idea of their ferocity and bloodthirstiness. " Kutula Khan's voice is compared to the thunder in the mountains, his hands were strong like bear's paws, and with them he could break a man in two, as easily as

[1] Howorth, History of the Mongols, part I, p. 27.

The forms Moghul and Mongol are used for one and the same word. When the Mongols separated themselves from their ancestral regions and came to close quarters with the Musalman inhabitants of the Western states of Central Asia, their neighbours mispronounced the name of their original nation and called them Moghul.

Elias and Ross, A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia, pp. 72-73.

For a full discussion of the subject see ' A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia ' by Elias and Ross based on Mirza Haider's *Tarikh-i-Rashidi.* The distinction between the terms Moghul, Turk, and Uighur is clearly explained.

an arrow may be broken. He would lie naked near an immense brazier in the winter, heedless of the cinders and sparks that fell on his body, and, on awakening, would mistake the burns merely for the bites of insects. He ate a sheep a day, and drank immense quantities of kumis (fermented mare's milk)."[1] The Mongol was absolutely careless of human life; he cared nothing for his plighted word, broke the most solemn promises in a most thoughtless manner, and perpetrated the most horrible atrocities with or without provocation.

Chingiz was the type of such a Mongol warrior. Popularly he is known as one of the 'Scourges of God' who ranks with Attila, the Hunish leader, as the destroyer of human species. But this estimate presents only one side of Chingiz's character. A great conqueror and captain of war, he was endowed with a creative genius of the highest order which enabled him to coalesce into an empire the barbarous tribal communities of Central Asia and to found laws and institutions which lasted for generations after his death. He was born in 1155 A.D. at Dilum Boldak near the river Oman. His original name was Temuchin. His father Yissugāy died when Temuchin was only 13 years of age. As a result of this calamity, the young lad had to struggle against adversity, which provided for him an excellent training in the virtues of courage, patience, and self-reliance. Constantly fighting against his foes, he succeeded at last in subduing all the hordes, and was proclaimed Khan in 1203 A.D. With lightning speed he overran China, plundered and ravaged the countries of Western Asia. Balkh, Bokhara, Samarqand, and many other famous and beautiful cities were ruined by his devastating raids. At Bokhara Chingiz himself climbed the steps of the great mosque and

[1] Howorth, History of the Mongols, pt. I, pp. 43-44.

See Amir Khusrau's description of these nomad savages in his *Qiran-us-Sadain*, Elliot, III, p. 528.

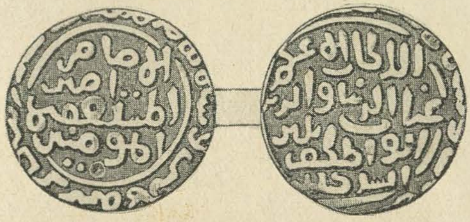
But Amir Khusrau's account is somewhat exaggerated, for the poet had been taken prisoner by the Moghuls or Mongols and had suffered much at their hands.



Muhammad Bin Sam, Gold. Ghazni, 603 A.H.



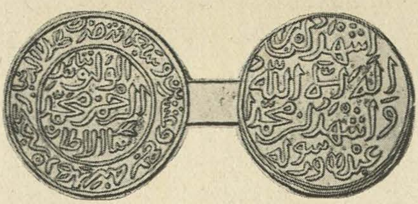
Īltutmish, Gold. Nagore, 608 A.H.



Ghiyas-ud-din Balban. Gold. Delhi, 680 A.H.



Ala-ud-din Khilji, Gold. Delhi. 710 A.H.



Muhammad Bin Tughluq, Gold. Delhi,
725, 726, 727 A.H.

gave the signal for plunder shouting out: 'The hay is cut, give your horses fodder.' He ascended the pulpit, threw the Quran under his horse's feet to be trodden upon and compelled the inhabitants to yield their treasures. Thousands of men, women, and children were shot dead in cold blood by these ruffians during their predatory raids. On one occasion when Chingiz was told that his victims had swallowed up precious stones which they possessed, he gave an order to disembowel them in order to obtain the coveted treasure. The Sultanate of Khwarizm, which at one time stretched from Khiva, Samarqand, and Bokhara to Herat and Isphan, was shattered by the attacks of these barbarians. When Chingiz attacked Jalal-ud-din, the last Shah of Khwarizm, he fled towards Hindustan, whither he was pursued by the invaders. He encamped on the Indus and prepared to give battle to the Mongols.[1] He sent an envoy to Iltutmish, requesting him to grant a place for residence in Delhi for sometime, but the latter, fearing the effect of his presence upon his Turkish followers and the Shah's superiority over himself, excused himself on the ground that the climate of Delhi would not suit him, and had the envoy murdered. Jalal-ud-din arranged his forces in order of battle and employed the time-honoured tactics of right, left, and centre. The Mongols yelled out in a terrible manner, but the forces of the Shah continued to fight unmoved, and by their dash and vigour threw the main body of Chingiz's army into disorder. But the Mongols soon retrieved their position, and in an encounter that ensued Jalal-ud-din was defeated. His losses were heavy; only seven thousand men remained out of the thirty thousand who had assembled to fight under his banner. In this plight the Shah decided to escape, and bade a touching farewell to his women whom he left behind to take

[1] Howorth writes (pt. I, p. 90) that here he was joined by the feeble débris of his army (chiefly Khwarizmians) which had been able to cross the river. He made a raid into the country for arms and clothes, and defeated an Indian prince, and on the news that the Mongols were still pursuing, he retired towards Delhi.

care of themselves. Petis de la Croix[1] writes that nature and love in this sad moment showed itself in the most tender manner, but it appears that the Shah was impervious to such appeals, and his selfishness deserves the strongest condemnation. He jumped into the Indus on horseback, with a handful of followers amidst a shower of arrows from the enemy and crossed it—an extraordinary feat for a prince in distress. Having allied himself with the Khokhars, he fell upon Nāsir-ud-din Qubaichā, whom he drove into the fortress of Multan The country of Sindh was ravaged and laid waste ; after a short time, when he learnt that the army in Iraq was ready to help him, he left that country[2] and went to Persia ; but after an adventurous career he was murdered by a fanatic whose

[1] M. Petis de la Croix writes that the Shah begged Muhammad Nisavi to deliver the ladies from being made slaves by the Mongols and commanded them to be drowned and they did so. But the same authority says that other historians are of opinion that his family was brought before the Khan, who ordered the males to be killed. Among the slain was the eldest son of the Shah, who was only eight years of age. The History of Genghizcan the Great, pp. 319-20.

[2] M. Petis de la Croix writes that the princes of Indostan knowing that one day or other he would give them trouble, conspired against him and obliged him to repass the Indus. But the more probable version is that he left the country voluntarily in the hope of recovering his lost dominions beyond the Oxus. The History of Genghizcan the Great, pp. 321-22.

The author of the *Tabqat-i-Akbari* says that when Jalal-ud-din came towards Lahore Sultan Shams-ud-din went and opposed him with a large army. Jalal-ud-din unable to withstand him, went towards Sindh, and Siwistan, and thence escaped by way of Raj and Mekran. (Biblioth. Ind., pp. 58-59.)

Firishta corroborates the account given in the *Tabqat.* (Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 65. Briggs, I, p. 208.)

The *Tabqat-i-Nasiri* is curiously indecisive. It says in one place (I, p. 293) that the Sultan despatched a force from his armies against him upon which Sultan Jalal-ud-din turned aside, and proceeded towards Uchha and Multan. Again on page 609 it says that Sultan Shams-ud-din marched from Delhi towards Lahore with the forces of Hindustan, and Sultan Jalal-ud-din having turned aside, from the host of Hindustan, marched away towards Sindh and Siwistan. (Raverty, Tabqat-i-Nasiri, I, pp. 293, 609, 610.)

It does not appear that Shams-ud-din sent any army against Jalal-ud-din. He seems to have been prudent enough not to embroil himself in fresh trouble.

brother he had previously slain. The Mongols found the heat of India intolerable and went back to the lands on the west of the Indus, which had a great attraction for them. Thus was India saved from a great calamity, and Īltutmish now felt himself strong enough to crush his native enemies.

The Khilji Maliks in Bengal had withdrawn their allegiance after the death of Qutb-ud-din. Ali Mardān had struck his own coins and caused his name to be read in the Khutbā as an independent ruler. His example was followed by Ghiyas-ud-din Khilji, whom the Muslim chronicler describes as an exceptionally able and generous prince, who conferred numberless blessings upon his people. He brought the countries of Jajnagar, Kamrup, Tirhut, and Gaur under his sway and exercised independent authority. In 622 A.H. (1225 A.D.) Īltutmish sent an army against Ghiyas, who concluded a treaty[1] and paid a large tribute, consisting of 38 elephants and 80 lākhs of silver tankās. The Khutbā was read and coins were struck in his name. When the Sultan's forces withdrew, Ghiyas expelled the governor of Bihar and seized the province. Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Shah who held the fief of Oudh marched against him. Ghiyas had recourse to force, but he was defeated and slain and the Khilji Amirs were made captives. The whole of Lakhnauti passed into the hands of the prince. Ranthambhor fell in 1226 A.D.; and Mandor[2] in the Siwalik hills followed suit a year later, and much booty fell into the hands of the victors.

Conquests.

[1] There was no regular battle. The *Tabqat-i-Nasiri* says that Ghiyas-ud-din moved his vessels up the river, while another writer says that he had all the boats removed and secured in order to prevent Iltutmish from crossing it.

Major Raverty, *Tabqat-i-Nasiri*, I, p. 593.

[2] The *Tabqat-i-Nasiri* has Mandāwar, while Firishta writes Māndū, which is obviously incorrect. The *Tabqat-i-Akbari* has Mandor and Badāonī also writes Mandor. Thomas too has Mandor. Different authorities write the name in different ways.

The correct name is Mandor, the capital of the Parihār Rajputs, five miles north of Jodhpur.

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Qubaichā, as has been said before, was another ambitious slave of Sultan Muiz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sam. He was a man of intellect and sound judgment, and through his master's favour had acquired considerable experience of civil and military affairs in passing from humble to high posts. He was appointed governor of Uchha where he managed the affairs so well that in a short time he made himself master of Multan, Siwistan and Debal as far as the sea-coast. The whole country of Sindh was brought under his sway, which now extended as far as Sarhind, Kuhram and Sirsuti. His successes aroused the jealousy of his rival chief at Ghazni, and Lahore soon became a bone of contention between him and Taj-ud-din Yaldoz. When the Khalji and Khwarizm forces were defeated by Qubaichā, they found protection with Īltutmish who espoused their cause. He started from Delhi by way of Sarhind towards Uchha at the head of a large army, while the governor of Lahore with another contingent marched against Multan. On hearing of the approach of the Sultan, Qubaichā entrenched himself in the fortress of Bhakkar whither he carried all his forces and treasure. The royal army invested the fortress of Uchha and captured it after a protracted siege of two months and twenty-seven days in 1227 A.D. The capitulation of Uchha so disheartened Qubaichā that he sent his son Alauddin Masud Bahram Shah to treat with the Sultan. The young plenipotentiary was treated with kindness, but he was not allowed to return. At this, his father was overpowered with grief, and

The fall of Qubaichā.

Tod also says it was taken from Mokul the Parihār prince, by Rāhup who obtained Chittor in 1201 A.D. and shortly after sustained the attack of Shams-ud-din whom he defeated at Nāgor. The bardic chronicles on which Tod relied would not, of course, record a victory in favour of the Muslims.

Raverty, Tabqat-i-Nasiri, I, p. 611 (foot-note No. 3).

Tabqat-i-Akbari (Biblioth. Ind.), p. 59.

Ranking, Al-Badāonī. I, p. 93.

Briggs, I, p. 210.

Thomas, The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings, p. 45.

fearing lest the fate of Yaldoz should overtake him also, he embarked in a boat in order to save his life, but he was drowned in the Indus.[1]

In 626 A.H. (1228 A.D.) Īltutmish received a patent of investiture from the Khalifa of Baghdad, the highest pontiff of Islam, a recognition which enormously augmented the prestige of the Indo-Muhammadan government in India. It legitimised the Sultan's authority and made it sacrilegious for a Muslim to disobey the commands of his lawful sovereign. It is not clear whether Īltutmish himself sought this honour, or the Khalifa, of his own free will, conferred it upon him. But there can be no doubt that it was an act of great political significance. It silenced those who challenged Īltutmish's claim to the throne on the score of his birth, and gave to his authority the sanction of a name, honoured and cherished by the entire Muslim world. The name of the reigning Khalifa, Al-Mustansir billah, was inscribed on the coins issued from the royal mints, and the Sultan was described as "Aid of the Commander of the Faithful Nasir Amir-ul-Mumnin." The currency was remodelled, and Īltutmish was the first to introduce a purely Arabic coinage. The silver tankā weighing 175 grains became the standard coin.

Investiture by the Khalifa.

With his position strengthened by this pontifical decree, Īltutmish found no difficulty in suppressing disorder and extending his conquests. When Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Shah died in Bengal, the Khilji Maliks at Lakhnauti broke out into rebellion. The Sultan marched against the rebels at the head of a large force and defeated them. The government of Lakhnauti was conferred upon Malik Alauddin Jani, and order was restored in the province. In 1231 A.D., the Sultan under-

The Conquest of Bengal and Gwalior.

[1] The *Tabqat-i-Nasīri* (Raverty's Trans., I, p. 544) says that when Uchha and Bhakkar fell, Qubaichā, disheartened by the detention of his son, tried to escape, but he was drowned in the river.

But the same authority on page 614 says that Qubaichā drowned himself in the Indus.

massive grandeur and beauty of design are unrivalled, still stands as a worthy memorial of his greatness. As long as Īltutmish lived, he behaved like a great monarch, and his indefatigable labours came to an end only when ill-health made him unfit for active work. The Muslim chronicler Minhāj-us-Sirāj extols his virtues in these words, "never was a sovereign, of such exemplary faith and of such kindness and reverence towards recluses, devotees, divines and doctors of religion and law, from the mother of creation ever enwrapped in swaddling bands of dominion."

The weak successors of Iltutmish.

Īltutmish who was well aware of the incapacity of his sons had nominated his daughter Reziyā as his heir. But the nobles who had a prejudice against the succession of a female placed upon the throne Prince Rukn-ud-din, a son of Īltutmish, a notorious debauchee, addicted to the most degrading sensual enjoyments. He was a handsome, open-hearted, generous, pleasure-loving fool, who took delight in the company of buffoons and fiddlers and squandered the riches of the state in ministering to his grosser appetites. So extravagant was he that, often, seated on an elephant he would drive through the *bazar* of Delhi in a state of intoxication and scatter *tankās* of red gold among the populace. While the young prince was immersed in pleasures, the affairs of the state were managed by his mother, Shah Turkān, an ambitious lady, who, like Catharine

It was Iltutmish who superimposed upon it three more storeys and carried it to completion. The fifth and final storey and probably most of the fourth were built by Firuz Tughluq. An excellent account of the *Qutb Minar* is given in the 'Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India' by Mr. Page.

Carr Stephen, Archæology of Delhi, p. 65.

Raverty, Tabqat-i-Nasiri, I, pp. 621-22.

Syed Ahmad, Āsār-us-Sanādid (Lucknow), pp. 54-55.

Smith, Oxford History of India, p. 223.

Thomas, The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, p. 24.

Cunningham, Archæological Report, 1862-63, pp. 29—31.

Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1911-12, pp. 20—22.

de Medici of France, had an inordinate love of power. But when mother and son brought about the cruel murder of Qutb-ud-din, another prince of the blood royal, the Maliks and Amirs assumed an attitude of hostility towards them. Firuz Shah who held Oudh seized the treasures of Lakhnauti and plundered several cities of Hindustan. The governors of Badāon, Multan, Hansi, and Lahore became openly hostile and disregarded the authority of the central government. Meanwhile the crisis was precipitated by an attempt of the queen-mother to take the life of Sultan Reziyā, the eldest daughter and heiress-designate of Iltutmish. The conspiracy was nipped in the bud, and the ambitious lady, Shah Turkān, was taken prisoner by the infuriated mob. Her fall prepared the way for Reziyā. The Turkish Amirs and nobles rallied round her and saluted her as their sovereign. Rukn-ud-din was also seized and thrown into prison, where he died in Rabi-ul-Awwal, 634 A.H. (1236 A.D.), after a brief reign of a little less than seven months.

Sultan Reziyā's accession to the throne.

As has been previously remarked, Reziyā had been nominated[1] by her father as his successor owing to her great gifts and accomplishments and a testamentary royal decree was written by the *Mushrif-al-mamālik*, the principal secretary of state, in which she was formally nominated as heir-apparent. The ministers of the Sultan felt scandalised at the elevation of a woman to royal dignity and the supersession of the adult male heirs. They urged upon the Sultan the impropriety of such a measure, but he replied, " My sons are engrossed in the pleasures of youth, and none of them possesses the capacity to

[1] Minhāj-us-Sirāj writes :—

" The Sultan discerned in her countenance the signs of power and bravery, and although she was a girl and lived in retirement, yet when the Sultan returned from the conquest of Gwalior, he directed his secretary, Taj-ul-Malik Mahmud, who was director of the government, to put her name in writing, as heir of the kingdom, and successor to the throne."

Raverty, Tabqat-i-Nasiri, II, pp. 638-39.

Tabqat-i-Nasiri, Persian text, edited by W. N. Lees, pp. 185-86.

manage the affairs of the country. After my death it will be seen that not one of them will be found to be more worthy of the heir-apparentship than my daughter." The sovereignty of females was not unknown to Islam. The Muslim world was well familiar with the names of the Khwarizm princesses, Malikā Turkān and Turkān Khātūn, who exercised more complete sway than Reziyā ever did. Even in the 13th century there were Muslim queens ruling in Egypt and Persia. The advocates of possession in the male line were thus silenced, and Reziyā was acknowledged heir to the throne.

Secures her hold.

When she ascended the throne after the capture of the dowager-queen Shah Turkān, she was confronted with a dangerous situation. Muhammad Junaidi, the wazir of the kingdom, did not acknowledge her right to the throne, and the provincial governors also offered opposition. Nusrat-ud-din Tayarsi, the feudatory of Oudh, who owed his position to Reziyā, came to her rescue. By her courage and diplomacy, the queen soon put down the rebellious Maliks, many of whom were killed in action, and her principal enemy, Muhammad Junaidi, retired to the hills of Sirmur, where he died after sometime. Thus was order established throughout the kingdom, and in the words of the chronicler, "from Lakhnauti to Debal and Damrilah all the Maliks and Amirs tendered obedience and submission."

During these early years much excitement was caused by the rebellion of the heretics of the Qirāmitah and the Mulāhidah sects, who at the instigation of a certain Turk, named Nūr-ud-dīn, collected in the vicinity of Delhi men from various parts of the country such as Gujarat, Sindh and lands along the banks of the Ganges and the Jamna. They entered into a conspiracy for the overthrow of Islam. Nūr-ud-dīn was an eloquent preacher who gathered a mob around him and preached doctrines subversive of the 'true faith.' His tirades against the '*Ulamā* and the sects of Abū Hanīfā and Shafī caused much excitement and on a fixed day the conspirators entered the Jām-i-Masjid, numbering 1,000 men armed with swords and

shields. They divided themselves into two sections, one of which entered the gateway of the masjid on the northern side and the other passing through the cloth market entered the gateway of the Muizzi College and attacked the Musalmans on both sides. When the royal troops marched against them, they dispersed and order was restored.

Her policy causes discontent.

Reziyā was a talented woman. The contemporary chronicler describes her as a "great sovereign and sagacious, just, beneficent, the patron of the learned, a disposer of justice, the cherisher of her subjects, and of warlike talent, and was endowed with all the admirable attributes and qualifications necessary for a king; but, as she did not attain the destiny, in her creation, of being computed among men, of what advantage were all these excellent qualifications to her." She tried her best to play the king. She cast off female garments, abandoned the seclusion of the *zenana*, donned the head-dress of a man, and transacted business in open *darbar*. She took an active part in campaigns against the Hindus and the rebellious Muslim chiefs, and herself led an expedition against the governor of Lahore, who was compelled to acknowledge her authority. But her sex proved her worst disqualification. As Elphinstone remarks, her talents and virtues were insufficient to protect her from a single weakness. It was shown in extraordinary marks of favour to her master of the horse, who, to make her partiality more degrading, was an Abyssinian slave, Jamal-ud-din Yāqūt.[1] The free-born Khāns, whom the corps of the Turkish mamluks

[1] It does not appear that Reziyā's fondness for Yāqūt was criminal though Ibn Batūtā (Paris ed., III, p. 167) unequivocally says so. But Ibn Batūtā cannot be accepted as an authority in regard to matters which never came under his notice.

The author of the *Tabqat-i-Nasiri* simply says Yāqūt, the Abyssinian, acquired favour in attendance upon the Sultan. (Raverty, Tabqat-i-Nasiri, I, p. 642.)

Major Raverty thinks that her fondness was not criminal, since the greatest breach of decorum alleged against her by Firishta is the "familiarity which existed between the Abyssinian and the Queen in the fact that when she rode, she was always lifted on her horse by the Abyssinian." (Briggs, I, p. 220.)

known as " the forty " had superseded in power, resented the preference which the queen showed to the Abyssinian. It was an unwise policy to exclude well-tried officers who had helped to establish the kingdom of the slaves. The feeling against the queen was further accentuated by her public appearance which shocked the orthodox Muslims.

Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Altunia's revolt, 1239 A.D.

The first to raise the standard of revolt was Altunia, the rebel governor of Sarhind. The treason of this chief put Reziyā on her mettle, and forthwith she started from the capital, at the head of a large army, to put down the revolt. When she reached Tabarhindah, the Turkish Amirs slew her favourite Yāqūt and imprisoned her in the fort. But the artful queen proved too clever for her captors. She cast her spell on Altunia who contracted a marriage with her, and marched towards Delhi at the head of a considerable force to recover the kingdom. Muiz-ud-din Bahram Shah, brother of Reziyā, who had been proclaimed king by the Amirs, while she was in duress, led an army against the queen and her husband, and defeated them. The partisans of Altunia deserted him, and together with his spouse he fell into the hands of the Hindus, who put them to death[1]

The *Tabqat-i-Akbari* says that when Sultan Reziyā mounted, he (Yāqūt) placed his hands under her arms and placed her on the animal she rode. (Calcutta text, p. 67.) Badāonī repeats the same story. (Ranking, Al Badāonī, I, p. 120.) Whatever the truth may be, there is no doubt that Reziyā committed an act of unpardonable indiscretion in showing such preference for the Abyssinian. Conduct like this in an eastern country, is sure to excite suspicion. The queen certainly transgressed the proper limits permitted to a lady of high rank in the east, particularly when she was unmarried.

Thomas is more severe in his estimate of the queen's conduct. He writes: "It was not that a virgin queen was forbidden to love—she might have indulged herself in a submissive prince consort, or revelled almost unchecked in the dark recesses of the palace haram, but wayward fancy pointed in a wrong direction, and led her to prefer a person employed about her court, an Abyssinian. Moreover, the favours extended to whom the Turki nobles resented with one accord."

Thomas, The Chronicles of Pathan Kings, p. 106.

[1] Ibn Batūtā relates the story of Reziyā's death in a strange manner, but his account is based upon hearsay and therefore quite incorrect.

in Rabi-ul-Awwal, 638 A.H. (1240 A.D.). Reziyā's reign lasted for three and a half years.

The confusion after Reziyā's death.

Bahram Shah, brother of Reziyā, who succeeded her, was a prince "fearless, full of courage and sanguinary" but frank and unostentatious, and had no desire to display the splendour of royalty. Minhāj-us-Sirāj writes: "He was in nature unassuming and frank; and never had about his person jewelry and finery after the custom of the kings of this world, nor did he ever evince any desire for girdles, silken garments, decoration, banners, or display." His reign was full of murder, treachery and intrigue; and disaffection became widespread when he adopted drastic measures to put down conspiracies. The Mongols made their appearance in Hindustan in 1241 A.D. and when the governor of Lahore, Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din, failed to offer resistance owing to the lack of co-operation of his people, they captured Lahore and killed a large number of Musalmans. Shortly afterwards the Sultan was assassinated and was succeeded by Alauddin Masud Shah, a grandson of Īltutmish. During the first two years of his rule, the Sultan obtained victories in several parts of his kingdom, and carried on holy wars against the Hindus and heretics as enjoined by his creed. In 1245 A.D. the Mongols appeared again in India and advanced upon Uchha, but they were repelled with heavy losses. During the latter part of his reign, the Sultan began to behave like a tyrant, and wantonly put to death several of his Maliks. Camp life and military society vitiated his morals; he became fond of pleasure, drinking, and the chase, and paid no attention to the business of government. Disaffection grew apace; and the Amirs and Maliks invited Nasir-ud-din, another son of Īltutmish, to take charge of the kingdom. Masud was cast into prison in Muharram, 644 A.H. (May, 1246 A.D.), where he died shortly afterwards.

CHAPTER VII

BALBAN AND HIS SUCCESSORS

THE throne of Delhi now fell to the lot of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Shah, a younger son of Iltutmish, in 1246 A.D. He was a pious, God-fearing, compassionate ruler, who patronised the learned and sympathised with the poor and the distressed. He led the retired and obscure life of a *darvesh*, denied to himself the pleasures of royalty and earned his living by copying verses of the Quran.[1] By character and temperament, he was unfitted to rule the kingdom of Delhi at a time when internal factions and Hindu revolts conspired to weaken the monarchy, and the Mongols hammered upon the gates of India. But fortunately Nasir-ud-din had a very able and strong-willed minister in Balban who guided the domestic as well as the foreign policy of the state throughout his master's reign.

Nasir-ud-din Mahmud.

He was a Turk of the tribe of Ilbari, from which Iltutmish himself was descended, and his father was a Khan of 10,000 families. Balban who was destined for greater honours than the mere headship of a Khanate was in his youth captured by the Mongols, who conveyed him to Baghdad, where he was purchased by Khwaja Jamal-ud-din of Basra. The Khwaja who discerned in him the attributes of greatness treated him kindly and took him to Delhi, where he was purchased by Shams-ud-din Iltut-

Balban's early career.

[1] Several anecdotes are related of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud. It is said, the Sultan's wife used to cook food for him, and, one day, when she asked her husband to allow a maid-servant to assist her, he refused her request on the ground that he was only a trustee for the state. This seems to be an exaggeration. But there is no doubt that the Sultan led a simple life and spent his days in the practice of piety.

mish. "The falcon of dominion and power was thus placed upon his sacred wrist," and Balban was appointed *Khāsah-bardār* (personal attendant) to the Sultan, and was enrolled in the famous corps of forty slaves. Under Reziyā he was promoted to the rank of *Amīr-i-shikār* (Lord of the Hunt). When the prosperity of Reziyā declined and the nobles rose against her, Balban joined the rebellious confederacy and assisted in her deposition. Bahram, the new king, out of gratefulness to those who had raised him to the throne, entrusted to Balban the fief of Rewāri,[1] to which was afterwards added the district of Hansi. Balban governed his charge wisely and well; agriculture was improved, and "from the effects of his justice and conspicuous liberality the people became contented and prosperous."

When the Mongols under their leader Mangu, invaded Sindh and laid siege to the fortress of Uchha in 1245 A.D., Balban silenced the murmurs of the vacillating Amirs, and organised a large army to repel their attack. The expedition was so efficiently managed that when the royal army reached the river Beas, the Mongol leader became anxious for the safety of his troops and raised the siege. His army which consisted of three divisions suffered a crushing defeat, and fled from the field of battle, leaving behind hundreds of Hindu and Musalman captives who were at once liberated. It was Balban's military vigour and intrepidity which compelled the Mongols to raise the siege, and won such brilliant success for the arms of Islam. When Nasir-ud-din Mahmud ascended the throne in 1246 A.D., he was appointed principal minister of the state and exercised full regal power, while his master, a political non-entity, passed his days in transcribing the Quran and practising the art of penmanship.

Balban crossed the Ravi in 1246 A.D., ravaged the Jūd and Jilam hills, and suppressed the Khokhars and other contumacious tribes. He undertook several expeditions into the

[1] Rewāri is a town in the Gurgaon district in the Punjab situated on the Delhi and Jaipur road. (Imp. Gaz., p. 300.)

Doab to chastise the refractory Hindu Rajas. After much fighting, the fortress of Talsandah, situated within the limits of Kanauj, was conquered. The Rana of Malaki, the country between Kalinjar and Kara, was subdued after stubborn fighting, and vast booty fell into the hands of the Muslims. Mewat and Ranthambhor were ravaged next, and victory rested with the arms of Islam ; but Malik Baha-ud-din Ibak was killed before the walls of the fort on the 11th Zil-hijjah, 646 A.H. (April 7, 1248 A.D.). The rebellions of the Muslim governors were suppressed and Īz-ud-din, who rebelled at Nagor in 649 A.H. (1251 A.D.), was captured by Sher Khan at Uchha which was surrendered without even a show of resistance. This was followed by expeditions to Gwalior, Chanderi, Malwa and Narwar,[1] which were all subdued, and immense booty was seized. A Hindu Raja, Chahar Deva, who met the royalists at the head of a large army, was defeated ; and the victorious troops returned to Delhi in Rabi-ul-Awwal, 650 A.H. (May, 1252 A.D.).

Six months later, the Sultan marched towards Uchha and Multan, and was joined by several leading noblemen. It was during this expedition that Imad-ud-din Rihan, who was jealous of Balban's influence, excited the Maliks and poisoned the ears of the Sultan against him. The machinations of his enemies at last succeeded, and the great general and minister who had served the state with signal devotion was banished from the court in Muharram, 651 A.H. (March, 1253 A.D.). He was ordered to go back to his estates in the Siwalik hills and Hansi, and Imad-ud-din was installed as *Vakil-i dar*[2] at the capital.

[1] Narwar is situated 40 miles to the west of Bhopal. According to Tod it was founded by the Kachwaha Rajputs. Raja Nala, whose story is related in the Mahābhārata, ruled at Narwar. His descendants continued to hold the country against the Muslims till it was finally taken by the Mahrattas.

Jarrett, Ain-i-Akbari, II, p. 60.

Chahar Deva was king of Narwar. Thomas. The Chronicles. p. 67. He is called Chahar Ajari in the *Tabqat-i-Nasiri*.

[2] Vakīl-i-dar is the correct word, though some texts have *Vakīldar*. The principal duty of the Vakīl-i-dar was to hold the keys of the gate of the king's palace. Barani speaks of Qazi Zia-ud-din

With the removal of Balban a fresh distribution of offices followed and all those who had held office under him were either transferred or dismissed to make room for the vile crew of the upstart. Muhammad Junaidi was appointed wazir, and Imad-ud-din wielded considerable influence in the management of affairs. Minhāj-us-Sirāj was deprived of his Qaziship, and that is probably why he is so bitter in his denunciation of the new ministerial regime. Imad-ud-din was a renegade Hindu, and his tutelage galled the pride of the Maliks and nobles of the court, who were all "Turks of pure lineage and Tajziks of noble birth," and looked upon it a disgrace to serve under him. The administration became lax; disorder and intrigue became rife throughout the kingdom, and hooliganism was countenanced even in the streets of the capital to such an extent that the learned author of the *Tabqat-i-Nasiri* could not go for six months to say his prayers in the great mosque. Grave dissatisfaction prevailed in the provinces, and from all sides requests poured in upon the Sultan to dismiss Imad-ud-din. The Maliks of Karā-Mānikpur, Oudh, Tirhut, Badāon, Tabarhindah, Sāmānah, Sunnam, Kuhrām, and the whole of the Siwalik country entreated the exiled minister to resume the charge of affairs. These hostile officers, reinforced by Ulugh Khan and Prince Jalal-ud-din Masud Shah, marched at the head of their troops towards the capital. This demonstration of military force alarmed Rihan, and he induced the Sultan to proceed against the rebels. The two armies met in the vicinity of Tabarhindah. When both the advance guards encountered each other, disorder prevailed in the Sultan's army, and it retreated towards Hansi without striking a blow. A compromise was afterwards effected by the leading Amirs on both sides, and the Sultan was persuaded to order the dismissal of Rihan. He was ordered to the fief of Badāon and Balban

as holding the post of Vakīl-i-dar in the time of Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah Khilji. The office existed among the Mughals also, and was no doubt considered important by them.

Raverty, Tabqat-i-Nasiri, I, p. 694.

returned to the capital in triumph on the Zil-hijjah, 652 A.H. (February 1, 1254 A.D.). All hearts rejoiced at his return, and through the favour of God, "the gate of the Divine mercy opened and rain fell upon the ground, and all people looked upon his auspicious arrival as an omen of good to mortals."

The administration again resumed its old energy and vigour, and Balban put down with a strong hand the rebellious Amirs in the Doab. When Qutlugh Khan who had married the widowed mother of the Sultan and to whom the fief of Oudh had been assigned, revolted in 1255 A.D., Balban marched against him and obliged him to withdraw. He was assisted by all the disaffected Maliks and Hindus, and was joined by Iz-ud-din Balban Kashlu Khan, governor of Sindh, who, also, following the evil example of Qutlugh Khan, revolted. The two Maliks effected a junction of their armies near Samana, and in pursuance of a conspiracy into which they had entered with some of the Amirs at the capital to oust Ulugh Khan from power, they marched towards the capital, but were unable to put into execution their nefarious project. Malik Balban returned by way of the Siwalik territory to Uchha, with his retinue reduced to two or three hundred men; but Qutlugh Khan was never heard of again. Towards the close of the year 1257 A.D. the Mongols again invaded Sindh under their leader Nuyin Sari,[1] but when the royal forces marched against them, they retreated.

Suppression of rebellions.

The last expedition of note undertaken by the minister was against the hilly country of Mewat in the year 1259 A.D., where the rebels plundered the property of the Muslims, destroyed villages and harassed the peasantry in the districts of Hariana, Siwalik, and Biyana. Three years previously, they had committed similar acts of brigandage and had been chastised by

The last expedition.

[1] He is called in another place Nuyin Salin, but the letters *l* and *r* are interchangeable.

Raverty, Tabqat-i-Nasiri, I, p. 711.

Ulugh Khan. They renewed their depredations under their leader Malka, a Hindu, who gathered round him all the roving blades of the surrounding country. Ulugh Khan marched against them, and through the zeal and intrepidity of the Amirs and Maliks he captured them and promiscuously put to the sword nearly 12,000 persons. Nearly 250 of their leaders "fell into the chains of bondage," and the victorious army seized immense booty. Within a short period of 20 days the warrior-minister cleared the whole country of these pests, captured 142 horses, and brought sixty bags of cotton, each containing 35,000 tankās, to the royal treasury. About this time an envoy arrived from Halākū, the grandson of Chinghiz Khan. A magnificent reception was accorded to him, and the pious and benevolent Sultan was also brought out of his seclusion to preside over the court, held in honour of the distinguished guest.

Balban's achievement.

For full two decades Balban exercised regal authority and preserved the state from many a danger. It was a time of turmoil and anxiety, and only a man like Balban could put down with an iron hand the elements of disorder and strife. The frontier posts were strongly garrisoned, a large and efficient army was constructed, and the Mongols were successfully repelled. The rebellions of the refractory Hindus of the Doab were effectively suppressed, and sedition was thoroughly stamped out. The disaffected Amirs and Maliks, whose jealousies and mutual dissensions created disorder in the state, were effectively curbed. But for Balban's vigour and energy, the kingdom of Delhi would have hardly survived the shocks of internal revolts and external invasions.

Balban becomes king.

After Nasir-ud-din's death in 1266 A.D., the mantle of sovereignty devolved upon Balban who was eminently fit for discharging the duties of the kingly office. The incompetence of the sons of Īltutmish and the overweening pride of the Shamsī slaves had diminished the prestige of the crown, and

Balban's first task was to reassert the authority of the state, to reorganise the administration and to take effective steps to prevent the recurring Mongol raids. Barani writes: "Fear of the governing power, which is the basis of all good government, and the source of the glory and splendour of states, had departed from the hearts of all men, and the country had fallen into a wretched condition." By means of drastic punishments and relentless measures the new Sultan, who was an adept in the art of government, suppressed the elements of disorder and taught people obedience and submissiveness.

Establishes order.

The first need of Balban was a large and efficient army. The cavalry and infantry, both old and new, were placed under Maliks of experience, who had given proof of their courage and loyalty in many battles. With the help of this army, he established order in the lands of the Doab and the environs of Delhi. The turbulence of the Mewatis had become a serious menace to the throne of Delhi. They carried their predatory raids in the vicinity of the capital, and at night "they used to come prowling into the city, giving all kinds of trouble, depriving the people of their rest." They assaulted the *bhishtis* (water-carriers) and the girls who fetched water, and stripped them of their clothes. So great was their audacity that the western gate of the metropolis had to be closed at the time of afternoon prayer, and even the garb of a mendicant was no protection against their highhandedness. The Sultan cleared the jungles and inflicted a crushing defeat upon them. To provide for the security of the capital, he built outposts which were strongly garrisoned by Afghans, to whom grants of land were made for maintenance. The noblemen and officers, who were left in charge of the country, thoroughly subjugated it and put to the sword thousands of these miscreants. In the heart of the Doab the greatest insecurity prevailed; and Kampil, Patiali, and Bhojpur were the strongholds of robbers, who infested the roads and rendered impossible the transport of merchandise from one place to another. The Sultan proceeded in person

to quell these disorders and posted strong Afghan garrisons to put down brigandage and lawlessness. "The den of the robbers was thus converted into a guard-house, and Musalmans and guardians of the way took the place of highway robbers," so that sixty years afterwards Barani was able to record with satisfaction that the roads had been freed from robbers and the lives of the wayfarers rendered secure.

While the Sultan was busy in establishing order in the Doab, a disturbance broke out in the country now included in the Rohilkhand district, and the chiefs of Badāon and Amrohā found it impossible to maintain order. Exasperated by this outbreak of lawlessness, the implacable Sultan proceeded towards Katehar with the main body of his army, and in his usual relentless manner gave orders for the destruction of the rebels. Terrible carnage followed and "the blood of the rioters ran in streams; heaps of the slain were to be seen near every village and jungle, and the stench of the dead reached as far as the Ganges." The whole district was ravaged, and the royal army seized a vast amount of booty. Woodcutters were sent into the jungles to cut roads, and road-making proved more efficacious in establishing order than punitive expeditions.

Having suppressed the outlaws, the Sultan led an expedition into the mountains of Jūd and chastised the hill tribes.

Suppression of the Shamsī slaves.

Two years later he proceeded against the fort which had been destroyed by the Mongols. The whole country was laid waste and order was restored. This brief campaign once again revealed to the Sultan the unfitness of the old Shamsī veterans, who had enjoyed liberal grants of land for the last thirty or forty years. It appeared that about 2,000 horsemen of the army of Shams-ud-din held villages in the Doab in lieu of salary. Many of the grantees were old and infirm and many had died and their sons had taken possession of their grants and caused their names to be entered in the records of the *Arīz* (muster-master). These holders of service lands called

themselves proprietors and professed to have received the lands in free gift from Sultan Shams-ud-din. Some of them performed their military duties in a leisurely manner, others stayed at home making excuse, and bribed the Deputy Muster-master and his officials to condone their neglect of duty. The Sultan at once issued, like Edward I's *quo warranto*, an order for holding an enquiry into the condition of these service tenures, and a list of all grantees was prepared. The king divided all such men into three classes:—(1) old men whose lands were resumed, but to whom a pension of 30 or 40 tankās was granted; (2) young men who were fit for active service were allowed to retain their lands, but the surplus revenue was to be collected by state officials; (3) the third class consisted of widows and orphans who were deprived of their lands, but for whom a suitable provision was made. Like Solon's legislation in ancient Athens, Balban's order was passed against his own class, and it caused a feeling of dismay among the members of the military oligarchy, which had held so far a monopoly of all favour and privilege in the state. Some of these old Khans approached Fakhr-ud-din, the Kotwal of Delhi, who was supposed to have influence with the Sultan, and requested him to intercede in their behalf. The Kotwal burst into hysterics and eloquently pleaded the cause of these aged veterans so that the Sultan was moved with compassion to cancel the resumption of their estates. Though the original order was revoked, the Khans lost much of their former power and tamely submitted to Balban's dictation. The Sultan did not spare even his own cousin Sher Khan who was governor of the districts of Sunnam, Lahore, and Dipalpur. He had brought under his sway such turbulent tribes as the Jats, the Khokhars, the Bhattis, the Minas and the Mandharas.[1] When he beheld the hostile attitude of the Sultan towards the old Shamsī barons, he became anxious for his own safety and kept away from the court. Barani writes that the Sultan disregarded

[1] These tribes are also mentioned by Barani in his *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* in the reign of Muhammad Tughluq. (Biblioth. Ind., p. 483.)

the claims of kinship and his past services and caused him to be poisoned.[1] In such a ruthless manner Balban consolidated his power and silenced or subdued by means of drastic punishments all who stood or were likely to stand in his way.

A strong government.

It was impossible to hold down a large country like Hindustan by sheer military force, and, therefore, Balban organised the internal administration on a most efficient basis. It was half civil, half military. He was himself the fountain of all authority, and enforced his commands and decrees with the greatest rigour. Even his own sons who held important provinces were not allowed much initiative, and had to refer to the Sultan all complicated matters on which he passed final orders, which were to be strictly and scrupulously enforced. In administering justice he never showed partiality even towards his own kith and kin, and when any of his relations or associates committed an act of injustice, he never failed to grant redress to the aggrieved party. So great was the dread of the Sultan's inexorable justice that no one dared to ill-treat his servants and slaves. When Malik Barbak, one of the courtiers, who held a jāgīr of 4,000 horse and the fief of Badāon, caused one of his servants to be scourged to death, his widow complained to the Sultan. He ordered the Malik to be flogged similarly in the presence of the complainant, and publicly executed the spies who had failed to report his misconduct. On another occasion a nobleman escaped the penalty of death by compounding with the widow of the person, whose death he had caused, by paying

[1] Barani, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., p. 66.

Elliot, III, p. 109. Barani positively asserts that the Sultan caused him to be poisoned, and he is a more reliable authority than others for this reign. Firishta says that Sher Khan died and was buried at Bhatnir. Barani says he was wanting in respect to the court. Briggs is incorrect in writing nephew for cousin.

Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 78.

Briggs, I, p. 258.

Elliot, III, p. 109.

a sum of 20,000 tankās. A well-established system of espionage is an inevitable corollary of despotism, and Balban with a view to make the administration of justice more efficient appointed spies in his fiefs, whose duty was to report all acts of injustice. To make these reports accurate and honest, he greatly restricted the field of individual observation, and when the report was made, he showed no indulgence on the score of rank or birth. Even Bughra Khan's movements were watched by the spies, and it is said that the Sultan took great pains to keep himself informed of his activities. These spies no doubt checked crime and protected innocent persons against the high-handedness of those in power, but their presence must have led to the demoralisation of the community to a large extent and the suppression of even the most legitimate and harmless amenities of social life.

The Mongols.

But the one all-absorbing pre-occupation of the Sultan was the fear of the recurring Mongol invasions. Although he possessed a large and disciplined army, he never left Delhi, and devoted himself with all his might and main to safeguard his dominions against the raids of these nomad hordes. They had established their power in Ghazni and Transoxiana, and Halākū, the grandson of Chingiz Khan, had brutally murdered the Khalifa Al-Mustasim and captured Baghdad. They had seized Lahore and every year harried the lands of Sindh and the Punjab. The Sultan never moved from the capital, and kept a vigilant watch upon the vulnerable parts of the empire. The provinces of Multan and Samana, which were most exposed to attack, being near to the northern frontier, were entrusted to his own sons, Muhammad and Bughra Khan, who maintained large and well-trained armies to fight against the Mongols. But this constant fear had a profound effect upon the foreign policy of Balban. He never attempted the conquest of any distant country ; his whole attention was concentrated upon measures to guard himself and his kingdom against the Mongols. Even the administrative organisation was carried out with a view to strengthen the government to cope with these calamitous raids. From

Amir Khusrau's description[1] of these nomad savages, which is somewhat tinged by the poet's own feelings, for he had on one occasion fallen into their hands, we can form some idea of the horrors which their recurring raids implied. He writes: "There were more than a thousand Tartar infidels and warriors of other tribes, riding on camels, great commanders in battle, all with steel-like bodies clothed in cotton ; with faces like fire, with caps of sheepskin, with heads shorn. Their eyes were so narrow and piercing that they might have bored a hole in a brazen vessel. . . Their faces were set on their bodies as if they had no neck. Their cheeks resembled soft leathern bottles, full of wrinkles and knots. Their noses extended from cheek to cheek, and their mouths from cheek-bone to cheek-bone. . . Their moustaches were of extravagant length. They had but scanty beards about their chins. . . They looked like so many white demons, and the people fled from them everywhere in affright." Hardy and heartless invaders such as these, coming from the cooler regions beyond the Hindukush, could not be trifled with, and Balban was led by the instinct of sheer self-preservation to ignore all other things and keep his army ever on the war-path to repel their oft-repeated incursions.

Tughril's Rebellion, 1279 A.D.

Balban had succeeded in establishing order in the Doab and the environs of Delhi by a policy of blood and iron, but in the outlying provinces of the empire the allegiance to the throne of Delhi was of a doubtful character. Ever since the days of

[1] Abul Hasan, better known by his *nom de plume* of Amir Khusrau, by far the greatest Muslim poet of India, was born of Patiali in 651 A.H. (1253 A.D.), and died at Delhi in 725 A. H. (1324-25 A.D.). While yet a boy he became a disciple of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Aulia. He entered the service of Balban as an attendant on his son Prince Muhammad, who was fond of the society of the learned. Gradually he rose into prominence and was elevated to the position of the poet laureate. He died of grief at the death of his favourite saint Nizam-ud-din Aulia. He has writtten numerous works, brief notices of which are given in Elliot, III, pp. 67—92, 523—67.

For further account of these savages see Elliot, III, Appendix, pp. 528-29.

Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khilji, the control of Delhi over Bengal had been lax, and the provincial governors had always tried to shake off the yoke of the imperial government. The long distance, the utter absence of the means of communication, the malarious climate—all combined to increase the difficulties of the rulers of Hindustan in maintaining a firm hold over that intractable province. Iltutmish was a capable and powerful despot. To exercise complete dominion over Bengal, he had placed his son in charge of the province ; but after his death the elements of disorder gathered strength and began to assert themselves. Under his successors the central government lost much of its prestige owing to the character of the imbecile monarchs, who were mere puppets in the hands of the army and the Turkish nobility. They had done nothing to establish on a secure basis the power of the slave dynasty, and Balban clearly saw the absence of that feeling of loyalty towards his dynasty, which hereditary princes of noble birth always command in the East. Bengal was a troublesome province, and Barani thus comments upon the character of its inhabitants : " The people of this country had for many long years evinced a disposition to revolt, and the disaffected and evil disposed among them generally succeeded in alienating the loyalty of the governors."

Tughril Khan, the governor of Bengal,[1] who had been appointed by Balban, was led astray by his evil counsellors. They told him that the Sultan was old and his two sons were occupied in dealing with the Mongol attacks, and the leaderless nobles possessed neither men nor munitions to march to Lakhnauti to frustrate his attempt at independence. Tughril readily listened to this false and mischievous advice, and " allowed the egg of ambition to be hatched in his head." He attacked

[1] Tughril was originally a Turkish slave who had been purchased by Balban. Being a brave and warlike man, he subdued the Rajas of the neighbouring countries and compelled them to pay tribute.

Jajnagar,[1] carried off a large booty consisting of valuable goods and elephants, and kept it all for himself. This act of disloyalty was consummated by a formal declaration of independence, when he assumed the royal title of Sultan Mughis-ud-din, struck coins, and caused the Khutbā to be read in his own name. The possession of vast wealth enabled him to bestow large gifts upon his associates. As Barani writes, money closed the eyes of the clear-sighted, and greed of gold kept the more politic in retirement. Disaffection became so rampant that the soldiers as well as the citizens ceased to fear the sovereign power, and gave their adhesion to the rebellious governor.

The Sultan was much perturbed by the news of this revolt, and for days together he paid no attention to the business of the state. He sent an army under Abtagin, better known as Amir Khan, an old slave, who had for many years held the fief of Oudh. He crossed the Sarjū and marched towards Lakhnauti at the head of a large force ; but, when he reached the Bengal territory, he was opposed and defeated by Tughril, who had drawn to his banner by means of his liberality numerous adherents from the country districts. The troops of Delhi fled, and many of them deserted their colours and went over to the enemy. When Balban received intelligence of this disaster, his rage knew no bounds. He ordered Amir Khan to be hanged over the gate of Oudh, possibly to prevent failure in the future. The unjust execution of the Khan produced a feeling of consternation among the " wise men of the day," who read in this atrocious decree the doom of the Balbani regime.

Another expedition met with a like fate. Emboldened by his success, Tughril marched out of Lakhnauti, fell upon the

[1] Stewart in his 'History of Bengal' writes that at this time the emperor was confined to bed and his two sons were employed in defending the northern boundaries of the kingdom against the Mongols. Tughril judged this a favourable opportunity to make himself independent. He spread the report that the emperor was dead.

Stewart, p. 91.

Elliot, III, p. 112.

army of Delhi and completely defeated it. The news of this defeat overwhelmed the Sultan with shame and anger, and he swore vengeance upon the rebels. Having entrusted the affairs of Delhi to Malik Fakhr-ud-din, he proceeded towards Samana and Sunnam, and asked Bughra Khan to accompany him to Bengal. Prince Muhammad was asked to take care of the province in his charge, and to keep a vigilant eye upon the Mongols. At the head of a large army, the Sultan started for Lakhnauti in spite of the rains. He ordered a general levy in Oudh, and enrolled about two lākhs of men in his army. A large flotilla of boats was constructed, and the royal troops crossed the Sarjū, but their passage in the marshy land of Bengal was delayed by the rains. The royal army wended its way through mud and water to the capital of Bengal only to find that the rebel, deeming himself unable to withstand the Sultan, had fled towards the wilds of Jajnagar, taking with him treasure, elephants and a picked body of fighting men. The elite of Lakhnauti had followed him thither, fearing the vengeance of the Sultan. He was pursued by the royal troops, and the Sultan publicly declared that he would never abandon the pursuit, cost him what time and trouble it might. He gave the soldiers some idea of his mighty resolve, when he told them that they were playing for half the kingdom of Delhi, and, if Tughril took to the water, he would pursue him and would never return to Delhi, or even mention it, until the blood of the rebel and his followers had been poured out. Many of them despaired of ever returning to their homes, and made their testamentary bequests. A large party of horsemen was sent in search of Tughril, but no trace of him was to be found. Luckily, one day, the chief of Kol and his brother Malik Muqaddar accidentally encountered a party of corn dealers who knew the whereabouts of Tughril. They were immediately seized, and two of them were beheaded on the spot. This dramatic incident terrified the rest into divulging the information which their captors wanted, and forthwith the party proceeded in the direction pointed out by them. The camp

of Tughril was discovered, and the royal horsemen rudely interrupted the joyous life led by him and his men in these bucolic surroundings, away from the busy haunts of men. Barani describes the scene in these words : " All seemd secure and free from apprehension ; some were washing their clothes, others were drinking wine and singing. The elephants were browsing on the branches of the trees, and the horses and cattle were grazing—everywhere a feeling of security prevailed."[1] To avoid further delay, a small detachment of 30 or 40 horsemen rushed into his camp. Tughril's army fled from the field panic-stricken, and he himself, mounted a saddleless horse and tried to gallop to a stream which ran hard by. He was pursued by the royalists, and an arrow which pierced him on the side at once brought him down. His head was severed from the body, which was flung into the river, and his women, children and dependants were all captured by the victors. The Sultan was pleased to hear of the success of this expedition, and suitably rewarded the men who had risked their lives in his service. His prestige rose enormously high, and the world stood in awe of him, as it had never stood before.

Balban returned to Lakhnauti and took in hand the work of retribution. All along the long bazar in Lakhnauti, gibbets were erected on both sides, and the relations and accomplices of Tughril were hanged mercilessly. Even the life of a beggar who was held in esteem by the rebel was not spared, and he was executed with his followers. These terrible punishments went on for two or three days, and it is said that the *Qazis* and *Muftis* obtained their pardon with great difficulty. Barani was informed by old men, who related to him the story of this dreadful past, that such punishments had never before been inflicted in Hindustan by any king or conqueror. When the work of slaughter was over, Balban made arrangements for the restoration of order in the country. He entrusted the province to Bughra Khan whom he asked to recover and hold in peace

[1] Elliot, III, p. 118.

the rest of Bengal and to eschew convivial parties. Then he asked the Prince with a stern look: "Didst thou see?" The Prince did not understand what his august sire meant to convey by this enigmatical question. The Sultan again said, "Didst thou see?" The perplexed Prince returned no answer, and the Sultan repeated the question for the third time and added, "You saw my punishments in the bazar." The Prince bent down his head in profound submission, and the pitiless father addressed him in these words: "If ever designing and evil-minded persons should incite you to waver in your allegiance to Delhi and to throw off its authority, then remember the vengeance which you have seen exacted in the bazar. Understand me and forget not that if the governors of Hind or Sindh, of Malwa or Gujarat, of Lakhnauti or Sonargaon, shall draw the sword and become rebels to the throne of Delhi, then such punishment as has fallen upon Tughril and his dependants will fall upon them, their wives, their children, and all their adherents." He called Bughra Khan again for a second interview and gave him valuable advice about political affairs. On the day of his departure, he embraced him affectionately and bade him farewell. On his return to Delhi he ordered gibbets to be erected again[1] for the execution of those residents of Delhi and its environs who had assisted in the late rebellion. It was with great difficulty that the Qazi of the army was able to persuade the Sultan to desist from such a frightful proceeding.

[1] Barani says, the Sultan on his return to Delhi ordered gibbets to be erected on the road from Badāon to Tilpat (Pilibhit) in order to punish those people of Delhi and the neighbouring districts who had joined Tughril. (Elliot, III, p. 121.)

This is a mistranslation of Barani's text. It was outside the Badāon gate that gibbets were erected to hang the culprits. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad clearly states that the Sultan then ordered gibbets to be erected in the market-place of Delhi to hang those who had gone from Delhi and joined Tughril. Firishta supports this statement.

Tabqat-i-Akbari, Biblioth. Ind., pp. 96-97.

Briggs, I, p. 265.

The rebellion was effectively suppressed, but a great domestic bereavement befell the Sultan. When the Mongols under their leader Samar,[1] invaded the Punjab in 1285 A.D., his son, Prince Muhammad, who was placed in charge of Multan, marched towards Lahore and Dipalpur to repel their attack. He was defeated and killed in the encounter that followed, and his sacrifice won him the posthumous title of the "Martyr Prince." Amir Khusrau, the poet, was also made prisoner, but he was afterwards liberated. Barani, who knew the prince well, pays a glowing tribute to his accomplishments and writes: "The Court of the young prince was frequented by the most learned, excellent, and accomplished men of the time. His attendants used to read to him the *Shahnama*, *Diwan-i-Sanai*, *Diwan-i-Khaḳani*, and the *Khamsa* of Shaikh Nizami. Learned men discussed the merits of these poets in his presence. Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan were members of his court, and attended upon him for five years at Multan, receiving from him allowances and grants of land. The prince fully appreciated the excellencies of these two poets, and delighted to honour them above all his servants. At his entertainments they never heard him indulge in foolish, dirty talk, whether wine was drunk or not; and if he drank wine he did so with moderation, so as not to become intoxicated and senseless." The death of such a son was an irreparable blow, and the Sultan's grief knew no bounds. He transacted business during the day, to all appearance, unaffected by the tragic blow that he had sustained, but, in the night, he cried out in bitter anguish, tore his garments and threw dust upon his head. His health rapidly declined, and calling Bughra Khan from Bengal he offered him the crown of Delhi. But Bughra was a careless prince; he did not heed the words of his father and quietly left

Death of Prince Muhammad.

[1] Elliot writes Samar. Elliot, III, p. 122.
Firishta calls him Timur Khan.
Badāonī calls him Itiniar. Ranking, Al-Badāonī, I, p. 188.
For Amir Khusrau's experiences as a captive see Elliot, III, p. 545.

for Lakhnauti on the pretext of a hunting excursion. Probably, he shrank from the burdens and responsibilities of the kingly office, and preferred to spend his days in undisturbed repose in a remote province, where the difficulties of government were infinitely less than at Delhi. Then Kai Khusrau, son of the Prince Martyr, was thought of, and the Sultan commended him to the principal officers of the state. The octogenarian warrior-king, the hero of a hundred battles, who had walked undaunted over the rough and the smooth places in his life, was so prostrate with grief that, shortly afterwards, he expired in 1286 A.D., leaving a will in which he nominated his grandson Kai-Khusrau as his successor. Authority forgets a dying king, and no sooner were his eyes closed in death than the nobles and officers opposed his last testament[1] and elevated Kaiqubad to the throne, an unhappy choice, which ultimately led to the fall of the Slave dynasty.

Personality of Balban.

Balban's career, full of strenuous activity extending over a period of forty years, is unique in the annals of mediæval India. The latter half of the thirteenth century was a period of unprecedented stress and storm, but Balban successfully managed the situation by a policy of "blood and iron." When he ascended the throne, his long experience as minister enabled him to grasp the prime need of the time—the exaltation of the kingly office in the public eye and the restoration of order. He accomplished the first by maintaining a splendid court, where he presented himself on public occasions, decked in the magnificent trappings of royalty. He always behaved like a well-bred oriental monarch ; his sense of kingly dignity was

[1] Some of the Turkish Amirs were hostile to the Martyr Prince, says Badāonī, but Barani is not quite explicit. (Ranking, Al-Badāonī, I, p. 220.) Firishta says, the change of succession was due to Malik Fakhr-ud-din, Kotwal, who had always opposed the Prince's father. (Briggs, I, p. 270.)

The Amirs probably thought that Kaiqubad would be a more pliable instrument in their hands than Kai Khusrau, who had inherited some of his distinguished father's virtues and qualities. For an account of his father, see Elliot, III, p. 110.

so great that he never appeared but in full dress even before his private servants. He never laughed aloud nor joked in his darbar ; nor did he permit any one to indulge in laughter or amusement in his presence. He despised the company of the low and the vulgar, and nothing could ever induce him into unnecessary dalliance or familiarity either with friends or strangers. So punctilious was he in maintaining the prestige of his office that on one occasion he refused a proffered gift of some lākhs from a rich upstart who had accumulated a vast fortune, but who could not claim a lofty pedigree. Low birth was the greatest disqualification for public office, and the nobles and officers never dared to recommend any but a well-born man for employment in the state. In his youth Balban had been addicted to wine and convivial feasts, where even the dice was looked upon as an innocent pastime, but when he became king, he laid himself under a self-denying ordinance and eschewed all such pleasures. Like some other great mediæval monarchs, he took delight in hunting excursions, and often during the winter he went out on long expeditions in search of game in his own preserve which extended over 40 miles round about Delhi. In his private life the Sultan was affectionate and tender-hearted. He was passionately fond of his sons, and when his eldest son Muhammad died, he was so overwhelmed with grief that he did not long survive the tragic catastrophe. He was kind to men in distress, and a large number of refugees from the countries of Central Asia found shelter at his court. But he could be terribly cruel, when resistance was offered to his will, or the peace of the realm was disturbed. He extended favour only to those who loyally served him and carried out his behests with implicit obedience.[1] His whole life was spent in

[1] Firishta says:—'Balban made it a rule never to place any Hindu in a position of trust and responsibility.' But the Pālam inscription in Sanskrit, which is obviously composed by a Hindu, bestows high praise upon the Sultan. This cannot be taken as conclusive evidence of the Sultan's generous treatment of the Hindus in general, for literary hirelings can always be easily procured to write such laudatory verses for a small remuneration. Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1913-14, pp. 35, 38, 39, 40-41. Briggs, I, p. 250.

a restless activity to maintain order and guard his dominions against the Mongol attacks. Still, he found time to appreciate the humanities of culture, and invited learned men to his court and extended his generous patronage to them. A great warrior, ruler and statesman, who saved the infant Muslim state from extinction at a critical time, Balban will ever remain a great figure in mediæval Indian history. He was the precursor of Alauddin ; but for the security and stability which he imparted to the struggling power of the Muslims in India, it would have been impossible for Alauddin to withstand successfully the Mongol attacks and to achieve conquests in distant lands, which have won for him an honoured place in the Walhalla of Muslim history.

The fall of the Slaves.

Balban's death left a void that could not be filled. There was none among his survivors, who could wield the sceptre which he had swayed for 20 years with such ability and success. The personal factor counted for much in mediæval politics, and as soon as the master-hand of Balban was removed by death, the affairs of the state fell into confusion, and the old confidence in the justice and strength of the administration was completely shaken.

Kaiqubad who was only seventeen years of age was elevated to the throne through the intrigues of Fakhr-ud-din, the Kotwal of Delhi. From his childhood, he had been brought up with such care that he was never allowed to have even a look at a fair damsel, or taste a cup of wine. Day and night he was watched by his tutors who taught him the polite arts and manly exercises, and never permitted him to do an improper act or utter an indecent word. Such a prince found himself all of a sudden in possession of a mighty kingdom, whose vast wealth could afford everything that was needed for enjoyment. He cast to the winds all lessons of wisdom and self-restraint, which his instructors had sedulously impressed upon his ductile mind, and at once changed his enforced puritanism for a life of debauch and dissipation Balban's work was undone ; the example of the



Kaiqubad in Durbar.

king was followed by the nobles and the ministers so that court-life became notoriously corrupt, and men of all ranks gave themselves up to the pursuit of pleasure.

While Kaiqubad spent his time in drunken revels and orgies, the business of government was carried on by Malik Nizam-ud-din, son-in-law of Fakhr-ud-din, the influential Kotwal of Delhi, who had deftly wormed himself into the confidence of the brainless Sultan. Nizam-ul-din was a highly ambitious man; his arrogance and ascendancy offended the veteran Khans, who had since the days of Aibek and Īltutmish served the state with signal devotion. Bughra Khan's absence in Bengal, the decline of the power of the nobles, and the intemperance and licentiousness of Kaiqubad led Nizam-ud-din to harbour designs of usurping the throne at a favourable moment. But this nefarious plan could not succeed unless Kai Khusrau, the heir-designate of Balban, who still commanded the respect and esteem of the nobility, was got rid of. With such thoughts in his mind the minister approached his insensate master, and by misrepresentations obtained his assent to the prince's murder in a state of intoxication. The unsuspecting young prince who was like his father a man of talent and virtue was called away from Multan, and when he was journeying towards Delhi, he was removed from this world by the cruel hand of the assassin at Rohtak.

This murder sent a thrill of horror through the entire kingdom. The Maliks were seized with a panic, and no one felt secure of his life. Nizam-ud-din's insolence increased, and he preferred an accusation against Khwaja Khatir, wazir of the Sultan, who was seated on an ass and paraded through the streets of the capital. Then he complained of the conduct of the Mongol nobles, whom he charged with rebellious intentions. The leaders among them were slain in the palace and cast into the river, and their property was confiscated. Such acts of injustice and cruelty became a common occurrence, and the Sultan was induced to sign the death warrants of some of the most loyal and tried officers of the Balbani régime. The

favourite's influence extended to the royal seraglio, where his wife was known as the "honorary mother of the Sultan, and the directress of his female apartments." The great men and chiefs of the capital regretted this degradation of the monarchy, and Malik Fakhr-ud-din, the old Kotwal, remonstrated with his son-in-law that events were taking a course which was fraught with the greatest mischief and danger to the state.

Nizam-ud-din, however, did not heed the dictates of prudence and planned a fresh move on the political chess-board. He tried to get rid of the Khiljis who had acquired considerable power and influence in the state, and whom he considered as a great obstacle to his own usurpation of royal authority. Barani writes that the Khiljis were hostile to the Turks. One of their leaders had conquered Bengal in the twelfth century, and many of them had held important commands in the different parts of Hindustan. They formed a party of their own and placed at their head Jalal-ud-din Firuz Khilji, who held the office of *Ariz-i-mamālik* (muster-master). Now the Khiljis and the Turks were ranged in hostile camps and contended for supremacy in politics. When Bughra Khan came to know of this state of affairs, he went to Delhi[1] and warned his son of the disastrous consequences which were sure to follow such a

[1] Badāonī gives a different account of this meeting. He says that Bughra Khan, who had assumed independent authority, wrote letters to his son warning him of the designs of Nizam-ud-din, but Kaiqubad did not heed his advice. After much correspondence it was decided that Bughra Khan should leave Lakhnauti and Kaiqubad should start from Delhi, and that both should meet in Oudh. Ranking, Al-Badāonī, I, p. 222.

From Amir Khusrau's account in the *Qiran-us-Sadain* it appears that Sultan Nasir-ud-din (Bughra Khan) started from Lakhnauti with the intention of conquering Delhi and destroying his son, and Kaiqubad hastened for battle, and that it was in Oudh that a peaceful understanding was established. Elliot, III, pp. 530-31.

The *Tabqat-i-Akbari* makes reference to no such intention. Biblioth. Ind., p. 107.

Firishta also says that Bughra Khan came with a large army and Kaiqubad, hearing that his father had advanced as far as Bihar, marched to oppose him and encamped on the bank of the Ghagra, but a peaceful settlement was arrived at. Briggs, I, p. 277.

Ibn Batūtā gives a different account of this interview.

reckless pursuit of pleasure. This paternal remonstrance impressed Kaiqubad, and for sometime he led a good life, but the wily minister again led him into evil ways. His excessive indulgence undermined his constitution and he was struck with paralysis.

The affairs of the state fell into confusion and the situation caused great anxiety to the lovers of peace and order. The mutual jealousies and quarrels of the nobles made co-operation for a common end impossible. The old Balbani officers who were still true to the salt of their master brought out of the *haram* an infant son of Kaiqubad, whom they placed upon the throne. Just at this time, Jalal-ud-din Firuz who was *Ariz-i-mamālik* had gone out to hold a review of his troops accompanied by his friends and relatives. The Turkish Amirs who were jealous of the Khiljis hatched a plot to get rid of the latter. Like Sulla, the Roman dictator, they issued a proclamation proscribing all the powerful Khilji Amirs and Maliks, and Jalal-ud-din's name headed the opprobrious list. But the sons of Jalal-ud-din took the wind out of the sails of their father's enemies. At the head of a detachment of 500 horse they proceeded to the royal palace, laid hands upon the infant prince and carried him off to their father in military camp. Great excitement prevailed in the city, and an infuriated mob gathered to rescue the young prince, but Malik Fakhr-ud-din persuaded it to disperse. The power of Jalal-ud-din increased, and several Turkish Maliks and Amirs went over to his side, thinking that resistance was impossible. Two days later, Sultan Kaiqubad, a hopeless paralytic by this time, was kicked to death[1] in his palace of mirrors, his favourite abode

He says, Bughra Khan wanted to assert his claims to the throne and exclude Kaiqubad. He went towards Bihar with his army, but when the night was to commence, it dawned upon the mind of Nasir-ud-din (Bughra Khan) that after all Kaiqubad was his son and war with him was useless, for he was his ultimate heir.

Ibn Batūtā, Paris ed., III, p. 177.

Elliot, III, p. 596.

[1] Muiz-ud-din Kaiqubad died according to the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* on the 19th Muharram, 689 A.H.

of pleasure, by a Khilji Malik, whose father he had previously slain, and his corpse was thrown into the Jamna. Such was the inglorious end of the Slave kings of Delhi. Jalal-ud-din Firuz now obtained the support of friends and foes and ascended the throne at Kilughari. But the people of Delhi were hostile to the Khiljis ; they extended no welcome to Firuz, and it took him sometime to reconcile them to his usurpation.

The causes of Muslim success.

The conquest of the multitudinous races of Hindustan, accomplished with such marvellous ease by the Muslims, requires an explanation. The Hindu political system had fallen from its ancient ideal, and its vigour had been undermined by mutual jealousies (1) and dissensions. The whole country was split up into numerous independent principalities, always at war with one another. There was no dearth of military talent or fighting skill in the country, for the Rajputs were the finest soldiers, scarcely inferior in the qualities of courage, valour, and endurance to men of any other country. But they lacked unity and organisation ; pride and prejudice alike forbade obedience to a common leader, and in critical moments when concentrated action was essential to victory, they pursued their individual plans, and thus neutralised the advantages they possessed over their enemies. The Muslims came from the (2) cooler climates of the hilly countries beyond the Hindukush and could display greater energy and vigour in actual campaign. They possessed better organisation, discipline and coherence. Islam is one great brotherhood, in which the high and the low, the rich and the poor, are all alike, and no artificial barriers are set up dividing one group of individuals from another. A man who embraces Islam enters a brotherhood which makes no distinctions between man and man, and which confers equal privileges upon all—a source of considerable strength to the Muslim community, whose members, knit together by an indissoluble bond of fellowship and equality, stand shoulder to shoulder in the defence of their common interests. The

Muslims invariably followed one leader and fully realised the value of unity of command. The practice of proselytism, ordained by Islam, inspired its followers with the fanatical zeal of the missionary, which made them stand as one man for the propagation and defence of their faith. As Lane-Poole says, "the very bigotry of their creed was an instrument of self-preservation ; in mere self-defence they must hold together as God's elect in the face of the heathen, and they must win over proselytes from the Hindus, whether by persuasion or by the sword, to swell their isolated minority." It was devotion to the faith which made them so extraordinarily virile, persistent and aggressive in their dealings with non-Muslims. The hope of being a Ghazi led the commonest Muslim to brave risks and cheerfully make sacrifices. He was never dismayed or terrified by the heavy odds arrayed against him, for he was sustained by the belief that, if he died in the holy war, he would be admitted to the paradise and obtain the honours of martyrdom. Thus the Muslims fought for a cause, while the Hindus had nothing better than class or clan interests to uphold. The strength and inspiration which devotion to a cause alone can give were wanting in their case, and that is why they showed less grit, tenacity, vigour and capacity for heroic self-sacrifice. The Hindus were divided into numerous castes and creeds, all sharply differing from one another. The elaborate ceremonial purity enjoined by the Brahmanical religion and the peculiar character of each caste, based upon the most invidious distinctions, broke up society into watertight compartments. National interests were frequently subordinated to the interests of a section or class. The importance of birth in the caste-system, which profoundly affected the Hindu religion, created artificial barriers which prevented the unification of the various groups even for purposes of common defence and safety. Even the great leaders and captains of war thought in terms of caste, and found it impossible to shake off the influence of the narrow groove in which they had lived and moved from their very birth.

The military system of the Hindus was out of date and old-fashioned. Their too much dependence upon elephants was dangerous when they had to fight against fierce and well-trained cavalry leaders. Experience furnished ample warning, but it was constantly disregarded by Hindu fighting men, who adhered with great tenacity to their conservative methods of warfare. The Musalmans had an excellent recruiting ground in the countries beyond the Afghan hills, from where they could constantly bring fresh levies to fight against the Hindu hosts. Large numbers of men, attracted by the wealth of India and the love of adventure, enrolled themselves in the armies of men like Mahmud of Ghazni and Muhammad of Ghor, whereas the Hindus had to confine themselves to one country and very often to a single principality, whose dimensions were not greater than those of a modern province. The political system of the Hindus restricted military duties to a particular class, so that the great mass of the people were either unfit for military service or indifferent to the political revolutions which shook Indian society to its base. Every time, the Rajputs tried to check the advance of the foreigners, but unsupported by national will or national strength, they could not hold out long against such irresistible foes. Thus, the Muslims, zealous like the Puritans to establish the kingdom of God upon earth, became invincible like Cromwell's Ironsides, and when they came in contact with the disunited and enfeebled races of Hindustan, they found little difficulty in obtaining victory over them. The war between the two peoples was really a struggle between two different social systems, the one, old and decadent, and the other, full of youthful vigour and enterprise.

Another great source of strength to the Muslims was their slave system. Sometimes it produced extremely capable men like Iltutmish and Balban, who were infinitely superior to the average men who inherited crowns and kingdoms by the mere accident of birth. To be the slave of a great king or captain of war was looked upon as a privilege in the east, and often

men of servile origin were deemed equal or even superior to the purest aristocrats. Stanley Lane-Poole's remarks on the efficacy of the slave system deserve to be quoted: "While a brilliant ruler's son is apt to be a failure, the slaves of a real leader of men have often proved the equals of their master. The reason, of course, is that the son is a mere speculation. He may or may not inherit his father's talents; even if he does, the very success and power of the father creates an atmosphere of luxury that does not encourage effort; and, good or bad, the son is an immovable fixture: only a father with an exceptional sense of public duty would execute an incompetent son to make room for a talented slave. On the other hand the slave is the 'survival of the fittest'; he is chosen for physical and mental abilities, and he can hope to retain his position in his master's favour only by vigilant effort and hard service. Should he be found wanting, his fate is sealed."[1]

[1] Mediæval India, p. 64.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RISE AND GROWTH OF KHILJI MILITARISM

Jalal-ud-din's assumption of royal power, 1290 A.D.

THE throne of Delhi now passed into the hands of the Khilji Turks,[1] and in a public levee held at Kilughari the soldiers and citizens all tendered fealty to the new Sultan. Gradually he established his authority, and the "excellence of his character, his justice, his generosity and devotion gradually removed the aversion of the people, and hopes of grants of land assisted in conciliating, though grudgingly and unwillingly, the affections of his people." Firuz was a good

[1] The Khiljis were not pure Turks.

The author of the *Tabqat-i-Akbari* says that Jalal-ud-din Khilji and Mahmud Khilji Mandvi were grandsons of Qalij Khan, the son-in-law of Chingiz Khan, who had settled down in the hilly country of Ghor and Gurjistan after the defeat of the Khwarizm Shah by his father-in-law. Qalij became Khalij by a change of letters and by frequency of use became Khalj. Tabqat-i-Akbari, Biblioth. Ind., p. 116.

Firishta repeats the above account and also says, like Nizam-ud-din, that according to the writer of the history of the Sāljūqs, Turk, the son of Yafas had eleven children of whom one was called Khalj, and his descendants came to be known as Khiljis. Firishta says, the latter account is more probable, because the Khiljis are often mentioned in the histories of the kings of Ghazni, particularly in the reigns of Subuktagin and Mahmud, and it is certain that they existed anterior to the time of Chingiz Khan. But characteristically, Firishta is indecisive for he says further that it is possible that Qalij Khan might be of the tribe of Khalji.

Firishta, Lucknow text, pp. 88-9.

Zia-ud-din Barani in his *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* (Elliot, III, p. 135) does not consider the Khiljis as belonging to the race of the Turks. Speaking of Jalal-ud-din Firuz he writes that he came of a race, different from that of the Turks and consequently had no confidence in the Turks nor did the Turks own him as belonging to their tribe.

Ibn Haukal (Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 207) describes the Khiljis as a Turkish race who settled in ancient times in the country between Hindustan and the borders of Sijistan.

V. Smith describes the Khiljis as Afghans but does not give his reasons. His view does not seem to be correct.

It seems probable that the Khiljis were the descendants of Turks, who had settled in the Afghan country and had mixed with the people there.

Beale, Biographical Oriental Dictionary, p. 137.

old man of seventy, who was averse to bloodshed and war, but his mildness and tenderness fostered sedition in the state. He lacked the essential qualities of the 13th century kingship. His frugality and simplicity rendered him unfit for wielding the sceptre at a time when the voice of treason was still heard in the land, and the Mongols threatened the frontiers of the kingdom. He was kindly disposed even towards criminals, and when thieves and thugs were brought before him, he refused to punish them, and was satisfied with merely deporting them to Bengal. Men no longer feared the authority of the crown, and the recalcitrant barons talked disparagingly of the Sultan. Only once did nature and dignity assert themselves, when Firuz threatened the delinquents with severe punishments, but mere threats did not avail to silence them. Though habitually kind and generous, the Sultan dealt severely with Sidi Maula, a darvesh, who was charged with treason by his enemies.[1] The superstition of the age ranged itself on the king's side and by his order the poor darvesh was trampled under the feet of an elephant.

Malik Chajju's rebellion.

In the second year of the reign, Malik Chajju, a nephew of Balban, who held the fief of Kara, raised the standard of rebellion. He was joined by several malcontents, who recognised him as the rightful heir to the throne. The rebellious Malik marched towards Delhi at the head of a considerable force, but when

[1] Sidi Maula was a darvesh from the upper country, who had come to Delhi in the reign of Sultan Balban. Though simple in habits, he built up a magnificent *Khanqah* and spent a large sum of money on it. He used to spend a great deal in feeding the poor, and Barani writes that twice a day such sumptuous dinners were provided as no Khan or Malik could furnish. Men began to wonder at his bounty and attributed it to sorcery. Several nobles used to go to him and talk sedition. Qazi Jalal Kāshānī with a number of others hatched a plot to kill the Sultan when he went to the mosque to say his prayers, after which Sidi Maula was to be proclaimed Khalifa. The Sultan was apprised of the plot. He expelled all the malcontents and punished them severely. But the Qazi escaped his merited doom and was sent to Badāon. Sidi Maula, after being attacked with a razor, was thrown before an elephant, who trampled him to death.

Barani, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., pp. 209—12.

the royal army approached, his adherents melted away, panic-stricken. Those who were caught were made prisoners and brought before the Sultan, who displayed unbecoming leniency towards them in granting a pardon. Kara was entrusted to his nephew and son-in-law, Alauddin, whom the Sultan had brought up with affectionate care. But even this confidence was misplaced ; for the " crafty suggestions of the Kara rebels made a lodgement in his brain, and from the very first year of his occupation of that territory, he began to follow up his design of proceeding to some distant quarter and amassing money."

The Sultan's expeditions.

The Sultan's habitual timorousness was also reflected in his foreign policy. The expedition against Ranthambhor was not a success ; Jhain and Malwa were plundered, but the Rana of Ranthambhor, who entrenched himself in his fort, baffled the attempts of the besiegers to capure it. The Sultan abandoned the task as impossible, and returned to the capital. Better success attended his arms, when the Mongols invaded Hindustan under their leader Halākū. The royalists proceeded to give battle and inflicted a crushing defeat upon them. Many Mongols were put to the sword, and some commanders of thousands and centurions were made prisoners. At last, a peace was made and many of the Mongols took up their abode in the neighbourhood of Delhi, and became known as 'New Musalmans.' This policy had disastrous consequences ; for the Mongols who settled near the capital became a centre of intrigue and disaffection and caused much anxiety to the rulers of Delhi.

Alauddin's expedition to Devagir, 1294 A.D.

Alauddin, the Sultan's nephew and son-in-law, had been entrusted with the fief of Kara and Oudh. Removed from the control of the Sultan, Alauddin, who was an ambitious man, conceived the bold project of making a raid upon Devagir, which is one of the most memorable feats in the annals of mediæval India. He had heard of the fabulous wealth of Devagir, the capital of the Yadava Rajas of

Maharashtra, and eagerly longed to obtain possession of it.[1] Besides, his differences with his mother-in-law, Malika Jahan, and his wife distressed him and obliged him to go out into the world to seek position for himself. Induced by the prospect of immense booty, the Sultan granted the required permission and postponed the time for the payment of the revenues of Kara and Oudh. He marched at the head of 8,000 horse and reached Elichpur not far from the frontiers of the Mahratta kingdom. From Elichpur he proceeded towards Ghati-lajaura at a distance of 12 miles from Devagir without encountering any opposition. He carefully concealed his real intentions and gave out that he was dissatisfied with the treatment of his uncle and was going to seek service with the Raja of Rajamundri. At this time Devagir was without a large army for Rāmachandra's son Śankaradeva had 'gone southwards at the head of his army on pilgrimage.' When he learnt of Alauddin's arrival in the neighbourhood of his capital, he collected two or three thousand men to check the further advance of the enemy. This force was defeated and obliged to beat a hasty retreat. Rāmachandra shut himself up in his fortress and resolved to face the attack of the Muslims. Meanwhile Alauddin's troops entered the town, captured the Brahmans and the leading merchants who were deprived of their wealth. A great effect was produced by the rumour spread by Alauddin that his uncle was following him with 20,000 horse with the object of making a complete conquest of the Deccan. The thought of such a contingency frightened Rāmachandra and he considered it politic to make peace with the enemy. Alauddin on his part thought it wiser to accept the proposals of peace, lest Śankaradeva should come with reinforcements to the rescue of his father. Besides, he was fully aware of the dangers of a retreat through the country of Khandesh, Malwa, and Gondwana. According to the terms of the peace Rāmachandra

[1] Prof. Wilson's note on the power and possessions of Devagir in the J.R.A.S., II, p. 398, is interesting.

agreed to pay a 'ransom of fifty maunds of gold, seven maunds of pearls and some valuable stuffs in addition to forty elephants, some thousands of horses and the plunder which he had already collected from the city.'

But Rāmachandra's son, Śankara, who had gone to collect troops, did not approve of this peace, and called upon Alauddin to restore whatever booty he had obtained from his father and to leave the province quietly. Incensed at this message, Alauddin proceeded to attack Śankara, leaving a thousand horse to invest the fort, but, in the encounter that followed, the overwhelming numbers of the Mahratta army defeated the Muslims and dispersed them in all directions. The arrival of the force, which Alauddin had left to conduct the siege of the fort, infused a fresh hope into the Musalman army. A panic seized the Hindus, and they fled pell-mell in all directions in utter confusion. Alauddin returned and pushed on vigorously the siege of the fort, but when Rāmachandra found bags of salt substituted for the bags of grain which had been conveyed into the citadel for the maintenance of the beleaguered garrison, he gave up all hope of success and sued for peace. Enormous booty[1] fell into the hands of the victorious general, who demanded the cession of Elichpur for the support of the garrison which he intended to leave behind. These terms having been accepted by Rāmachandra, Alauddin returned to Kara in triumph. The expedition resulted in the acquisition of immense wealth and revealed to the Muslim rulers of the north the weakness of the Deccan kingdoms.

When the Sultan heard of this unprecedented success in the neighbourhood of Gwalior, he was elated with joy and held

[1] Commenting upon the treaty, Firishta writes that its terms were that " Alauddin should receive six hundred maunds of pearls, two maunds of diamonds, rubies, emeralds and sapphires, one thousand maunds of silver, and four thousand pieces of silk, besides a long list of other precious commodities, to which reason forbids us to give credit." This is Briggs' version.

Briggs, I, p. 310.

convivial parties to commemorate his nephew's triumph. He conferred with his nobles with regard to the advisability of going to meet Alauddin, but, before any one else could speak, Ahmad Chap, the Naib Barbak, one of the shrewdest nobles of the court, foresaw the evil consequences of such a perilous step, and urged an immediate move towards Chanderi to intercept his return. This is what he said :—

" Elephants and wealth when held in great abundance are the causes of much strife ; whoever acquires them becomes so intoxicated that he does not know his hands from his feet. Alauddin is surrounded by many of the rebels and insurgents who supported Malik Chajju. He has gone into a foreign land, without leave, has fought battles and won treasure. The wise have said, ' money and strife, strife and money,' that is, the two things are allied to each other. My opinion is that we should march with all haste towards Chanderi to meet Alauddin and intercept his return. When he finds the Sultan's army in the way, he must necessarily present all his spoils to the throne whether he likes it or not."

The Sultan did not heed this advice and returned to the capital. A short time afterwards, he received a letter from his crafty nephew, who expressed a desire to wait upon the Sultan to present the vast booty he had seized in the Deccan, provided an assurance was given that he would be entirely safe. Deceived by these protestations of loyalty and attachment, the Sultan sent a letter of assurance by some of his trusty officers, who found Alauddin and his army hostile to him. Meanwhile Almas Beg, Alauddin's brother, came to Delhi and informed the Sultan

But in Firishta's Lucknow text (p. 46) we have 600 *mans* of gold, 7 *mans* of pearls, 2 *mans* of diamonds, rubies, emeralds and sapphires, and one thousand *mans* of silver, and four thousand pieces of silk in addition to other precious articles.

Briggs' translation does not agree with the Lucknow text.

that, through his fear, his brother would either commit suicide or resort to some place of safety with his elephants and treasures to seek his fortune. The Sultan was fatuous enough to believe these misrepresentations, and expressed a wish to proceed to Kara to meet Alauddin. Accompanied by a scanty retinue, he crossed the Ganges in a barge and met Alauddin with a few adherents, who were also disarmed at the request of Almas Beg. The plan of the traitors succeeded remarkably well, and when the Sultan, who suspected no treachery, met his nephew and affectionately embraced him, the latter gave the signal for attack, and his men fell upon the Sultan and his companions. An officer of Alauddin, Ikhtiyar-ud-din Hūd, cut off the head of the Sultan and carried it dripping with blood to his master. The royal party was put to the sword, and the Sultan's head was paraded in the army at Kara-Manikpur to convince the people of his death. The conspirators acclaimed Alauddin as their king, and the nobles and Amirs soon forgot the cruel murder of their venerable chief and offered allegiance to the rising man. While Alauddin occupied the throne of Delhi, he shed more innocent blood than Pharaoh was ever guilty of, but he did not escape retribution ; for in the words of the Muslim chronicler, fate at length placed a betrayer in his path, by whom his family was destroyed, and the retribution which fell upon it never had a parallel even in any infidel land.

Alauddin's early difficulties.

On his accession to the throne in 1295 A.D., Alauddin found himself confronted with a difficult situation. The Jalali nobles had not yet completely forgotten the murder of their good old chief, and secretly plotted to avenge it. The Queen-mother Malika Jahan, whom Barani describes "as one of the silliest of the silly," fomented intrigues to push forward the claims of her own sons, Arkali Khan and Qadr Khan. The hostile nobles and Amirs were conciliated by lavish gifts and promotions to high office, while the common people were reconciled to the new order by scattering gold stars amongst them from *manjniqs*. Malika Jahan, who had raised to the throne

Qadr Khan under the title of Rukn-ud-din Ibrahim, wrote to Arkali Khan at Multan asking him to come to Delhi, but he excused himself on the ground that the defection of the nobles had made the task of restoration absolutely impossible. When Alauddin reached near the capital, Rukn-ud-din Ibrahim came out of the city to oppose his progress, but in the middle of the night, the left wing of his army went over to the enemy. The prince, taking some bags full of gold tankās and a few horses from the stables, made off for Multan. Alauddin made his triumphal entry into the plain of Siri, where he received the homage of all parties. Barani describes the situation in these words: "the throne was now secure, and the revenue officers and the keepers of elephants with their elephants, and the kotwals with the keys of the forts, and the magistrates and the chief men of the city came out to Alauddin, and a new order of things was established. His wealth and power were great; so whether individuals paid their allegiance or whether they did not, mattered little, for the Khutbā was read and coins were struck in his name."

Against the Mongols.

Having secured his power, Alauddin turned to combat the great danger of the ever-recurring Mongol raids. He completed the work of Balban and effectively garrisoned the frontier outposts of the kingdom. The Mongols came again and again, but they were repulsed with heavy losses. In the second year of the reign, Amir Daud, the ruler of Transoxiana, advanced with an army of 100,000 Mongols with a view to conquer Multan, the Punjab and Sindh, but Ulugh Khan drove them with heavy losses. The Mongols did not mind this discomfiture and appeared again under their leader Saldi. Zafar Khan marched against them, and captured the Mongol leader and his 2,000 followers, and sent them in chains to Delhi. But the most dreadful invasion of Mongols occurred in the year 1298 A.D., when Qutlugh Khwaja, at the head of a countless host, advanced against Delhi. A feeling of consternation spread among the population, and a war council was forthwith summoned by the Sultan to devise

means of repelling the attack of the enemy. Zafar Khan and Ulugh Khan proceeded against them, and the Sultan himself took the field in person at the head of 12,000 well-equipped volunteers. The Mongols were defeated and dispersed, though Zafar Khan, the greatest warrior of the age, was slain in the thick of the fight. Just at this time, Targhi, another Mongol leader, appeared at the head of a considerable force, but the danger was averted through the favour of Nizam-ud-din Aulia. Notwithstanding these reverses, the Mongol raids did not cease, and in 1304 A.D., Ali Beg and Khwaja Tash, marching to the north of Lahore and skirting the Siwalik hills, made an incursion into Hindustan and penetrated as far as Amroha. Ghazi Tughluq, who was warden of the marches at Dipalpur, marched against them and inflicted heavy losses upon them. This was followed by other raids, but Ghazi Tughluq again rose equal to the occasion and repulsed the invading hordes. When Iqbalmanda came with a large force, the Sultan sent an army against him. He was defeated and slain and thousands of Mongols were massacred. Several of the Mongol Amirs who were commanders of one thousand or one hundred were captured alive and were trampled under the feet of elephants by the order of the Sultan. The Mongols were so frightened by his forays into their country that they never appeared again in Hindustan and Barani writes that never again did they allow the name of Hindustan to escape from their mouths, nor did they wander about the frontiers. Tranquillity was established in the country, and the Sultan was able to turn his attention to the conquest of foreign lands. To guard his dominions against the Mongols, he adopted the frontier policy of Balban. All old forts that lay on the route of the Mongols were repaired, and veteran commanders were placed in charge of them. The outposts of Samana and Dipalpur were garrisoned and kept in a state of defence. The royal army was considerably strengthened, and in the workshops of the state engineers were employed to manufacture weapons of all kinds to fight against the enemy.

Having got rid of these nomad hordes, Alauddin turned his attention to foreign conquest. Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan had conquered Gujarat and Nehrwala and subjected the merchants of Cambay to a heavy blackmail. The Baghela Rajput, Karan, had fled from his country, leaving his wife and children to be captured by the invaders in 1297 A.D. From all sides came the news of success, and enormous booty flowed into the coffers of the Sultan. Barani writes :—"All this prosperity intoxicated him. Vast desires and great aims far beyond him formed their germs in his brain, and he entertained fancies which had never occurred to any king before him. In his exaltation, ignorance, and folly, he quite lost his head, forming the most impossible schemes and nourishing the most extravagant desires. He was bad-tempered, obstinate, and hard-hearted, but the world smiled upon him, fortune befriended him, and his schemes were generally successful, so he only became the more reckless and arrogant." He became so presumptuous that he began to cherish the dream of founding a new religion and going out into the world in search of conquest like Alexander the Great. On these ambitious schemes he used to expatiate in the following manner :—" God Almighty gave the blessed Prophet four friends, through whose energy and power the law and religion were established, and through this establishment of law and religion the name of the Prophet will endure to the day of judgment. God has given me also four friends, Ulugh Khan, Zafar Khan, Nusrat Khan, and Alap Khan, who, through my prosperity, have attained to princely power and dignity. If I am so inclined, I can, with the help of these four friends, establish a new religion and creed ; and my sword, and the swords of my friends, will bring all men to adopt it. Through this religion, my name and that of my friends will remain among men to the last day, like the names of the Prophet and his friends . . . I have wealth, and elephants, and forces beyond all calculation. My wish is to place Delhi in charge of a vicegerent, and then I will go out myself into

The grand designs of the Sultan.

the world, like Alexander, in pursuit of conquest, and subdue the whole habitable world."

Qazi Ala-ul-mulk, uncle of the historian Zia Barani, was consulted by the Sultan, who thus expressed his opinion on the subject: "Religion and law spring from heavenly revelation; they are never established by the plans and designs of men. From the days of Adam till now they have been the mission of Prophets and Apostles, as rule and government have been the duty of kings. The prophetic office has never appertained to kings, and never will, so long as the world lasts, though some Prophets have discharged the functions of royalty. My advice is that your Majesty should never talk about these matters. Your Majesty knows what rivers of blood Chingiz Khan made to flow in Muhammadan cities, but he never was able to establish the Mughal religion or institutions among Muhammadans. Many Mughals have turned Musalmans but no Musalman has ever become a Mughal." On the subject of conquest the Qazi thus expressed his opinion: "The second design is that of a great monarch, for it is a rule among kings to seek to bring the whole world under their sway; but these are not the days of Alexander, and where will there be found a Wazir like Aristotle. . . . . There were two important undertakings open to the king, which ought to receive attention before all others. One is the conquest and subjugation of all Hindustan, of such places as Ranthambhor, Chittor, Chanderi, Malwa, Dhar and Ujjain, to the east as far as the Saryu, from the Siwalik to Jālor, from Multan to Damrila, from Pālam to Lahore and Dipālpur; these places should all be reduced to such obedience that the name of rebel should never be heard. The second and more important duty is that of closing the road of Multan against the Mughals." Before closing his speech, the Qazi said: "What I have recommended can never be accomplished unless your Majesty gives up drinking to excess, and keeps aloof from convivial parties and feasts. . . . . If you cannot do entirely without wine, do not drink till the afternoon, and then take it alone

without companions." The Sultan appreciated the Qazi's advice and richly rewarded him.

Growth of the Empire.

With the full concurrence of his ministers and generals, Alauddin now resolved to capture the famous fortress of Ranthambhor in 1299 A.D.[1] Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan marched from their respective fiefs towards Rajputana at the head of a large army, and succeeded in capturing the fortress of Jhain. Ranthambhor was besieged, but during the siege the imperial commandant Nusrat Khan, while he was superintending the construction of a redoubt, was struck with a stone discharged from a catapult (*maghribi*) in the fort. The wound proved fatal, and the brave man succumbed to it after a couple of days. Rana Hammir came out of the fort, and in a short time drew to his banner 200,000 well-equipped men, with whose help he delivered a tremendous attack upon the Muslims and compelled Ulugh Khan to fall back upon Jhain with heavy losses. When the news of this disaster reached the Sultan, he proceeded in person towards Ranthambhor, but, on his way, while he was hunting afield, he was suddenly attacked and wounded by the traitor Aqat Khan, his nephew, who was encouraged in his nefarious design to seize the throne by a few malcontents among the neo-Muslims. But Aqat Khan's attempt proved abortive ; his court was hastily broken up, and the Sultan recovered his position without much difficulty. The rebellious prince was captured and beheaded, and all his accomplices suffered the penalty of death. Freed from this danger, the Sultan resumed his march towards Ranthambhor and ravaged the territories of Malwa and Dhar on the way. At last, the

[1] In the *Hammir-Mahākāvya*, a poetical work in Sanskrit, by Naya Chandra, this invasion is attributed to Alauddin's wrath at the refusal of Hammir to surrender a fugitive, Mahima Shah, who had sought shelter with him. His correct name was Muhammad Shah; Mahima Shah is its Sanskritised form.

येनोच्चैः शरणागतस्य महिमासाहेर्निमित्तं रणा-
दात्मा पुत्रकलत्रभृत्यनिवहो नीतः कथाशेषताम् ॥

See also Hammir-Rasau in the J.A.S.B., 1879, pp. 186—252.

famous fortress was reached ; the Rajputs offered stubborn resistance, and the siege continued from day to day with sharp skirmishes on both sides. The long absence of the Sultan from the capital induced some mischievous persons to form a conspiracy to deprive him of his throne. The conspirators turned to princes Omar Khan and Mangu Khan to achieve their object, and incited them to hoist the flag of revolt, but they were immediately suppressed. Far more serious than this abortive attempt at usurpation was the conspiracy of Haji Maula, the son of a slave of Fakhr-ud-din, the celebrated Kotwal of Delhi, who, taking advantage of the discontent caused by the oppressive policy of Turmuzi, the present Kotwal of Delhi, worked up popular passion to a fever heat, and with a few notorious followers planned a revolution. On what an insecure basis, the domination of the Muslims still rested in Hindustan, is illustrated by the fact that Haji Maula could, by means of a forged royal order, collect round him a mob of unruly citizens, secure the city-gates, and seize the royal treasure, which was divided among his followers.[1] When the Sultan received intelligence of these proceedings, he deputed his foster-brother, Malik Hamid, who seized the Badāon gate and inflicted a crushing defeat upon Haji Maula in an open engagement. Disheartened by the death of their chief in battle, the followers of the rebel abandoned fighting and fled for their own safety. Order was quickly restored when Ulugh Khan appeared upon the scene. Haji Maula's sins were visited upon his kinsmen, and the sons of the Kotwal, who had no knowledge of the conspiracy, were executed on a charge of complicity.

[1] Barani writes that the conspirators placed upon the throne an Alawi (descendant of Ali) who was related to Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish through his mother. The Maula went to the house of the Alawi with a party of horsemen, forcibly brought him and seated him upon the throne. The principal men of the city were brought and compelled to pay homage. (Elliot, III, p. 176.) Firishta also says that on his mother's side he traced descent from Shams-ud-din Iltutmish. (Briggs, I, p. 341.)

Final conquest of Ranthambhor.

Having got rid of this danger, the royalists concentrated their full vigour upon Ranthambhor, and the siege was pushed on for a whole year. By means of bags filled with sand, the besiegers escaladed the walls of the fortress and forcibly obtained possession of it. Hammir and his family were put to death and so were the remnant of the garrison, who had heroically battled for their chief to the last.[1] Ranmal, the minister of the Rana, paid in full the penalty of his defection by suffering an ignominious death. But even in these bloody annals, we, now and then, come across men of true heroism and loyalty. When Mir Muhammad Shah, a Mongol general in the service of Hammir, lay wounded on the field of battle, Alauddin asked him what he would do if he ordered his wounds to be dressed and saved his life from peril. In scornful pride the vanquished hero replied, "If I recover from my wounds, I would have thee slain and raise the son of Hammir Deo upon the throne." Such fidelity was rare indeed in the royal camp, where an atmosphere of intrigue and self-seeking prevailed, and though the spirited warrior was thrown down under the feet of an elephant to be trampled unto death, the victor's heart was touched by his manliness, and he ordered a decent burial to be accorded to him. The fort was taken on the 3rd of Zil-qada, 700 A.H. (July, 1301 A.D.), and the palaces and other forts of the "stinking Rai" were razed to the ground. Having placed Ulugh Khan in charge of Ranthambhor and Jhain, the Sultan returned to the capital.

[1] Amir Khusrau gives an interesting account of the siege and the methods of fighting in his *Tarikh-i-Alai*. (Elliot, III, pp. 75-76.)

The frightful rite of "Jauhar" was performed, and in Amir Khusrau's words, one night the Rai lit a fire at the top of the hill, and threw his women and family into the flames, and rushing on the enemy with a few devoted adherents, they sacrificed their lives in despair.

The death of Hammir is described in the "*Hammir-Mahākāvya*" in a different manner. According to the author of this work, Hammir's defeat was due to the defection of his two generals, Ratipāla and Krisṇapāla. When Hammir was badly wounded and saw no chance of escape from death, he struck off his head with his own sword. As a proud Rajput he preferred death to submission to a Muslim

Emboldened by this success, Alauddin directed his forces against Mewar, the premier state of Rajputana. No Muhammadan ruler had yet ventured to penetrate into that secluded region, protected by long chains of mountains and impervious forests.

Conquest of Mewar.

The physical features of Mewar rendered it difficult for any conqueror to bring it under his effective sway, and the fort of Chittor, situated on a hill-top, strongly fortified by nature, had always defied the foreign invader. Cut out of a huge rock, the famous fortress stood in its awful grandeur, overlooking the vast plain below, where the Hindu and Muslim hosts were to engage each other in a death grapple. But the impregnability of the fortress did not deter the ambitious Sultan from attempting its conquest, and in 1303 A.D. he marched his forces against Mewar. The immediate cause of the invasion was his passionate desire to obtain possession of Padmini, the peerless queen of Rana Ratan Singh, renowned for her beauty all over Hindustan.[1] It is no longer necessary to reiterate the story of the chivalrous manner in which the Rana agreed to

conqueror. The defection of the two generals is also mentioned by Haji-ud-Dabīr in his Arabic History of Gujarat edited by Sir Denison Ross, Vol. II, pp. 806-07.

[1] Tod writes Bhimsi but this is incorrect. The name of the Rana was Ratansi. Nainsi in his Khyātā writes Ratan Singh and so does Abul Fazl in the *Aīn*. Firishta also writes Ratan Singh.

Firishta's account differs from the Rajput chronicles. Briggs has inaccurately translated the passage in the original text which is as follows :—

"Alauddin, having heard of the beauty of Padmini, sent word to the Raja in his confinement that he would release him if he presented that peerless beauty to him. The Rajputs on hearing of this proposal became highly disconcerted, and they decided to send poison to the Rana so that he may put an end to his life. But the Rana's daughter suggested a stratagem by which the Rana could be delivered and family honour preserved. Armed Rajputs went in litters to the Sultan's camp and rescued the Rana." (Lucknow text, p. 115.)

The accounts of Firishta and the Rajput chronicles vary in material particulars, but in a matter like this the Rajput chronicles are more reliable.

Amir Khusrau and Barani give a brief account of the siege of Chittor, while Nizam-ud-din disposes it of in a few lines.

Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān, edited by Crooke, I, pp. 308-09. Briggs, I, pp. 362-63.

gratify the Sultan's wish by allowing him to behold the princess through the medium of mirrors, and the foul treachery of Alauddin in capturing him, when he accompanied him out of courtesy to the outer gate of the fortress. From his camp, he sent word to the Rani that her husband would be released if she chose to come into his haram. But how could the Rajputs brook this indelible stain upon their national honour? They debated amongst themselves as to the course which was to be adopted. Like a brave Rajput matron, more anxious for the honour of her race than for her own safety, the queen expressed her willingness to abide by their decision. She consented to go to the Muslim camp, and Alauddin, whose reason was clouded by lust, permitted her to do so in a manner befitting her rank and dignity. Seven hundred covered litters containing brave Rajput warriors, well-equipped with arms, proceeded to the royal camp and demanded the strictest privacy. They rescued the Rana and carried him off to Chittor. A deadly fight raged at the outer gate of the fort, where two young Rajput heroes, Gorā and Bādal, at the head of a small Rajput force, bravely resisted the invaders, but, at last, they had to give way before the irresistible might of Alauddin. When the Rajputs saw that there was no chance of escape, they prepared to die after the manner of their race. The usual holocaust of women preceded the final desperate effort to repel the invading host. A funeral pyre was lighted in a subterranean cave, which still exists in that scene of desolation as a melancholy memorial of those cruel times. A procession of ladies was arranged. Tod describes the scene in these words: "The fair Padmini closed the throng, which was augmented by whatever of female beauty or youth could be tainted by Tartar lust. They were conveyed to the cavern, and the opening closed upon them, leaving them to find security from dishonour in the devouring element."[1]

Barani gives a brief account of the campaign and simply writes: 'After the conquest of Ranthambhor the Sultan led an

[1] Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān, edited by Crooke, Vol. I, p. 311.

army against Chittor which he captured in a short time and returned home.' Amir Khusrau, who accompanied the Sultan during this expedition, gives a more detailed account. He writes: 'The fort of Chittor was taken on Monday, the 11th Muharram, 703 A.H. (August 26, 1303). The Rai fled, but afterwards surrendered himself. After ordering a massacre of thirty thousand Hindus he bestowed the government of Chittor upon his son Khizr Khan and named the place Khizrabad. He bestowed upon him a red canopy, a robe embroidered with gold and two standards—one green and the other black—and threw upon him rubies and emeralds. He then returned towards Delhi.' All accounts agree that the fight before Chittor was terrible.

The fort was entrusted to Prince Khizr Khan and the town was re-christened Khizrabad. Khizr Khan remained in Chittor for some time, but about the year 1311 he was obliged to leave it owing to the pressure of the Rajputs. The Sultan then made it over to the Sonigrā chief Maldeo who, according to Nainsī, held it for seven years at the end of which period it was recovered by Rana Hammir by means of treachery and intrigue.[1] Under Hammir Chittor once more regained its former splendour and became one of the premier states in Rajputana.

[1] Firishta and the Rajput chronicles are at one in saying that Chittor was entrusted to Maldeo, the Sonigrā chief of Jalor. Firishta says:—

"The king asked Khizr Khan to leave Chittor, and bestowed it upon the son of the sister of the Raja who was in attendance upon the king. He established his power and remained all his life a tributary of the Sultan and sent him presents."

Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 115.
Tarikh-i-Alai, Elliot, III, p. 77.
Briggs, I, p. 363.

He sent annually large sums of money besides valuable presents, and always joined the imperial standard in the field with 5,000 horse and 10,000 foot.

The same authority in describing the events of 1311 A.D. asserts in another place that towards the close of Alauddin's reign, "the Rajputs of Chittor threw the Muhammadan officers over the walls, and asserted their independence." This seems to be incorrect. It was after 1311 A.D. that Khizr Khan was obliged to leave the fortress when it was entrusted to Maldeo of Jalor.

Briggs, I, p. 381.

The fall of Chittor was followed by the submission of Rai Mahlak Deva of Malwa, who fought against the armies of Islam at the head of a large force, but he was defeated and killed, and Malwa was placed in charge of a Muslim governor. Soon afterwards the cities of Mandu, Ujjain, Dharanagari and Chanderi were conquered, and their rulers were compelled to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Khilji war-lord.[1] By the end of 1305 A.D., practically the whole of northern India came into the hands of Alauddin, and the policy of imperialism, of which he was the author and champion, gathered a fresh momentum with every new conquest and annexation.

The Deccan—Conquest of Devagir.

Having conquered northern India, the Sultan launched forth his long-cherished scheme of an invasion of the Deccan. The rulers of Delhi had, so far, confined themselves to what was called in the phraseology of the time, Hindustan. The Muslim state in India was not yet fully developed, and an attempt to conquer the Deccan was looked upon as a perilous enterprise. The physical features of the country, the hostility of the Hindu Rajas, the long distance from the capital of the empire—all made its permanent subjugation difficult, if not impossible. But Alauddin recked nothing of obstacles ; they only served to stimulate his ambition, and Kāfūr, the famous slave, who had been brought from Cambay by Nusrat Khan, was invested with the supreme command of the royal armies. On his way to the Deccan, he passed through Malwa and Gujarat[2] and attacked Rai Karan, who fled with his daughter

[1] Tod writes that Alauddin was so irresistible that Anhilwad, Dhar and Avanti, Mandor and Devagir, the seats of Solankīs, the Parmārs, the Parihārs, and Taks, the entire Agnikul race were overturned by him. The chiefs of Jesalmer and Bundi along with other Rajput tribes suffered assaults at the hands of his troops. But permanent subjugation of these lands was difficult. Jesalmer was protected by its inhospitable desert.

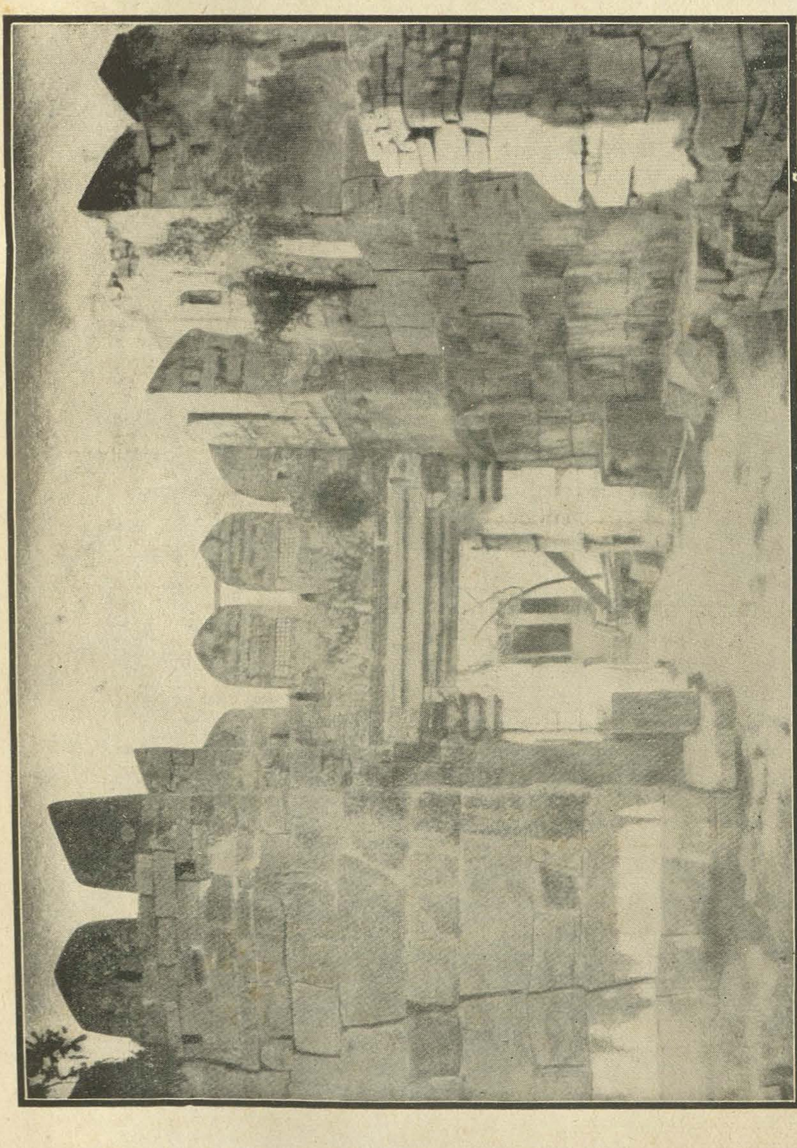
[2] Gujarat was a wealthy and well-populated province in the 13th century, before the Muslim invasions. Wassāf speaks in terms of high praise of its climate, its natural scenery and abundant wealth. Tazjiyat-ul-Amsar, Elliot, III, p. 31.

to the court of Rāma Deva Yādava of Devagir. Later, when Kamlā Devi, the wife of Karan, who had previously fallen into the hands of Alauddın, was reconciled to her forced separation from her husband, she informed the Sultan of the existence of her daughter, whose name was Deval Devi. Kāfūr, at the head of a large army, reinforced by Ulugh Khan and his men, marched towards Devagir to chastise the Yādava chieftain who had afforded shelter to Karan. Fully aware of the fate that awaited him, Karan now decided to affiance his daughter to Śankara Deva, Rāma Deva's son, though he had formerly spurned such a *mésalliance*. Deval Devi was demanded by Ulugh Khan, but the proud Rajput returned a curt refusal and prepared for resistance. Against such heavy odds Karan could not hold out long, and after two months' strenuous fighting, he was obliged by the shortage of supplies to capitulate. All stratagems to save the princess from "unclean" hands failed, and Ulugh Khan succeeded in capturing the prize on which his master had set his heart. The unfortunate princess, forcibly torn away from her father and all those she held dear, was admitted into the royal seraglio and was subsequently married to Khizr Khan, the heir-apparent to the throne. Kāfūr laid waste the whole country and Rāma Deva was obliged to sue for peace. He was sent to Delhi where he was well received and the title of Rāya Rāyān was conferred upon him by the Sultan. Firishta writes that the district of Navasārī was given to Rāma Deva as a personal fief. This generous treatment steeled the loyalty of Rāma Deva, and never again did he swerve in his allegiance to the throne of Delhi.

The discomfiture of the Yādavas of Devagir prepared the way for the fall of the other Hindu princes of the south.

Conquest of Warangal.

Alauddin's object in invading the Deccan kingdoms was, as Professor Aiyenger points out, to make them the milch cow for the gold that he was often much in need of for the efficient maintenance of his army to keep Hindustan free from internal disturbance and invasion by the Mughals from outside. In 1309 A.D. Kāfūr



started on his expedition against the Kākatīya Rajas of Warangal[1] in Telingana. The Sultan's instructions to Kāfūr were: 'If the Rai consented to surrender his treasure and jewels, elephants and horses, and also to send treasure and elephants in the following year, Malik Nāib Kāfūr was to accept these terms and not press the Rai too hard. He was to come to an arrangement and retire without pushing matters too far, lest Rai Ladar Deo should get the better of him. If he could not do this, he was, for the sake of his own name and fame, to bring the Rai with him to Delhi.' The Rai's country was not to be annexed, but he was to be deprived of all his wealth and power. Marching through difficult and inhospitable regions Kāfūr reached before the fort of Warangal. Raja Pratāp Rudra Deva, called Ladar Deo by Muslim historians, shut himself up in the impregnable fort and offered stubborn resistance. The fort, in the words of Amir Khusrau, was so strong that a spear of steel could not pierce it, and if a ball from a western catapult were to strike against it, it would rebound like a nut, which children play with. After a prolonged siege Pratāp Rudra Deva Kākatīya submitted and sued for peace. He agreed to pay annual tribute and "sent a golden image of himself, with a gold chain round its neck in acknowledgment of his submission"; but Kāfūr refused to listen to his overtures. In vain did the Brahman plenipotentiaries of the Kākatīya prince plead for quarter for their master. The relentless general promised to desist from a general massacre of the Hindus only on the condition that their chief should give up all his treasures and agree to send tribute annually to Delhi. Driven to extremities, Pratāp Rudra Deva accepted the humiliating conditions, and purchased his safety by offering a large

[1] Warangal was the ancient capital of Telingana.

Tieffenthaler, III, p. 5. Historical and Descriptive Sketches of the Nizam's Dominions, p. 737. Fergusson, Indian and Eastern Architecture, p. 392. Imp. Gaz., XIII, p. 521.

Amir Khusrau and Barani write Arangal. So does Firishta.

booty. Kāfūr, with the laurels of victory on his brow, " left Warangal and returned to Delhi with a thousand camels, groaning under weight of treasure " in March, 1310, by way of Devagir, Dhar and Jhain.

Conquest of Mábar.

The success which attended this expedition and the vast wealth that flowed into the coffers of the state, as the result of his enterprises, strengthened Alauddin's belief in his destiny, and he resolved to extend the limits of his empire to the furthest extremity of the South. Dvārsamudra and Mábar[1] still remained outside the pale of his empire. Under Vīra Ballāla III, the son of Nara Siṃha, the Hoysala dominions above and below the Ghāts had been re-united ; and this powerful ruler held sway over the whole of Kangū and a portion of the Konkan and the whole of what is now known as the Mysore country.[2] Ballāla was a capable prince, who, like his other Hindu contemporaries, had consolidated his power by abolishing vexatious imposts and granting charitable religious endowments. Bitter rivalry existed between the Hoysalas and the Yādavas, and each tried to ruin the other. At last, these mutual feuds and strifes disabled both of them and made room for a third power, namely, the Muslims. On the 24th of Jamādi-ul-ākhir, 710 A.H. (Nov. 18, 1310 A.D.), the royal army under the leadership of Kāfūr left Delhi, and having crossed deep rivers, ravines, and mountain valleys, reached the country of Mábar. Vīra Ballāla suffered a crushing defeat and surrendered himself to the victorious general. But Kāfūr was not satisfied with mere surrender; he gave vent to his bigotry and informed the Rai that he must either embrace Islam or accept the position of a

[1] Mábar is the name given to the strip of land which according to Wassāf, Polo and Abul Feda extended from Kulam to Nilāwar (Nellore). Wassāf writes in his *Tazjiyat-ul-Amsar* that Mábar extended from Kulam to Nilāwar (Nellore), nearly three hundred parasangs along the sea-coast. Elliot, III, p. 32.

[2] Vīra Ballāla was crowned in 1292 A.D., and died fighting against the Turks in 1342 A.D.

Zimmi.[1] The Rai accepted the latter alternative, paid a huge war indemnity, and became a vassal of Delhi. The Muslims captured a large booty, which consisted of 36 elephants and an abundant quantity of gold, silver, jewels, and pearls. The temples were sacked and robbed of their riches. Vīra Ballāla was sent to Delhi along with the elephants and horses, and a reference to this visit occurs in his inscriptions.

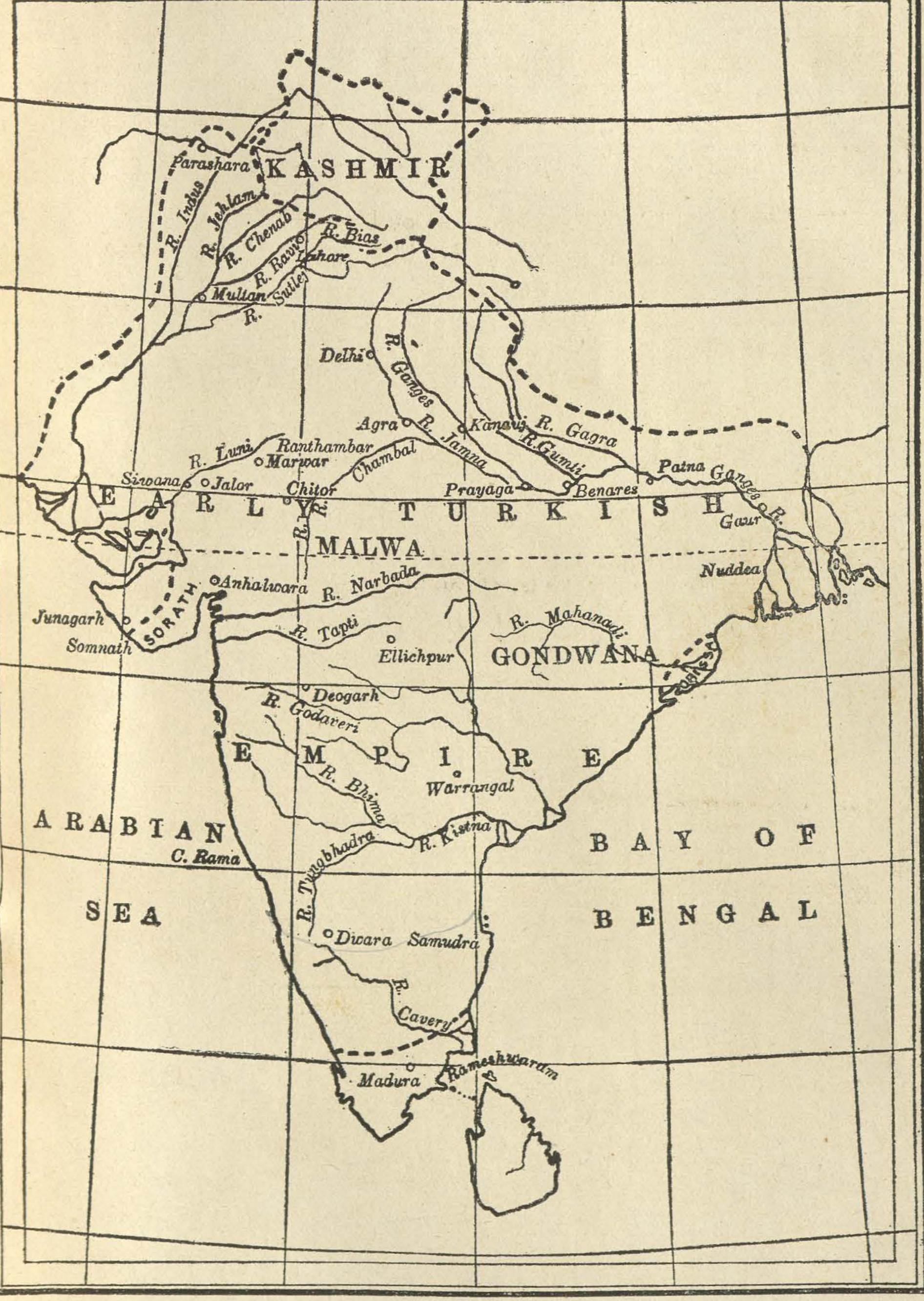
Having conquered Dvārsamudra Kāfūr made ready for an invasion of Mábar. What gave the Muslims their long-desired opportunity was a quarrel between the two brothers Sundara Pāndya and Vīra Pāndya. Both Wassāf and Amir Khusrau write that Sundara Pāndya was the legitimate and Vīra Pāndya an illegitimate son of the ruler of the Pāndya kingdom. Vīra Pāndya succeeded in obtaining the throne and drove his brother out of Madura. Thus deprived of what he claimed as his lawful inheritance, he sought the help of the Sultan of Delhi. This is Wassāf's account. Amir Khusrau agrees with Wassāf and writes : "The two Rais of Mábar, the eldest named Vīra Pāndya, the youngest Sundara Pāndya, who had up to that time continued on friendly terms, had advanced against each other with hostile intentions and that Belal Deo, the Rai of Dhursamundar on learning this fact, had marched for the purpose of sacking their two empty cities, and plundering the merchants ; but that, on hearing of the advance of the Muhammadan army, he had returned to his own country." Malik Kāfūr set out for the Deccan at the head of a large army. Amir Khusrau in his *Tarikh-i-Alai* gives a graphic account of the progress of this valiant general through the distant and inaccessible regions of the south. On his way he seized elephants and demolished temples at several places, and on the 17th of Zilqadā, 710 A.H. (April, 1311), he arrived at '*Kham*' from where he marched towards Madura, the capital of the Pāndya kings. The Rai fled on the approach of the invaders who captured elephants and destroyed temples. According to Amir Khusrau the booty

[1] A Zimmi is an unbeliever who does not accept Islam, but for a monetary consideration is allowed security of life and property.

seized consisted of 512 elephants, five thousand horses and five hundred maunds of jewels of every kind, diamonds, pearls, emeralds and rubies. It appears Kāfūr reached as far as Rāmeśvaram, a well-known place of Hindu pilgrimage. The great temple was plundered, the idol destroyed after which Kāfūr returned to Delhi towards the close of the year 1311 A.D. Having subdued the whole country, Kāfūr returned to Delhi on the 4th Zil-hijjā, 710 A.H. (April 24, 1311 A.D.), laden with the spoils of war, and was accorded a cordial welcome by the Sultan. The victory was proclaimed from the pulpits, and precious largesses were distributed among the nobles and officers of state.

Defeat of Śankara Deva.

After Rāma Deva's death, his son Śankara Deva had ceased to pay the customary tribute and had refused to fulfil the obligations of an ally in Kāfūr's expedition against the Hoysalas. Alauddin's wrath was kindled at this infidelity, and for the fourth time the slave-warrior was sent to the Deccan at the head of a large force in 1312 A.D. The whole of Mahārāshtra was ravaged, and the Yādava prince was, after a feeble resistance, defeated and beheaded. The whole of south India now lay at the feet of Kāfūr, and the ancient dynasties of the Cholas, the Cheras, the Pāndyas, the Hoysalas, the Kākatīyas, and the Yādavas were all overthrown, and made to acknowledge the suzerainty of Delhi. The empire now embraced practically the whole of India from Multan, Lahore, and Delhi in the north to Dvārsamudra in the south, and from Lakhnautī and Sonārgāon in the east to Thatta and Gujarat in the west, including the whole tract of land which is now known as Central India. By the end of 1312 Alauddin had reached the apogee of power ; his empire had grown to formidable dimensions, but in his resistless sweep of conquests and annexations, he never paused to think that it was only a huge agglomeration of peoples, not knit together by any principle of cohesion and unity, and, as such, likely to dissolve as soon as his master hand was removed or its grip paralysed.



The Early Turkish Empire, 1315 A. D.

Alauddin was opposed to ecclesiastrical interference in matters of state, and in this respect he departed from the traditions of the previous rulers of Delhi. The law was to depend upon the will of the monarch, and had nothing to do with the law of the Prophet—this was the guiding maxim of the new monarchy. The Sultan's political theory is clearly set forth in the words which he addressed to Qazi Mughis-ud-din, whom he consulted about the legal position of the sovereign power in the state. He upheld the royal prerogative of punishment and justified the mutilation of dishonest and corrupt officers, though the Qazi declared it contrary to canon law. Then the Sultan asked him, "That wealth which I acquired while I was a Malik, with so much bloodshed at Devagir, does it belong to me or to the public treasury?" The Qazi replied, "I am bound to speak the truth to your Majesty. The treasure obtained at Devagir was obtained by the prowess of the army of Islam, and whatever treasure is so acquired belongs to the public treasury.[1] If your Majesty had gained it yourself alone in a manner allowed by the law, then it would belong to you." The Sultan flared up with wrath and asked the Qazi how such treasure could belong to the state. The Qazi meekly answered, "Your Majesty has put to me a question of law; if I were not to say what I have read in the book, and your Majesty to test my opinion were to ask some other learned man, and his reply, being in opposition to mine, should show that I had given a false opinion to suit your Majesty's pleasure, what confidence would you have in me, and would you ever afterwards consult me about the law?"

Alauddin's theory of kingship.

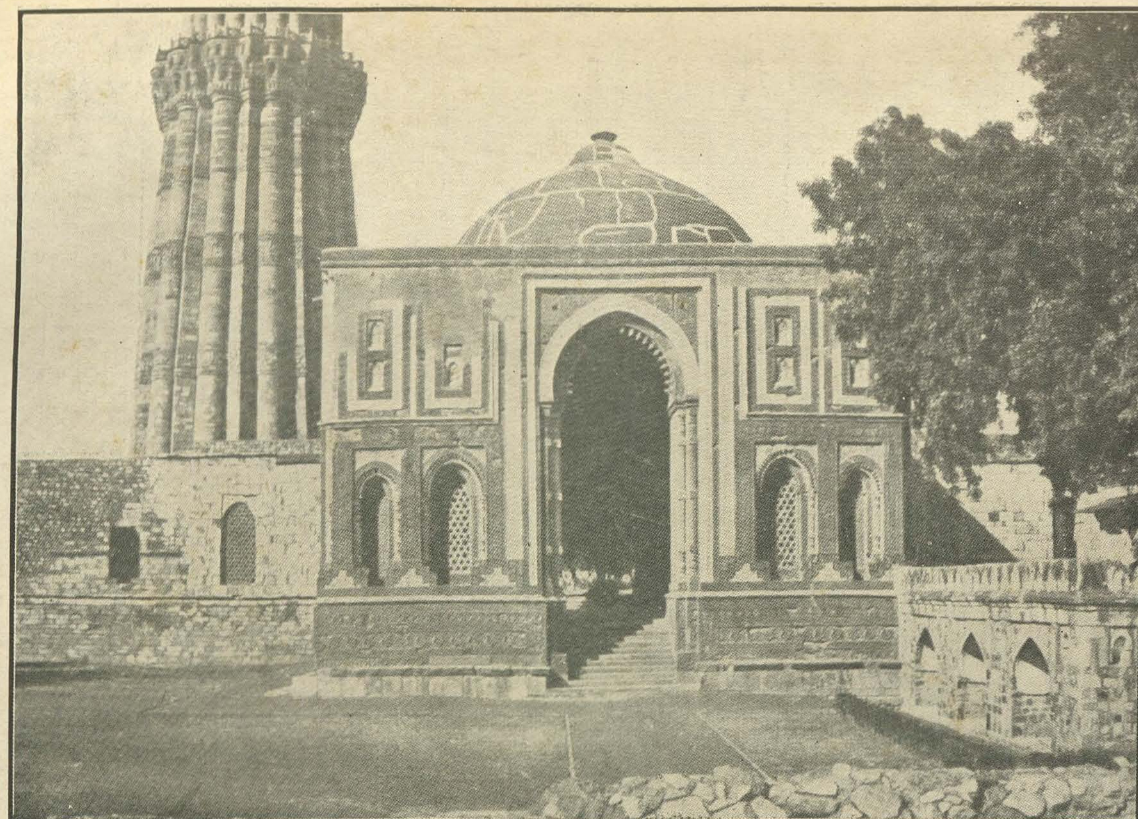
The Qazi was confronted with a fresh question about the rights of the king and his children upon the public treasury, the *Bet-ul-māl*. Frightened by the Sultan's stern demeanour, the Qazi screwed up courage with great difficulty to return a reply and said, "If your Majesty will follow the example of

[1] The public treasury is called the '*Bet-ul-māl*' in legal language.

of his officials and subjects. The spies reported everything that took place in the houses of the nobles, and often in their zeal to win royal favour, they carried the silly gossips of the bazar to the ears of the emperor. Spirituous liquor was strictly forbidden ; and the Sultan himself set an example by giving up the habit of drink. All the china and glass vessels of the Sultan's banqueting room were broken into fragments, and "jars and casks of wine were brought out of the royal cellars, and emptied at the Badayun gate in such abundance, that mud and mire was produced as in the rainy season." But this prohibition weighed too heavily upon the people, and wine was clandestinely brought into the city by vintners. The nobles were permitted to drink individually at their houses, but all social intercourse was strictly prohibited. All festive gatherings and convivial parties were forbidden in private as well as public houses with the inevitable result that the amenities of social life disappeared, and life became an intolerable burden.

Treatment of the Hindus.

The Hindus were treated with special severity. When the Sultan consulted the Qazi about the position of the Hindus in a Muslim state, the latter replied, "They are called *Khirāj-guzārs* (payers of tribute), and when the revenue officer demands silver from them, they should, without question and with all humility and respect, tender gold. If the *muhassil* (the tax-collector) chooses to spit into the mouth of a Hindu, the latter must open his mouth without hesitation. The meaning of doing such a thing is that the Hindu by acting in this wise shows his meekness and humility, and obedience and respect. The glorification of Islam is a duty, and contempt of the religion is vain. God himself has commanded their complete degradation, inasmuch as the Hindus are the deadliest foes of the Prophet. The Prophet has said that they should either embrace Islam or they should be slain or enslaved, and their property should be confiscated to the state. No one except the great doctor Abu Hanifa allows the imposition of the jeziyā upon the Hindus, while other schools are of opinion that there is no other alter-



View of South Facade of Alai D

native but "Death or Islam."[1] The refractory conduct of the Hindus of the Doab necessitated drastic measures against them. They had to pay 50 per cent. of the total produce of their land without making any deductions, and so rigorous was the assessment that not even a *biswah* of land was spared. A grazing tax was imposed upon cattle, and a house-tax was also levied. The same regulations were applied to the *khūts* and the *balāhars*[2] so as to save the poor from the heavy burden of taxation. So rigorously were the new rules enforced, that 'the *chaudharīs, khūts,* and *muqaddams* were not able to ride on horseback, to find weapons, to get fine clothes, or to indulge in betel.' The policy of the state was that the Hindus should not have so much as to enable them to ride on horseback, wear fine clothes, carry arms and cultivate luxurious habits. They were reduced to a state of abject misery to such an extent that the wives of the *khūts* and *muqaddams* went and served for hire in the houses of the Musalmans.[3] Barani speaks highly of Sharaf Qai, the nāib wazir of the emperor, and says that he brought all provinces of the empire under one revenue law as if they were all one village. In collecting the revenue he made one law applicable to all landed proprietors and 'their obedience became such that a single *chaprasi* of the revenue department would seize some twenty landed proprietors, chief men and agents and minister kicks and blows to them.' He investigated all cases of embezzlement and inflicted the severest punishments upon the wrong-doers. If the ledger of the *patwari* showed a single *jital* standing against the name of any

[1] Barani, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., pp. 290-291.

Elliot, III, p. 184.

[2] *Khut* and *balāhar* are obviously used for landed classes. Most probably they are used here for landlords and tenants. Elliot, III (Appendix), p. 623.

Major Fuller in a footnote to his translation of Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* (J. A. S. B., 1870, p. 7) takes *Khut* to mean a fine strong man. *Khut* really means a landholder.

[3] Barani Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., p. 288.

Elliot, III, pp. 182-83.

officer, he was punished with torture and imprisonment. The post of revenue clerk came to be looked upon as dangerous, and only the bolder spirits offered themselves as candidates for it.[1]

Organisation of the army and the control of the market.

For a monarchy which was essentially of a military character, a well-organised army was a prime necessity. The large empire that Alauddin had built up could not be maintained without a permanent standing army. With this object in view military reform was undertaken, and able and tried generals were placed in charge of the imperial forces. The pay of a soldier was fixed at 234 tankās a year, and a man with two horses was paid 78 tankās more. But such a large army could not be maintained without unduly saddling the budget of the state, and the Sultan decided to regulate the prices in order to cheapen the necessaries of life. A tariff list was prepared which contained the prices of all commodities required for daily use.[2] Grain was to be accumulated in royal

[1] Barani writes (Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., p. 289) that the office of revenue clerk fell into such bad odour that nobody would give his daughter in marriage to him, and the post of *musarrif* was accepted only by those who did not pay any heed to their lives. These men were frequently cast into prisons.

[2]

Wheat	...	... per *man*	...	$7\frac{1}{2}$	*jitals*
Barley	...	... „	...	4	„
Rice in husk	...	... „	...	5	„
Mash	...	... „	...	5	„
Nakhud, pulse	...	... „	...	5	„
Moth	...	... „	...	3	„
Sugar	...	... per *ser*	...	$1\frac{1}{3}$	„
Gur	...	... „	...	$\frac{1}{3}$	„
Butter	...	... $2\frac{1}{2}$ *sers*	...	1	„
Oil of sesamum	...	... 3 *sers*	...	1	„
Salt	...	... $2\frac{1}{2}$ *mans*	...	5	„

The *jital* was $\frac{1}{64}$ of a silver tankā of 175 grains and corresponded in value to $1\frac{1}{2}$ farthing or rather less. The *man* was equal to something like 29 lbs. avoirdupois.

See Thomas, Chronicles, pp. 161-62.

Quatremère, Notices et Extraits, XIII, p. 212.

granaries, and in the *Khalsa* villages of the Doab, the revenue was to be realised not in cash but in kind. Grain became so plentiful in Delhi that even in times of drought no scarcity was felt. Forestalling and regrating of corn was penalised. No merchant was allowed to withhold a single *man* of grain, and any attempt to sell at an enhanced price was severely punished. The merchants of all parts of the empire had to get themselves registered in a *Daftar* and were placed in charge of the *Shahna-i-mandi.* All caravans were subject to the superintendent of the market, and had to enter into an agreement with him that they would carry out the orders of the state. The revenue of the Doab and the country within 100 *kos* was to be so settled that the subjects could not keep for themselves even 10 *mans* of grain and they were to be ground down to such an extent that they sold the grain on the fields to the merchants. The officers in the Doab had to furnish guarantees by which they undertook not to permit any one to hoard up grain. All cultivators were required to sell their produce where it was grown, and the officers of the state were asked to realise the revenue with the greatest rigour. The prices of such articles as cloth, sugar, both ordinary and refined, ghee, and oil, were laid down by the state. Spies and secret agents were employed who reported the condition of the market to the Sultan. All merchants, whether Hindus or Musalmans, had to register themselves and to enter into engagements by which they bound themselves to bring their articles to the *Serai adl*, an open space inside the Badāon gate, where all articles were exposed for sale. Advances were made from the treasury to these wealthy and respectable Multani traders to enable them to purchase goods in large quantities. The Diwan issued permits to those Maliks and Amirs who purchased costly articles. This device was adopted to prevent merchants from buying articles in the market at cheap rates and then selling them at higher rates in the country.

The market was superintended by two officers—the *Diwani-i-riyasat* and the *Shahna-i-mandi*. These officers

performed their duties with the strictest honesty and regularity. The *Shahna* of the market, Yaqub, applied his lash wherever he found anybody violating the tariff laws. The cattle market was also controlled, and the prices of cattle fell considerably. Horses of the first class could be purchased for 100 to 120 tankās, of the second for 80 to 90, of the third for 65 to 70 tankās, while small ponies could be had for 10 to 25 tankās. A milch cow could be had for three or four tankās and a she-goat for ten or twelve or fourteen *jitals*. The prices of slaves and maid-servants fell considerably. The punishments for the violation of the tariff laws were exceptionally severe. The Sultan used to send his slaves to the market to bring such things as bread, roast meat, *reori*, *halwa*, *yakhni*, melons, cucumber and so on, and when they came back, the articles which they brought were weighed. If they weighed less an equal quantity of flesh was cut off from the haunches of the shopkeeper concerned to make up the deficiency in weight.[1] The vendors were frequently kicked out of their shops for dishonest dealings. The result of all this was that the bazar people became quite submissive and ceased to practise deceit and often gave more than the fixed quantity. The success of the tariff regulations was remarkable, and Barani ascribes it to four causes :—(1) the strict enforcement of the rules of the market, (2) the vigorous collection of taxes, (3) the scarcity of metallic currency among the people, and (4) the impartiality and zeal of the officers who acted honestly in the discharge of their duties owing to the fear of the Sultan.

The results of reform.

These reforms succeeded well enough. The increased strength and efficiency of the army guaranteed security against Mongol invasions, and held in check the refractory Rajas and chieftains. All sedition was stamped out, and men's habits were so disciplined that crime was considerably lessened. The cheapness

[1] Elliot, III, p. 197.
J. A. S. B., 1878, p. 39.

of the necessaries of life increased the happiness of the people, and bound them more closely to the personal despotism of the emperor. Though the stress of war pressed too severely upon the resources of the state, numerous works of public utility were constructed, and the emperor extended his patronage to the learned and the pious. Amir Khusrau, the poet laureate of the empire, shed lustre on his reign, and pious men like Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliā and Shaikh Rukn-ud-din did not a little to augment its prestige, but the most important result of these measures was the solidity which they imparted to the central government. The disruptive tendencies of the feudal barons were put down with a high hand, and all particularism was kept under firm control. The governors in the distant provinces carried out the behests of the emperor with perfect obedience. The agents of the government were allowed no latitude, and the disregard of the royal will was treated as a grave offence for which almost Draconian punishments were laid down.

Weakness of the system.

The foundations of the political system which Alauddin had built up were unsound. The new *Kultur* which he had imposed upon an unwilling people drove discontent deep underground. The Hindu Rajas, who had been deprived of their independence, sullenly brooded over their losses and waited for an opportunity to strike a blow for their freedom. The nobles, accustomed to a life of gaiety, were sick of the obnoxious laws which they had to obey ; the merchants resented the policing of the market, while the Hindus groaned under the humiliations inflicted upon them. The new Muslims always plotted and intrigued against the Sultan. Overcentralisation, repression, and espionage, all undermined the imperial authority. As the emperor advanced in years, he became violent and whimsical, and his suspicious nature estranged from him the sympathies of his leading nobles. To form an official hierarchy, entirely subservient to him, he raised base-born men to positions of honour and eminence. Too much depended upon

the personality of the Sultan in this age; and Alauddin made the mistake of minimising the importance of this powerful factor in the politics of his day. He neglected the education of his sons, and under Kāfūr's influence he treated them with great severity. Besides, Kāfūr deftly fomented quarrels in the royal household in order to prepare the way for the establishment of his own power. He induced the emperor to execute a will nominating his son, Shihab-ud-din, heir to the throne. The authority of the emperor ceased to command respect, and insurrectionary movements were set on foot in the outlying provinces of the empire. In the words of the Muslim chronicler, "Fortune proved, as usual, fickle; and destiny drew her poniard to destroy him," and the mighty monarch 'bit his own flesh with fury,' as he saw the work of his life-time undone before his eyes. His trusted nobles and officers had been removed one after the other through Kāfūr's machinations. The end of the emperor, who was already in the grip of a mortal disease, was accelerated by the news of revolts against his authority, and in 1316 A.D., he breathed his last and was solemnly interred in a tomb in front of the Jām-i-Masjid.

Estimate of Alauddin.

The reign of Alauddin represents the highest water-mark of Muslim despotism. He was by nature cruel and implacable and swept aside the dictates of religion and canon law, if they interfered with his policy. He had no regard for the ties of brotherhood or filial relationship and inflicted punishments without distinction. A determined will, a capacity to work other men at high pressure, and an inflexible resolve to make the state efficient, enabled him to grapple successfully with the problems of his time. He steadily followed his goal with the instruments that were ready to his hand, and his Machiavellian statecraft excluded all conscientious scruple and ecclesiastical verdict. His ambition grew with every conquest, and so powerful did he become that in a short time he put down the recalcitrant barons with a strong hand. He possessed the qualities of a born military commander and a civil administrator—a rare combina-

tion in mediæval history. He saw clearly the dangers to which society was exposed in his day, and marshalling the forces that lay around him, attempted to promote the welfare of his people though this was merely to subserve the chief end of his policy—military aggrandisement. He enjoyed in an unstinted measure the confidence of his soldiers, and his zeal for the faith inspired his followers with an undying resolve to fight under his banner against the 'infidels.' In organising his civil administration, he displayed great originality and mental vigour ; and his phenomenal energy enabled him to exercise personal supervision over the conduct of his officials. But all his institutions lacked the elements of permanence. He did not go beyond providing the elemental needs of mankind, but it was not his fault. He was hampered by the limitations which his age imposed upon him. But he did much to relieve human want and misery by his control of the market, and, like Napoleon, found in cheap bread the supreme talisman of statesmanship. He was the first Muslim ruler who had the courage to take exception to the orthodox policy of the canonists ; and Havell rightly observes that though he represented in his own person the uncompromising barbarity of the Turkish despot, his policy and conduct asserted to some extent the process of evolution by which the typical Indian Muslim came to regard India as his spiritual home, and to make Islam in India the bright expression of a great world religion.

CHAPTER IX

A PERIOD OF REACTION AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE TUGHLUQ DYNASTY[1]

The weak successors of Alauddin.

ALAUDDIN'S death was a signal for civil war and the scrambles of rival parties for power. Malik Kāfūr removed from his path the princes of the blood royal, one by one, and produced a spurious will of the late Sultan, in which Omar Khan was nominated heir to the throne. As the heir-designate was only a tender stripling of six years, Kāfūr himself undertook the regency and began to administer the affairs of the state. The first thing needed was to exterminate the survivors of Alauddin. The villainous Malik Sambul was commissioned to put out the eyes of Prince Khizr Khan, the amorous hero of Amir Khusrau's famous poem, the *Qirān-us-Sadāin,* at Gwalior, and as a reward for this atrocious crime, was elevated to high rank. Prince Shadi Khan suffered a like fate ; his eyes were "cut out from the sockets, with a razor, like slices of melon," and Malikā Jahān, the queen-mother, bereft of all her jewels and property, was cast into prison. Mubarak Khan, who afterwards became king, escaped this tragic fate ; his life was spared, but he was placed under custody. All the supporters of the late Sultan, the tried veterans who had served Alauddin with rare fidelity, were removed, one by one, and in their places were pitch-forked low-born men who depended upon Kāfūr for favour and promotion to high office. This policy caused profound dissatisfaction among the representa-

[1] The fall of the Khilji dynasty and the rise of the Tughluqs has been dealt with exhaustively in my work on the Qaraunā Turks in India.

tives of the old order, who became alarmed for their own safety. A conspiracy was formed, and the slaves of Alauddin, with the help of Malik Mushir, the commander of the foot-guards, killed Kāfūr together with his confederates. After Kāfūr's death, Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah was placed upon the throne in 1316 A.D.

Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah.

During the first few years of his reign, he acted with commendable energy and ability. The political prisoners were released, the confiscated lands were restored to their owners, and the numerous tolls and taxes which had hampered trade were abolished. Barani records that men were no longer in fear of hearing the words, 'Do this, but don't do that ; say this, but don't say that ; hide this, but don't hide that ; eat this but don't eat that ; sell such as this, but don't sell things like that ; act like this but don't act like that.' The conditions of life were pleasant ; but the relaxation of the old rules and regulations diminished the awe in which the royal authority was held. Secure on his throne, the Sultan abandoned himself to pleasure, and his Bacchanalian revels left him no time to attend to the business of the administration. But there was no rebellion or disturbance of a serious nature. The only important rebellion was that of Raja Harapal Deva of Devagir in 1318 ; but it was quickly suppressed and the rebel was flayed alive.[1] Khusrau,[2] a man of low caste from Gujarat, who had won the king's affection and confidence, undertook an expedition to Telingana, which met with great success. The

[1] Amir Khusrau says that all the Rāis of the country submitted to the Sultan except Raghu, the minister of the late Rāma Deva.

He fled into the hills and collected an army of 10,000 Hindus. But he was badly wounded in battle and the Hindus fled from the field in utter confusion.

Amir Khusrau, Nuh Sipihr, Elliot, III, pp. 558-59.

[2] Khusrau was an outcast from Gujarat.

Barani writes بروار بچه In some MSS. it is Parwārī which is a low caste in Gujarat. The Khudābakhsha MS. of Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* has Barāon (براون), which is a word used for the sweeper class. It is clear that he was a convert to Islam,

army of Khusrau encamped at a short distance from Warangal; the Khan ascended on a lofty mound from where he could survey the position of the fort and its defences. Amir Khusrau, who is a contemporary writer, says that the Hindu horsemen were more than 10,000 and the foot soldiers were beyond calculation, while the horsemen on the side of the Muslims were altogether only 300, or even less. But in spite of the disproportionate strength of the enemy, the Muslims succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat upon the Hindus and capturing vast booty in jewels and gold. They pursued the enemy to the gates of the citadel and burnt their gardens and orchards. Next morning Khusrau's army attacked the outer wall of the fortress, which was dismantled and many Hindus were slain, among whom was Antil Mahta, the principal commandant of the Rai of Telingana. The outer wall having been successfully attacked, the Muslims proceeded to besiege the inner fortress. Khwājā Hājī, the energetic Arīz, pointed out to the soldiers the posts they were to occupy, and constructed a mine below the fort, which was 150 yards in length. These mighty preparations alarmed the Rai, who saw no chance of escape except in submission. Khusrau told him in plain words that he must choose between submission and death, which was certain in case he refused to comply with the conditions laid down by him.[1] Driven to despair by adverse fate, the Rai surrendered, and ceded to Khusrau five districts and promised to pay an annual tribute of "more than a hundred strong elephants as large as demons, 12,000 horses, and gold, jewels and gems beyond compute."

Having secured possession of Gujarat and the Deccan, and freed himself from the danger of conspiracy, Mubarak abandoned himself to debauch. Success made him perverse, proud, vindictive, and tyrannical, and he inflicted terrible punishments for the most trivial offences. None ventured to advise him on matters of state, and things began to be

[1] Amir Khusrau, Nuh Sipihr, Elliot, III, p. 560.

managed in accordance with his caprice. The court became the scene of the most disgraceful orgies, and the king lost all regard for decency and morality, and practised every vice that can debase human nature. Often he dressed himself in female attire, and with his body decked with trinkets, he went out into the city in the company of harlots and danced at the houses of the nobles. In private life he vaunted his contempt for the ordinary restraints of morality and bragged of his most indefensible conduct with a brutal naiveté. He was in fact the embodiment of that evil spirit against which the leading nobles and officers of the age protested, but in vain. There was a great demand for dancing girls, and 'the price of a boy, or handsome eunuch, or beautiful girl varied from 500 to 1,000 and even 2,000 tankās.' The common form of amusement in which the king used to indulge was to show himself in a state of inebriety in the company of public women to the assembled nobles of the court. But the fool cast all decency to the winds when he allowed these women to insult in foul and obscene language the distinguished nobles of the court. The result of this depravity was the slackening of the royal authority in all parts of the empire. Khusrau, who had become the king's confidant, acquired a great influence at the court. He daily conferred with his crew to compass the king's death. By false excuses he obtained the king's permission to keep around him men of his own caste in order to guard himself against the jealousy of the officials. The king was apprised of Khusrau's nefarious intentions, but he paid no heed to the remonstrances of Qazi Zia-ud-din, his old tutor.[1] On the appointed night, the conspirators entered the palace and found the Sultan in his private apartments. Realising that his life was in danger, the Sultan hastily fled towards the ladies' quarters, but he was caught. Again, he made a frantic effort to effect his escape, but in vain. One of the conspirators

[1] Qazi Zia-ud-din held the office of *Vakil-i-dar*, the keeper of the keys of the palace gate. This was a highly important post and was conferred only on trustworthy persons.

thrust his dagger into the king's breast and severed his head from the body. A court was hastily improvised at midnight hour, and some of the nobles were summoned to the palace by means of guile "to be made accomplices" in these heinous crimes. The house of Firuz Khilji was extinguished ; and with the forced consent of the nobles and officers, Khusrau mounted the throne in 1320 A.D. under the title of Nasir-ud-din.

The régime of Khusrau.

Khusrau began a hideous reign of terror. The royal haram was explored, and his followers and kinsmen divided among themselves the women of the nobles and the Amirs. The treasures of the state were rifled, and lavish gifts were conferred upon the people at large to obtain their support. Khusrau's object was to re-establish Hindu supremacy, and for the fulfilment of this object, he employed a large number of his own kinsmen, who were bound to him by ties which could not be easily broken. Islam was treated with contempt ; the Quran was used as a seat for idols, which were set up in mosques to the utter grief of the faithful. This is Barani's exaggerated account of the situation. The court nobles were divided among themselves and were powerless to put an end to this unhappy state of things. The prestige of the Delhi Sultanate had reached its nadir, and, if a powerful Hindu Raja had organised a confederacy of his fellow-princes, he might have easily obtained possession of Delhi, and the power of the Muslims might have been well-nigh extinguished. But the Rajput states were busily occupied with their own affairs, and took no interest in the political revolution that was going on at Delhi.

Khusrau's downfall.

It was impossible for Khusrau to found permanently a Hindu state upon the support of satellites whom every one hated and despised. Besides, the Alai nobles were filled with disgust at his usurpation of the royal authority. Among these discontented nobles was Fakhr-ud-din Jūnā, whom the usurper had tried to conciliate by appointing him master of the horse,

But Jūnā secretly brooded over the wrongs done to the house of Alauddin by the Parwārī, and devised means to effect the overthrow of Khusrau. He communicated all that had happened to his father Ghāzī Malik, the warden of the marches at Dipālpūr. The veteran warrior gnashed his teeth in anger, when he heard of Khusrau's atrocities and crimes. He swore to wreak vengeance upon the enemies of Islam and started for Delhi at the head of a considerable force. He was joined by all the nobles of the empire except the governor of Multan, who kept aloof, because he did not like to play the second fiddle to Ghāzī Malik.

The news of Ghāzī Malik's approach alarmed Khusrau, and he began to organise his forces. The army of Delhi, demoralised by indolence and debauchery, was no match for the sturdy Muslims who followed the banner of Ghāzī Malik. Lack of experienced generalship, added to the want of discipline, made the cause of Khusrau, from the outset, hopeless. When the two armies came face to face, each side began to plan dexterous manœuvres to overpower the other. The rickety forces of Khusrau were routed, and fled in confusion. The cause of the Parwārīs was doomed, and they were so frightened that 'hardly any life was left in their bodies.'

Having seized considerable spoil, the victorious general[1] commenced his march towards Delhi to deal a decisive blow. Driven to despair, Khusrau looked for help in all quarters. Like one 'despised by fortune or worsted in gambling,' he brought out all the treasures and distributed them among the soldiers to prevent defection in the royal army. But this prodigality proved of no avail; the soldiers, who knew that Ghāzī Malik's cause was just and righteous, accepted Khusrau's gold, but abandoned all intention of fighting under his colours. Once more the usurper made a desperate effort to save himself, and the forlorn hope of the Delhi army fought a hotly contested engagement, in which they carried everything before them.

[1] Who afterwards ascended the throne under the title of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq.

Khusrau fled from the field of battle, but he was captured and beheaded.[1] His supporters were diligently traced out ; they were charged with treason and made to suffer the fate which they so richly merited. Ghāzī Malik received the congratulations of the assembled nobles, who offered him the keys of the palace. The old leader shrank from the burden of the kingly office, and enquired if there was any survivor of the stock of Alauddin. The nobles answered in the negative and dwelt upon the confusion and disorder that prevailed in the empire owing to the abeyance of authority. With one voice they appealed to him to assume the insignia of sovereignty and placed him upon the throne. Zia Barani, who is an orthodox chronicler, writes with exultation : " Islam was rejuvenated and a new life came into it. The clamour of infidelity sank to the ground. Men's minds were satisfied and their hearts contented. All praise for Allah."[2] The election of a plebeian to the kingly office demonstrated in an unmistakable manner the democratic spirit of Islam, and reaffirmed the principle of the survival of the fittest, which dominated and controlled the Muslim state in India in the 13th and 14th centuries.

Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq, 1320–25 A.D.

Ghāzī Malik, the warden of the marches, ascended the throne under the title of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq. He was a man of humble origin ; his father was a Qaraunā Turk,[3] and his mother was a Jat woman of the Punjab. He had risen to high position by dint of personal merit, and, during the reign of Alauddin, had played an important part in wars against the Mongols, whom he had chased out of

[1] Ibn Batūtā has given a different account of his death, which seems to have been based upon hearsay. He says, Khusrau remained concealed in a garden belonging to Malik Shadi, but when he was compelled by hunger to come out, he was captured and brought before Ghāzī Malik, who ordered him to be beheaded. Ibn Batūtā, Paris ed., III, p. 207.

[2] Barani, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., p. 423.

[3] Ibn Batūtā says, he heard it from Shaikh Rukn-ud-din Multani that Sultan Tughluq was of the stock of Qaraunā (قرونه) Turks, who lived in the mountainous region between Sindh and Turkistan. In

India, again and again. When he assumed the reins of office, the empire of Delhi was in a state of confusion, and it was with great tact, prudence, and firmness that Ghiyas restored order and recovered the moral prestige of the monarchy. The magnanimity of his nature showed itself in the generous treatment which he meted out to the relatives of Alauddin. He made a suitable provision for them and appointed them to

his early life he was very poor and was obliged to take up service under some merchant in Sindh. Later, he joined the army and by sheer dint of merit rose to high position.

Ibn Batūtā, Paris ed., III, p. 201.

Lee, Translation of Ibn Batūtā, p. 125.

Marco Polo speaking of Qaraunās says : "This name is given them because they are the sons of Indian mothers by Tartar fathers. The king of those scoundrels is called Nogodar."

Cordier, Travels of Marco Polo, I, p. 98.

The account of Marco Polo is incorrect. He certainly confounded them with some other predatory tribe of Central Asia. The Qaraunās are often mentioned in the histories of the Mongols of Persia, as forming a *tuman*, *i.e.*, a corps of ten thousand men. Mirzā Haider, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Rashīdī*, says that the Mongols of Central Asia were divided into two classes—the Mongol and the Chaghtāī. Both were jealous of each other, and employed special names by way of disparagement. The Chaghtāī called the Mongol *Jatah*, while the Mongol called the Chaghtāī *Qarawanas*. Elias and Ross, p. 148.

Ney Elias, the well-known translator of Mirzā Haider's *Tarikh-i-Rashīdī*, made enquiries regarding the origin of the Qaraunās. His enquiries yielded the result that the Qaraunās were among the Mongols of Central Asia and took a prominent part in Mongol campaigns in Persia in early times.

Elias and Ross, A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia (the translation of Mirzā Haider's *Tarikh-i-Rashīdī*), Appendix B pp. 76-77.

Ibn Batūtā is correct. The Qaraunās were Turks.

The Muhammadan historians of India do not write anything about the Qaraunās. Shams-i-Sirāj Afif in his *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* writes that he has given a full account of Tughluq and his brothers in his *Manaqib-i-Sultan Tughluq*. But the copies of this work, so far as I know, are non-existent.

These are the words of Afif in the Calcutta text, p. 36 :—

'چنانچه از حالت ولادت ایشان این مورخ داستان در مناقب سلطان تغلق مشرح باز نمود"

Edward Thomas (The Chronicles, p. 186), it seems to me, has wrongly spelt the word in writing it as *Qarauniah*. I do not find it in the Arabic text of Ibn Batūtā published at Paris in 1914. The word is written there as قرونه (Qaraunā).

high offices in the state. No just claim was ignored and no past service was forgotten. The claims of rank and birth were respected, and many families that had been ruined were restored to their former dignity.

Expedition against Warangal.

Soon after the organisation of his government, Ghiyas ordered an expedition against Warangal, the capital of the Kākatīya Rajas of Telingana. During the feeble reign of Mubarak, Pratāp Rudra Deva II had greatly increased his power and ceased to pay the stipulated tribute. The Crown Prince was sent at the head of a large force to chastise him. The fort of Warangal was besieged; and the Hindus mustered strong to fight against the forces of Islam. A fierce battle was fought between the besiegers and the besieged, and large numbers of men were slain on both sides. Driven to despair, Pratāp Rudra Deva sued for peace, but the prince haughtily rejected the terms offered by him. Meanwhile, a rumour was spread that the old king was dead at Delhi, and mischievous men began to induce the soldiers of the army to desert the prince.[1] Malik Tamar, Malik Taghin, Malik Mal Afghan, and Malik Kāfūr, keeper of the seals, deserted the army when they were informed that the prince intended to put them to

Firishta writes that when he went to Lahore and made enquiries regarding the parentage of Sultan Tughluq, he was told by reliable informants that his father was a Turki slave of Sultan Balban and his mother was a Jat woman of the Punjab. Firishta is supported by the author of the *Khulāsat-ut-tawārīkh.*

Firishta's statement is acceptable, for such marriages with the Hindus were not altogether unknown. Tughluq's brother Rajab, father of Sultan Firuz, had married a daughter of the Bhatti Rajputs. Lucknow text, p. 130.

[1] The chief man who spread this rumour was Obaid, the poet, whom Badāonī writes as Obaid Zākānī, which is the name of a contemporary Persian poet. The prince arrested some of these mischief-mongers. Malik Mal Afghan and Obaid were sent to Delhi, where, according to Barani, they were impaled, and, according to Firishta, were buried alive.

Elliot, III, p. 233.

Tabqat-i-Akbari, Biblioth. Ind., pp. 195-96.

Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 131.

death. These defections considerably thinned the ranks of the royalists, and they were compelled to raise the siege. But this failure rankled in the mind of the Sultan, and again in 1323 A.D., he despatched the Crown Prince with fresh reinforcements to reduce Warangal. The Hindus fought with desperate courage, but, when the Kākatīya prince saw that the day was going against him, he surrendered with his family, dependants, and the principal officers of state. The Raja was sent to Delhi with Malik Bedar and Khwājā Hājī, and Warangal was re-christened Sultanpur and the whole country was thoroughly subjugated. The glory and greatness of the Kākatīyas ended, and henceforward they ceased to exist as a predominant power in southern India.

Administration of Ghiyas.

The administration of Ghiyas was based upon the principles of justice and moderation, though the Hindus were still held in contempt and treated as inferior beings. The royal order was that in the matter of revenue "there should be left only so much to the Hindus that neither, on the one hand, they should become arrogant on account of their wealth, nor, on the other, should they desert their lands and business in despair."[1] The land revenue was organised, and although the farming system was in vogue, the Sultan took great care to prevent abuses. The state demand was fixed at one-tenth or one-eleventh of the gross produce, and the assessment was made after a correct estimate and valuation of the crops. All sorts of facilities were provided to the people, and officials were severely punished for their misconduct. The jāgīrs, which had been recklessly granted by Khusrau to his adherents, were resumed, and the finances of the state were set in order. The departments of justice and police were organised, and so great was the dread of the Sultan's justice, that security prevailed even in the remote parts of the empire. Himself a battle-scarred veteran, Ghiyas took great pains to

[1] Zia Barani, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., p. 430. Elliot, III, pp. 230-31.

make the military system orderly and efficient. The soldiers were liberally paid and treated with kindness. Strict discipline was enforced, and arms and weapons were amply provided. The method of Alauddin regarding the descriptive rolls of troopers and the branding of horses was adopted; and the prices and results of the inspection of the latter, together with an account of the retainers were entered in a register with a view to secure efficiency.

Death of Ghiyas.

Towards the close of his reign in 1324 the princes of Lakhnautī, Shihab-ud-din and Nasir-ud-din, who had been expelled from their kingdom by their brother Bahadur whom Ibn Batūtā calls Bahadur Bura, came to Delhi and sought the intervention of Tughluq Shah. The Sultan entrusted the capital to Ulugh Khan and himself marched towards Lakhnautī. Bahadur was overpowered and brought with a halter round his neck to Delhi. Nasir-ud-din with the leading chiefs and *zamindars* made his submission and was reinstated in his territory. It was during this campaign that the Raja of Tirhut (Mithilā), Hara Singh Deva of the Kārnāt dynasty, encountered the forces of Islam. He was defeated and his capital was taken by the Muslims. The neighbouring country was thoroughly subdued and Hara Singh Deva fled into the Nepal territory.[1] When the Sultan returned to Delhi, he was killed by the fall of a pavilion which his son, Prince Jūnā, had erected near Afghanpur at a distance of six miles from the capital in 1325 A.D.[2] The prince was suspected of having planned the emperor's

[1] Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 132.

Wright, History of Nepal, pp. 174-75.

J. A. S. B., LXXII, pt. I, 1903, pp. 1—32.

Ind. Ant., 1880, p. 189.

Journal Asiatique, 1816, I, p. 552.

Briggs, I, p. 407. Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 132.

[2] Barani does not clearly state what happened. He simply says, "A thunderbolt of calamity from heaven fell upon the Sultan and he was with five or six others crushed under the *debris*."

Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., p. 452.

death, for the hasty construction of such a palace was entirely superfluous. Whatever the real truth may be, there are strong reasons for thinking that the Sultan's death was the result of a conspiracy in which the Crown Prince took part, and not of accident.

Ghiyas was a mild and benevolent ruler. He loved simplicity, and towards his quondam colleagues, he behaved with the same frank joviality which had characterised him in his earlier days. A pious and peace-loving Muslim, he practised rigidly the observances of his faith, but he never persecuted the non-Muslims. If the Hindus were treated harshly, it was due to political reasons and not to religious bigotry. His

Estimate of Ghiyas-ud-din.

Elliot has incorrectly translated the passage. From his translation it appears that lightning fell upon the roof and the whole structure came down with a crash. But this is not in agreement with the text of Barani. Elliot, III, p. 235.

Ibn Batūtā, who came to India in 1333 A.D., unequivocally states that Prince Muhammad was the cause of the death of the Sultan. He says that he heard it from Shaikh Rukn-ud-din Multani, who was present with the emperor on the occasion, that the building was intended to fall down at a particular moment. According to him, it was the work of Ahmad Ayāz, the principal architect of the realm, whom Muhammad, afterwards, probably to signify his gratitude, made his chief minister. Ibn Batūtā's account is supported by circumstantial evidence. Besides, he is an independent authority.

Ibn Batūtā, Paris ed., III, pp. 212-13.

Nizam-ud-din Ahmad says that the hasty construction of the structure creates a suspicion that Ulugh Khan encompassed his father's death. He charges Barani with intentionally suppressing truth out of regard for his patron Firuz Tughluq. He thinks that the death of the Sultan was due to a conspiracy formed by Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliā and the Crown Prince.

Tabqat, Biblioth. Ind., pp. 214-15.

Firishta tries to exonerate the Crown Prince from all blame and says that such accusations are far from being probable. But again he says :—

Hājī Muhammad Qandhārī says that it was struck by lightning, and *this does not seem at all improbable*. Clearly Firishta has not made up his mind one way or the other, and in a characteristic fashion he brings his uncritical account to a close by saying, " But God only knows the real truth." Briggs, I, p. 408. Lucknow text, p. 132.

I have discussed the subject at length in my work on the Qaraunā Turks. There is little doubt that the death of the Sultan was the result of a conspiracy planned by the Crown Prince,

private life was free from blemish. His watchword was moderation. As long as he lived, he tried to promote the welfare of his subjects, and his beneficent activity extended to every branch of the administration. It was no mean achievement to have successfully reorganised the administration which had been thrown out of gear during the reigns of the imbecile Mubarak and the 'unclean' Khusrau. The following verse of Amir Khusrau is illustrative of the Sultan's excellent methods of government:

> "He never did anything that was not replete with wisdom and sense.
> He might be said to wear a hundred doctor's hoods under his crown."

CHAPTER X

MUHAMMAD TUGHLUQ, THE ILL-STARRED IDEALIST

GHIYAS-UD-DIN Tughluq was succeeded by his son, Prince Jūnā, under the title of Muhammad Tughluq,[1] in 1325 A.D. No revolution, no palace intrigue, and no gubernatorial or popular insurrection marred the smoothness of his accession to the throne. The city was adorned and the streets were strewn with flowers. Money was thrown broadcast among the people, and to commemorate the auspicious occasion, large and generous gifts were made to loyal officers of the crown. The fame of his liberality travelled far and wide, and brought to Delhi learned and pious men, who were fitly honoured by their royal benefactor. Men's memories are proverbially short, and before the outflow of this generosity, the catastrophe which had befallen the late Sultan was completely forgotten, and in the minds of many the prince was, perhaps, acquitted of all guilt.

The ill-starred idealist.

Muhammad Tughluq was unquestionably the ablest man among the crowned heads of the middle ages. Of all kings, who had sat upon the throne of Delhi since the Muslim conquest, he was undoubtedly the most learned and accomplished. Nature had endowed him with a marvellous memory, a keen and penetrating intellect, and an enormous capacity for assimilating knowledge of all kinds. The versatility of his genius took by surprise all his contemporaries. A lover of the fine arts, a

[1] The reign of Muhammad Tughluq has been dealt with exhaustively in my work on the Qaraunā Turks in India, which will contain a complete bibliography and references.

cultured scholar and an accomplished poet, he was equally at home in logic, astronomy, mathematics, philosophy, and the physical sciences. No one could excel him in composition and calligraphy ; he had at his command a good deal of Persian poetry, of which he made a very extensive use in his writings and speeches. He was an adept in the use of similes and metaphors, and his literary productions were saturated with the influence of the Persian classics. Even the most practised rhetoricians found it difficult to rival the brilliance of his imagination, the elegance of his taste, and his command over the subtleties and niceties of expression. He was a master of dialectics, well-versed in Aristotelian logic and philosophy, and theologians and rhetoricians feared to argue with him. Barani, who is neither an apologist nor a court minion, describes him as an eloquent and profoundly learned scholar, a veritable wonder of creation, whose abilities would have taken by surprise such men as Aristotle and Āsaf.[1] He was not unacquainted with the science of medicine, which was widely studied in the middle ages, and used to cure diseases. The generosity of the Sultan was prodigal ; and all contemporary writers are unanimous in extolling his lavish gifts to the numerous suppliants who crowded his gate at all times.[2] He was a strict Muslim, who rigidly practised and enforced the observances laid down in the Holy Book. But he was not an unrelenting bigot like some of his predecessors. His liberalism is reflected in his desire to be tolerant towards the Hindus and in his humane attempt to introduce ameliorative reforms, like the suppression of *Sati,* which was in vogue in the fourteenth century.

The Moorish traveller, Ibn Batūtā, who came to India in 1333 A.D., thus describes the Sultan :—" Muhammad is a man who, above all others, is fond of making presents and

[1] Barani, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., p. 461.

[2] Barani and Ibn Batūtā bestow lavish praise upon the Sultan for his gifts and favours to the foreigners.

shedding blood. There may always be seen at his gate some poor person becoming rich, or some loving one condemned to death. His generous and brave actions, and his cruel and violent deeds, have obtained notoriety among the people. In spite of this, he is the most humble of men, and the one who exhibits the greatest equity. The ceremonies of his religion are dear to his heart, and he is very severe in respect of prayer and the punishment which follows its neglect. He is one of those kings whose good fortune is great and whose happy success exceeds the ordinary limit ; but his distinguishing character is generosity. I shall mention among the instances of his liberality, some marvels, of which the like has never been reported of any of the princes who have preceded him."[1]

Superficially viewed, the Sultan seems to be an amazing compound of contradictions. But he is not really so. The charges of blood-thirstiness and madness, brought against him by later writers, are mostly unfounded. No contemporary writer gives the barest indication of the Sultan's madness. The charge of blood-thirstiness was bolstered up by the members of the clerical party whom the Sultan treated with open disregard.[2]

[1] Ibn Batūtā, Paris ed., III, pp. 216-17. Also Elliot, III, pp. 611-12; Masālik-al-absār, Quatremère's Notices et Extraits, Tome XIII, pp. 191-92. Elliot, III, p. 580.

[2] Barani makes the complaint and denounces the rationalism of the Sultan. In very strong language he condemns his philosophical speculations and pours his cold scorn upon Obaid and Sād, who were the king's closest associates and whom Barani wrongly charges with having drawn the Sultan away from the path of orthodoxy. Barani, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., p. 466.

This charge is again untrue. Ibn Batūtā mentions terrible punishments inflicted upon Shaikhs and Maulvis—men of the sacerdotal order, who had been so far deemed as sacrosanct. Muhammad, who was too strong a man to be dominated by the priestly class, laid his hands freely upon them when they flouted his authority, aided treason, or embezzled public funds. A careful perusal of Ibn Batūtā's narrative makes it clear that those who suffered heavily were men of the clerical party—a class that clamoured for privilege and grounded its claim to preferential treatment on prescriptive right.

Ibn Batūtā, Paris ed., III, pp. 292—99.

It is true, he was, like all mediæval despots, subject to great paroxysms of rage, and inflicted the most brutal punishments upon those who offended against his will, irrespective of the rank or order to which they belonged ; but this is quite a different thing from stigmatising him as a born tyrant, taking delight in the shedding of human blood. A close examination of the alleged murders and atrocities of the Sultan will reveal the unsoundness of the common view that he found pleasure in the destruction of human species and organised ' man-hunts.'[1] The truth is that the Sultan combined a head-strong temper with advanced ideals of administrative reform, and when his people failed to respond to his wishes, his wrath became terrible. His impatience was the result of popular apathy, just as popular apathy was the outcome of his startling innovations.

Administrative experiments—Taxation in the Doab.

The earliest administrative measure, which the Sultan introduced, was the enhancement of taxation in the Doab. Barani, who puts the measure as the first in point of time, says that ' it operated to the ruin of the country and the decay of the people,' while another historian, who is more cautious in his remarks, says that ' the duties levied on the necessaries of life, realised with the utmost vigour, were too great for the power of industry to cope with. The principal reason, which induced the Sultan to enhance the im-

[1] It is amusing to read Barani's story of the Sultan's organisation of man-hunts. What they really were will be made clear by a critical study of his narrative. A dreadful famine stalked the land ; and to mitigate the suffering caused by it, the Sultan advanced loans and introduced measures to promote agriculture. Those who did not carry out his orders were severely punished by the officers of the state, who must have frequently transgressed their proper limits. Those who have any experience of *taqavi* loans in British India in these days must be aware of the harshness that always attends the work of realisation. Barani was a native of Baran (Bulandshahr). The people of his district were also punished, and he specifically mentions Baran. This led him to frame such a monstrous charge against the Sultan. Probably his local patriotism and orthodoxy led him to do so.

Elliot, III, p. 242.

posts in the Doab, was the richness and fertility of its lands and the refractory and rebellious conduct of its inhabitants. Alauddin had also harshly dealt with the *khūts*, *muqaddams*, and *balāhars* of the Doab, who gave not a little trouble to the administration.[1] The taxes in the Doab were raised, according to Barani, out of all proportion to the income of the people, and some oppressive *abwabs* (cesses) were also invented, which broke the back of the ryot, and reduced him to utter impoverishment and misery.[2] All historians dwell upon the distress which was caused by this fiscal measure, and Barani, whose native district, Baran, also suffered from the effects of this enhancement, bitterly inveighs against the Sultan. He greatly exaggerates the suffering and misery caused to the population, when he says that the ryots of distant lands, on hearing of the distress and ruin of the people in the Doab, broke out into open rebellion, and threw off their allegiance. Unfortunately, this measure was carried out at a time when a severe famine was prevailing in the Doab, and the distress of the people was greatly aggravated by its disastrous effects. But this does not exonerate the Sultan altogether from blame ; for his officials continued to levy taxes at the enhanced rate with the utmost rigour, and made no allowance for famine. It was long afterwards, that he ordered wells to be dug and loans to be advanced to agriculturists to promote cultivation in the affected areas. The remedy came too late ; the famished

[1] Barani, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., p. 291.

The Muslim chroniclers give to the chiefs and landholders of the Doab these names.

Barani writes : "ولایت میان دو آب یکی بہ دہ و یکی بہ بیسی میباید ستد خراج" This means ten or twenty times, that is, ten instead of one and twenty instead of one. Elliot mistranslates the passage and says the Sultan enhanced the cesses 10 or 5 per cent. more. But the first interpretation is not to be literally accepted, because twenty times will be absurd. On the other hand if the latter interpretation is accepted, the increase would be so small as not likely to be felt at all by the agricultural population. What Barani intends to convey to his readers is that the taxes were increased out of all proportion.

[2] Barani, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., p. 473.

Elliot, III, pp. 182-83.

population, whose patience was sorely tried by the long duration of the famine, failed to profit by it, and gave up the ghost in sheer despair. Never were benevolent schemes of reform more cruelly frustrated by an evil fate than in the case of Muhammad Tughluq.

Transfer of the capital, 1326-27 A.D.

Another measure, which entailed much suffering on the population, was the transfer of the capital to Devagir, which was re-christened Daulatabad. During the early years of his reign, when the Sultan went to the Deccan to suppress the rebellion of Bahā-ud-dīn Gashtāsp, he was struck with the strategical importance of the situation of Devagir and expressed a wish to make it the capital of his growing empire. The empire had grown to large dimensions ; towards the north it embraced the Doab, the plains of the Punjab and Lahore with the territories stretching from the Indus to the coast of Gujarat ; towards the east it comprised Bengal, and in the centre it included such principalities as Malwa, Ujjain, Mahobā and Dhār. The Deccan had been subdued, and its principal powers had acknowledged the suzerainty of Delhi.[1] Having fully weighed in his mind the drawbacks of Delhi as an imperial capital, he decided to transfer it to Daulatabad which was more centrally situated.[2] It was situated at a safe distance from the route of the Mongols, who frequently threatened the

[1] Barani mentions the following provinces of the empire at the beginning of Muhammad's reign :—(1) Delhi, (2) Gujarat, (3) Malwa, (4) Devagir, (5) Telang, (6) Kampila, (7) Dhorsamundar, (8) Mabar, (9) Tirhut, (10) Lakhnautī, (11) Satgāon, (12) Sonārgāon.

Barani, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., p. 468.

These, says Barani, were thoroughly settled at the outset of the reign. As the empire grew in extent, many more provinces were created. The author of the *Masālik-al-absār* mentions 23 provinces which represent the highest extent of the empire under Muhammad

Masālik-al-absār, Elliot, III, pp. 574-75.

Thomas, The Chronicles, p. 203.

[2] Barani writes of Daulatabad : "This place held a central situation : Delhi, Gujarat, Satgāon, Sonārgāon, Telang, Mábar, Dhorsamundar, and Kampila were about equidistant from thence, there being but a slight difference in the distances." Elliot, III, p. 239.

neighbourhood of Delhi and made life and property insecure. It is clear that the change was not dictated by the mere caprice of a whimsical despot. Obviously, considerations of safety and better government alone urged the Sultan to take such a bold step. As regards his possessions in Hindustan, he hoped to exercise control over them with the aid of the simple means of communication which existed between the north and south.[1]

This change might have been effected without causing much hardship, if the Sultan had remained satisfied only with the removal of the official machinery of the state. But he made an egregious blunder in ordering the people of Delhi, men, women, and children, to go *en masse* to Daulatabad with all their effects. All sorts of facilities were provided ; a road was built from Delhi to Daulatabad, and food and accommodation were freely supplied to the emigrants. Those, who had no money to feed themselves during the journey, were fed at the expense of the state, and the Sultan was "bounteous in his liberality and favours to the emigrants, both on their journey and on their arrival."[2] But all these concessions and favours proved of no avail. The people, who had lived in Delhi for generations, and to whom the city was endeared by numerous

Ibn Batūtā's statement that the people of Delhi dropped anonymous letters full of abuse into the king's Diwan, and the king took so much offence at this that he ordered the capital to be changed, is based upon hearsay, for when the transfer took place in 1326-27 A.D., he was not present in India.

Firishta's date is incorrect. Badāonī specifically states it as 727 A.H. (1326-27 A.D.). Barani is hopelessly deficient in chronology. The Daulatabad coins of 727 A.H. bearing on them the superscription 'metropolis of Islam' support Badāonī's testimony. The date 1337 A.D. which is usually given is incorrect, for when Ibn Batūtā reached Delhi in 1334 A.D., he found the capital a deserted place.

The numismatic evidence, though not altogether conclusive, supports Badāonī's statement.

The transfer took place just after the rebellion of Bahā-ud-dīn, which occurred early in the reign.

For the situation of Daulatabad, see Elliot, III, Appendix, p. 575.

[1] Masālik-al-absār, Elliot, III, p. 581.
Ibn Batūtā, Paris ed., III, pp. 95—97.
Ranking, Al-Badāonī, I, p. 302.

[2] Barani, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., p. 474, Elliot, III, p. 239.

associations, left it with broken hearts. The sufferings, attendant upon a long journey of 700 miles, were incalculable, and a great many of them, wearied with fatigue and rendered helpless by home-sickness, perished in the way, and those who reached their journey's end found exile in a strange, unfamiliar land unbearable, and "gave up the ghost in despair." Barani writes that the Muslims, struck with despondency, laid down their heads in that heathen land, and of the multitude of emigrants only a few survived to return to their homes.[1]

The unwarranted assumption of Ibn Batūtā that a search was instituted in Delhi under a royal mandate to find out if any of the inhabitants still lurked in their houses, and that it resulted in the discovery of two men, one lame and the other blind, who were dragged to Daulatabad, is based upon mere bazar gossip, invented afterwards to discredit the Sultan. It is true, the Sultan's orders were carried out in a relentless manner, but it is a calumny to assert that his object was to cause needless suffering to the population. It must be said to his credit that, when he saw the failure of his scheme, he ordered the inhabitants to go back to Delhi and on the return journey treated them with great generosity and made full amends for their losses. But Delhi was a depopulated city. From far and near, the Sultan brought learned men, merchants, and landholders to take up their abode in the deserted capital, but no inducement proved of any avail to reconcile them to the changed surroundings. The old prosperity did not return, and Delhi did not recover her former grandeur, for the Moorish traveller found it in 1334 A.D. uninhabited in some places and still bearing the marks of desolation.

[1] Barani, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., p. 474.
Elliot, III, p. 239.
Zia Barani writes: "So complete was the ruin, that not a cat or a dog was left among the buildings of the city, in its palaces or in its suburbs." A statement of this kind made by an oriental writer of the middle ages is not to be taken too literally. European scholars, unaccustomed to Indian forms of speech, have made this mistake. Dr. Smith uncritically accepts Ibn Batūtā's story related above. Oxford History of India, p. 239.

Daulatabad remained, as Lane-Poole writes, a monument of misdirected energy. The scheme of transfer failed disastrously. That it would have, in the event of success, enabled the Sultan to keep a firm hold upon the different parts of the empire, may well be doubted. He failed to see that Daulatabad was situated at a long distance from the northern frontiers of the empire, which needed to be watched with constant vigilance. He disregarded the warning, which experience amply furnished, that Hindu revolts and Mongol inroads might at any time jeopardise his possessions in the north. If such a contingency were to arise, it would have been an extremely difficult task for the Sultan, pressed by the half-subdued races of the Deccan and the nomad hordes of Central Asia, who repeatedly ravaged the northern frontier, to cope with the forces of disorder.

The token currency, 1330 A.D.

Muhammad Tughluq has rightly been called the prince of moneyers. One of the earliest acts of his reign was to reform the entire system of coinage, to determine the relative value of the precious metals, and to found coins which might facilitate exchange and form convenient circulating media. But far more daring and original was his attempt to introduce a token currency. Historians have tried to discover the motive which led the Sultan to attempt this novel experiment. The heavy drain upon the treasury has been described as the principal reason which motivated the issue of the token coins. It cannot be denied that a great deficiency had been caused in the treasury by the prodigal generosity of the Sultan, the huge expenditure that had to be incurred upon the transfer of the capital, and the expeditions fitted out to quell armed rebellions. But there were other reasons which must be mentioned in giving an explanation of this revolutionary measure. The taxation policy in the Doab had failed ; and the famine that still stalked the most fertile part of the kingdom, with the consequent decline in agriculture, must have brought about a perceptible fall in the revenue of the state. It is not to be supposed that the Sultan was faced with bankruptcy ; his treasury was not denuded of

specie, for he subsequently paid genuine coins for the new ones, and managed a most difficult situation with astonishing success.[1] He wished to augment his resources in order to carry into effect his grandiose plans of conquest and administrative reform, which appealed so powerfully to his ambitious nature. There was another reason: the Sultan was a man of genius who delighted in originality and loved experimentation. With the examples of the Chinese and Persian rulers before him, he decided to try the experiment without the slightest intention of defrauding or cheating his own subjects, as is borne out by the inscriptions on his coins. Copper coins were introduced and made legal tender; but the state failed to make the issue of the new coins a monopoly of its own. The result was, as the contemporary chronicler points out in right orthodox fashion, that the house of every Hindu—of course as an orthodox Muslim he condones the offences of his co-religionists—was turned

[1] Ranking in a foot-note to his translation of Badāonī's *Muntakhab-ut-tawārīkh*, raises a doubt whether these coins were exchanged at their relative metal value or their face value. Badāonī certainly means what he says. He says, the copper tokens were exchanged for silver coins when the Sultan saw the failure of his scheme. Barani is explicit on the point. The new coins were exchanged at their face value, otherwise how would it have been possible to tide over an embarrassing situation with success?

The following passage in Briggs (I, p. 415) is not to be found in Firishta's Lucknow text.

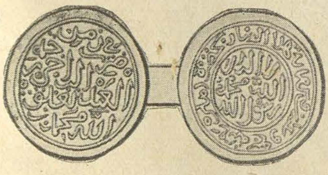
" Such abuses had occurred in the mint, however, that after the treasury was emptied, there still remained a heavy demand. This debt the king struck off, and thousands were ruined."

This passage contains a clear charge of dishonesty against the Sultan, which is thoroughly inconsistent with his policy. The Sultan was anxious to avoid injustice, and that is why he permitted exchange of coins. It is not clear where Briggs found this passage. Sultan Firuz Shah makes no mention of the repayment of these debts in his *Fatūhāt-i-Firuz Shahi*. Barani clearly states that the Sultan met all demands, and Ibn Batūtā's account of gifts and rewards points to the fact that there was no dearth of money in the royal treasury. Ranking, Al-Badāonī, I, pp. 306-07. Badāonī, Muntakhab-ut-tawārīkh, Lucknow ed., p. 78.

Elliot, III, pp. 240-41, 386.

Briggs, I, p. 415.

Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 134.



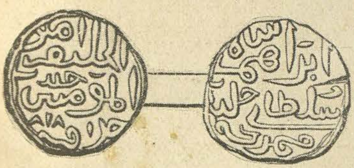
Muhammad Bin Tughluq,
Gold. Delhi, 727, 728, 729 A.H.



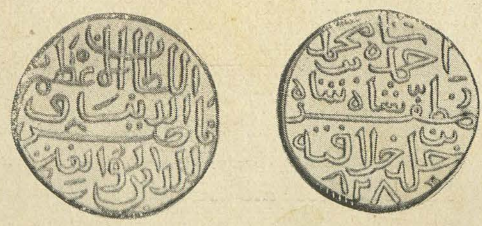
Muhammad Bin
Tughluq, Copper.
Daulatabad, 730 A.H.



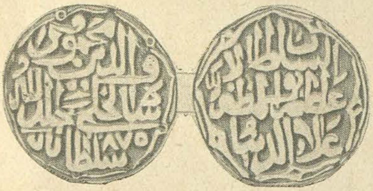
Muhammad Bin Tughluq
Brass. Daulatabad,
731, 732 A.H.



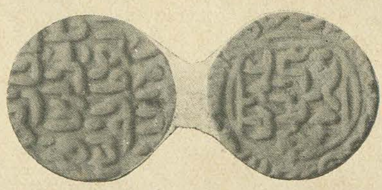
Ibrahim Shah, Silver and Copper.
Jaunpur, 818 A.H.



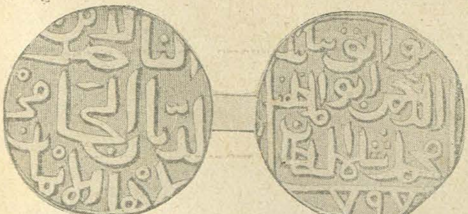
Ahmad Shah, Silver. Gujarat, 823 A.H.



Mahmud Khilji, Gold. Malwa, 870 A.H.



Shams-ud-din Ilyas Shah, Gold.



Muhammad Shah Bahmani, Silver. 797 A.H.



Vijayanagar Coin.

into a mint and the Hindus of the various provinces manufactured lākhs and crores of coins. Forgery was freely practised by the Hindus and the Muslims ; and the people paid their taxes in the new coin and purchased arms, apparels, and other articles of luxury. The village headmen, merchants, and landowners suppressed their gold and silver, and forged copper coins in abundance, and cleared their liabilities with them. The result of this was that the state lost heavily, while private individuals made enormous profits. The state was constantly defrauded, for it was impossible to distinguish private forgeries from coins issued by the royal mint. Gold and silver became scarce ; trade came to a stand-still, and all business was paralysed. Great confusion prevailed ; merchants refused to accept the new coins which became as "valueless as pebbles or potshreds." When the Sultan saw the failure of the scheme, he repealed his former edict and allowed the people to exchange gold and silver coins for those of copper.[1] Thousands of men brought these coins to the treasury and demanded gold and silver coins in return. The Sultan who meant no deception was defrauded by his own people, and the treasury was considerably drained by these demands. All token coins were completely withdrawn, and the silence of the Moorish traveller, who visited Delhi only three years later, proves that no disastrous results ensued and the people soon forgot the token currency.

The failure of the scheme was inevitable in the India of the 14th century. To the people at large copper was copper, however benevolent the intentions of the Sultan might be. The Sultan who pitched his expectations too high made no allowance for the conservative character of the people, whose acceptance of a token currency even in modern times is more in the nature of a submission to an inevitable evil than a willingness to profit by the use of a convenient circulating medium. The mint was not a state monopoly ; and the Sultan failed to

[1] Barani, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., p. 486.

provide adequate safeguards to prevent forgery. Elphinstone's statement that the failure of the token currency was due to the king's insolvency and the instability of his government, is not justified by facts, for the Sultan withdrew all coins at once and his credit remained unshaken. Mr. Gardner Brown has ascribed this currency muddle to the shortage in the world's supply of silver in the fourteenth century. There was a great scarcity of coins in England in the reign of Edward III about the year 1335 and he had to take steps to prevent the export of bullion without a license. Similar difficulties were felt in other countries. Soon after his accession, Muhammad Tughluq introduced a gold *dinar* of 200 grains and an *adali* or a sliver coin of 140 grains in place of the gold and silver tankās which had hitherto been in use and which had weighed 175 grains each. The introduction of the gold *dinar* and the revival of the *adali* show that there was an abundance of gold and a relative scarcity of silver in the country. The prize money brought by Kāfūr from the Deccan consisted largely of jewelry and gold and it was this which had brought about a fall in the value of gold. The scarcity of silver continued even after the death of Sultan Muhammad. Only three silver coins of Firuz have come to light and Thomas mentions only two pieces of Muhammad bin Firuz, one of Mubarak Shah, one of Muhammad bin Farid and none of Alam Shah and his successors of the Lodi dynasty and it is not until the middle of the 16th century that we come across a large number of silver coins issued from the mints of Sher Shah Suri and his successors.[1] Regarding the failure of this scheme, Edward Thomas, a numismatist of repute, has rightly observed, "There was no special machinery to mark the difference of the fabric of the royal mint and the handiwork of the moderately skilled artisan. Unlike the precautions taken to prevent the imitation of the Chinese paper notes, there was positively no check upon the authenticity of

[1] I have considerably modified the views expressed on this subject in the first edition of this work. A fuller discussion is provided in my work on the Qaraunā Turks in India.

the copper token, and no limit to the power of production by the masses at large."

Muhammad Tughluq adopted a policy which ran counter to the cherished prejudices of the orthodox school. He levied many taxes in addition to the four legal ones[1] prescribed by the Quran, and showed a greater regard for the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus than his predecessors had ever done. Unlike his weak-minded cousin, Firuz, he was no unreasonable bigot. His culture had widened his outlook, and his converse with philosophers and rationalists had developed in him a spirit of tolerance for which Akbar is so highly praised. He employed some of them in high positions in the state,[2] and, like the great Akbar after him, tried to stop the horrible practice of *Sati*. The independent Rajput states were left unmolested ; for the Sultan knew that it was impossible to retain permanent possession of such strongholds as Chittor and Ranthambhor—a policy which was not liked by the clerical party. He continued Alauddin's practice of appropriating four-fifths of the share of plunder to himself, leaving the rest to the soldiers. But the feelings of the canonists were deeply embittered, when he deprived them of the monopoly of the administration of justice. His love of justice was so great that he personally looked into the details of the judicial administration, and submissively accepted the decrees of the courts passed against himself.[3]

The liberal character of the administration.

He made himself the Supreme Court of Appeal, and when his judgment differed from that of the *Muftis*, he overruled them and adhered to his own view. To curtail the influence

[1] The four legal taxes are *Khirāj*, *Zakāt*, *Jeziyā*, and *Khams*.

[2] Ibn Batūtā speaks of a Hindu Ratan who was in the Sultan's service. The traveller praises his skill in finances. Ibn Batūtā, Paris ed., III, pp. 105-106.

[3] Ibn Batūtā, Paris ed., III, pp. 285-86.

Ranking, Al-Badāonī, I, pp. 317-18.

Badāonī gives a detailed account of the manner in which the Sultan administered justice.

of the orthodox party, he invested some of the distinguished officers of the state with judicial powers in spite of the fact that they were not *Qazis*, *Muftis*, or professed canonists. The Sultan's brother Mubarak Khan sat with the Qazi in the *Diwan-i-khana* to assist him in deciding cases. He occupied the office of *Mīrdād* whose duty was to produce in the court any big Amir or nobleman against whom a complaint was instituted or a suit was filed, and who was too powerful to be controlled by the Qazi. Some members of the sacerdotal order were severely punished by him when they were found guilty of rebellion, open sedition, or embezzlement of religious funds. It was this stern justice which led to his condemnation by the priestly class, which could not tolerate a ruler who was impious enough to lay his hands freely upon *Shaikhs* and Saiyyads, hitherto considered sacrosanct by Muslim rulers. Neither birth nor rank, nor piety availed aught to afford protection to an offender from the punishment which his guilt merited, and that is why Ibn Batūtā, who had visited many lands and seen a great deal of men and affairs, recorded the verdict, when he was in his own country, no longer afraid of the Sultan's wrath, that "of all men this king is the most humble, and of all men he most loves justice."

The Sultan's acts of munificence surpass all belief. Whoever went to pay his respects to him carried with him presents, and since the Sultan gave rich rewards in return, the practice became very common. A separate department of presents was maintained. Those who were fortunate enough in securing royal favour were granted the *Khat-i-Khurd* which contained an order that the bearer should be paid the specified amount of money from the royal treasury after proper identification. This *Khat* or letter was signed and countersigned by several officers before the payment was made. The state also maintained an industrial department and the author of the *Masālik* writes that the Sultan had a maufactory in which 4,000 silk weavers were employed who manufactured cloth for all kinds of dresses for the Amirs and officers of the court. Besides,

there were 4,000 manufacturers of golden tissues who prepared gold brocades for the use of the royal ladies and the wives of the nobles.

The Sultan's energy manifested itself not only in the organisation of the civil administration, but also in the formation of grandiose plans of foreign conquest. Early in the reign, he was induced by some Khorasani nobles who had sought refuge at his court to attempt an invasion of their country. There was nothing fantastic or absurd in the plan. The condition of Khorasan under the degenerate Abu Saīd favoured the consummation of such a project. Abu Saīd was a minor when he ascended the throne, and the affairs of the state were managed by Amir Chaupan, a nobleman of considerable influence, who had virtually attained to the position of the *major domo* of the palace. But Amir Chaupan's tutelage galled the young ruler, and when Chaupan opposed his wish to marry his daughter, of whom the young Sultan was passionately enamoured, he was captured and strangled to death by his orders. The death of Chaupan plunged Persia into confusion and encouraged the Chaghtāī chieftain, Tarmashirīn Khan, and the ruler of Egypt to threaten the eastern and western frontiers of the Persian empire. Muhammad Tughluq, who had established friendly relations with the ruler of Egypt, collected a large army containing 370,000 men, who were paid for one whole year from the public treasury. But several causes combined to wreck this ambitious scheme. First, the Egyptian Sultan, who had become friendly to Abu Saīd, refused to render assistance. Secondly, the Chinese ruler did not want to see any increase in the power of the Chaghtāī chieftain who was a dangerous neighbour. Thirdly, the deposition of Tarmashirīn by his rebellious nobles removed a great danger from the eastern frontier of Persia and lessened the difficulties of Abu Saīd. Besides, it was extremely difficult to mobilise a huge host through the passes of the Hindukush to a distant country, where it was not easy to obtain supplies for the army. The expedition

The Sultan's schemes of conquest.

had little chance of success. The Muslims had hitherto encountered the disunited Hindus, but to try conclusions with their co-religionists in their own native land was a task beyond the strength of the armies of Delhi at this period. It was an act of wisdom on the part of Muhammad Tughluq to abandon the scheme and to concentrate his attention upon India.

Another project which has brought much odium upon the Sultan was the so-called Chinese expedition. All modern writers on Indian history, following the lead of Firishta, have made the mistake of supposing that the expedition was aimed against China.[1] But the contemporary chronicler, Barani, says that the design of the Sultan was to conquer the mountain of Qarāchal or Qarājal, which lies between the territories of Hind and China.[2] Ibn Batūtā states clearly that the expedition was directed against the Qarājal mountain, which is situated at a distance of ten stages from Delhi.[3] This shows that the mountain ment was Himāchal (the Himalayas), which constitutes an impassable barrier between China and India. The expedition was obviously directed against a refractory hill chieftain who had refused to own the suzerainty of Delhi. The first attack of the imperialists was a success, but when the rainy season set in, the troops became demoralised, and it became impossible to obtain supplies from the headquarters. The troops suffered heavily, and the entire baggage of the army was plundered by the wily mountaineers. Only ten horsemen returned

[1] Briggs, Firishta, I, p. 416.

Elphinstone, History of India, p. 396.

Firishta writes: "Having heard of the great wealth of China, Muhammad Tughluq conceived the idea of subduing that empire; but in order to accomplish his design it was found necessary first to conquer the country of Himāchal." He further says that the nobles and councillors of the king tried to convince him of the futility of the scheme, but failed to do so. Barani's testimony is, of course, more reliable. Ibn Batūtā supports Barani.

[2] Barani, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., p. 477.

Ibn Batūtā, Paris ed., III, p. 325.

[3] This refers to the Himalaya mountains. Ibn Batūtā says, it is three months' journey in length.

to tell the story of this terrible disaster. But the object of the expedition was realised ; the mountain prince made peace with the Sultan and agreed to pay tribute, for it was impossible for him to cultivate the low lands at the foot of the hills without acknowledging the authority of the ruler of Delhi, of whose kingdom they formed a part.

The Disorders of the reign—Ahsan Shah's revolt.

The first decade of the reign of Muhammad Tughluq was comparatively a period of tranquillity, but from the year 1335 A.D., there was a perceptible decline in his fortunes. It was due partly to his harsh policy in the latter years of his life, and partly to the visitation of famine, which continued for several years and produced enormous suffering in all parts of Hindustan. When public revenue, the principal mainstay of the administration, decreased, rebellions broke out in all parts of the empire. The earliest rebellion of importance was that of Jalal-ud-din Ahsan Shah in Mábar, which occurred in 1335 A.D.[1] Although Delhi was in a deplorable condition owing to the famine and lawlessness prevailing in its vicinity, the Sultan marched in person to chastise the rebel ; but when he reached Telingana, cholera broke out and carried off a large number of men belonging to the king's retinue. The expedition against Ahsan Shah was abandoned under the pressure of unforeseen troubles, and he was allowed to become independent.

Rebellion in Bengal.

Bengal had never been a loyal appanage of the empire of Delhi since the days of Muhammad, son of Bakhtiyar. Fakhr-ud-din, the armour-bearer of Qadr Khan, the governor of Lakhnauti, slew his master and usurped his territories in 737-38 A.H. (1337 A.D.). Taking advantage of the state of confusion into

[1] The date 1338-39 given by Smith on page 242 in his Oxford History of India is incorrect.

Ahsan Shah rebelled in 1335 A.D. He began to issue his coins as an independent ruler in this year. Dr. Hultzsch who has examined these coins with care assigns this rebellion to 1335 A.D.

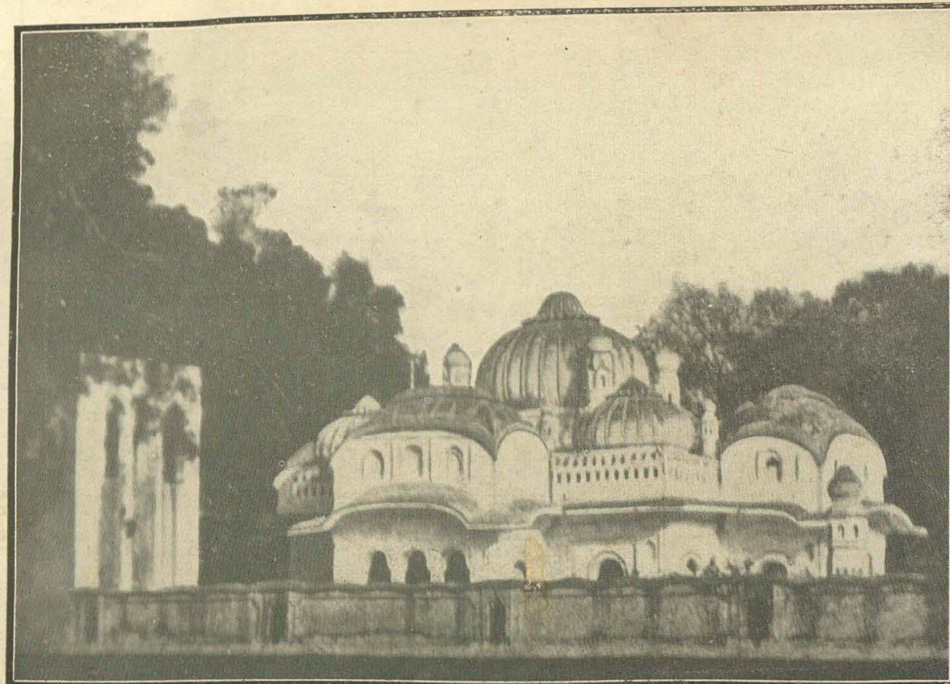
J. R. A. S., 1909, pp. 667—83.

which the affairs of the kingdom of Delhi had fallen, he proclaimed himself independent ruler of Bengal and struck coins in his own name. The emperor, who was busily occupied with greater troubles in other parts of his wide dominions, could not pay attention to this upstart rebel. As there was no interference from him, Fakhr-ud-din successfully overcame the local opposition to his assumption of royal power. He soon brought the whole country under his control and governed it with ability and vigour. He is described by Ibn Batūtā as a capable despot who took delight in the company of pious men and spent large sums of money in charity. Bengal was prosperous under his rule, and the economic conditions were so favourable that the people passed their days in ease and comfort. Prices of foodstuffs and other articles of common use were so cheap that the people from Persia used to call Bengal 'a hell crammed with good things.'[1]

The rebellion in Bengal was followed by others of less importance, but they were speedily put down. The most important rebellion, however, was that of Ain-ul-mulk, the governor of Oudh and Zafrabad, which broke out in the year 1340-41. Ain-ul-mulk was a distinguished nobleman who had rendered great services to the state, and who was held in high favour at the court. When the Sultan removed his court to Saragdwari in the Farrukhabad district on account of famine, Ain-ul-mulk and his brothers rendered great assistance in mitigating its severity. A singular lack of foresight on the part of the Sultan drove the loyal governor into rebellion. Having heard of the misconduct of certain Deccan officers, the Sultan decided to appoint Ain-ul-mulk governor of that country and ordered him to go there with his family and dependants. This peremptory order of transfer took the Malik by surprise. His ears were poisoned by those

Revolt of Ain-ul-mulk, 1340-41 A.D.

[1] Ibn Batūtā, Paris ed., IV, pp. 211-12.
Yule, Travels of Marco Polo, II, pp. 79-80.



Shrine of Saiyyad Salar Masud, Bahraich.

persons who had sought shelter in Oudh and Zafrabad to escape from the wrath of the Sultan. All of a sudden, Ain-ul-mulk, who suspected danger, revolted, and with his brothers seized the entire royal baggage which was in his charge. The Sultan was at first dumbfounded at the news of this revolt, but he at once devised measures to strengthen his forces. He paid special attention to the morale of the army, and himself superintended the operations. After a prolonged and stubborn fight, Ain-ul-mulk was defeated and brought as a prisoner to the royal camp. His associates were cruelly put to death, but he was pardoned in recognition of his past services and appointed superintendent of the royal gardens.

Suppression of brigandage in Sindh.

Destiny allowed no respite to this unlucky monarch, and no sooner did he quell disturbances in one quarter than troubles of greater magnitude broke out in another. The evil-minded persons who always thrive in a state of social disorder began to raise their heads and organised themselves in bands for purposes of plunder and brigandage. This evil was the greatest in Sindh. The Sultan marched thither with his forces and scattered the ruffians. Their leaders were captured and forced to embrace Islam. By the end of the year 1342 A.D., order was established in Hindustan, but disorders of greater magnitude soon afterwards broke out in the Deccan. They assumed formidable dimensions, and the Sultan found himself powerless to stamp out sedition and overcome resistance to his own authority.

The Deccan.

The Deccan was a hot-bed of intrigue and seditious conspiracy. In the early part of the reign, the Sultan had effectively brought under his sway such distant provinces as Mábar, Warangal and Dvārsamudra, and his empire embraced practically the whole of the Deccan. But Mábar became an independent principality in 1335, and in 1336 Hari Hara and his brother Bukka founded the kingdom of Vijayanagar as a protest against the Muslim power, of which a full account will be given later. In 1344

Kanya Nāik or Krishna Nayak, son of Pratap Rudra Deva Kākatīya, organised a confederacy of the Hindus of the south. Barani describing the rebellion of Sahu Afghan writes :—' While this was going on, a revolt broke out among the Hindus of Warangal. Kanya Nāik had gathered strength in this country. Malik Maqbul, the Nāib Wazir, fled to Delhi, the Hindus took possession of Arangal, which was thus entirely lost. About the same time one of the relations of Kanya Nāik whom the Sultan had sent to Kambala apostatised from Islam and stirred up a revolt. The land of Kambala also was thus lost, and fell into the hands of the Hindus, Devagir and Gujarat alone remained secure.[1] The great Deccan revolt began, and through the efforts of Ballala IV, Hari Hara and Krishna Nayak, followed by many lesser leaders, it finally culminated in the disappearance of Muslim power in Warangal, Dvārsamudra, and the country along the Coromandel coast. The fall of the Hoysalas in 1346 A.D. enabled Hari Hara to place his power upon a firm footing, and henceforward Vijayanagar became a leading state in the south and a bulwark against the Muslim invasions from the north.

Gujarat and Devagir alone were left in the hands of Muhammad Tughluq. His many failures had soured his temper, and he had lost that quality of human sympathy without which no conciliation of hostile people is possible. He removed Qutlugh Khan, the veteran governor of Devagir, from his office, and appointed his brother in his place—an arrangement which caused much discontent in the country. The revenue declined and the officers of the state began to extort money for themselves from the hapless ryots. The recall of Qutlugh Khan was followed by a fresh blunder in the massacre of the foreign Amirs[2] by the foolish vintner's son, Aziz Khummar,

[1] Elliot, III, p. 245.

[2] The Muslim historians use the phrase "*Amirān-i-Sadah.*" Barani always writes '*Amirān-i-Sadah.*'

Briggs has turned it into Amir Jadeeda although the expression is not to be found in Firishta's original text.

who had been entrusted with the fiefs of Malwa and Dhar. The crime of Aziz produced a feeling of consternation among the Amirs, and they took up arms in self-defence. Disorder rapidly spread in the Deccan, and the troops became mutinous everywhere. The Sultan proceeded in person to suppress the rebellion in Gujarat, and from Broach he sent a message to Nizam-ud-din Alim-ul-mulk, brother of Qutlugh Khan, governor of Daulatabad, asking him to send the foreign Amirs immediately to the royal camp. The Amirs of Raichur, Mudgal, Gulbarga, Bidar, Bijapur, Berar and other places obeyed the royal command and started for Gujarat, but on the way a sudden panic seized them, and they entertained the suspicion that the Sultan intended to take their lives. They attacked the royal escort, killed some of the men in a skirmish that followed, and returned to Daulatabad where they seized Nizam-ud-din and made him prisoner. The fort of Daulatabad fell into their hands ; they seized the royal treasure, divided the Mahratta country amongst themselves, and elected one of their leaders, Malik Ismail Makh Afghan, as their king. When the Sultan received intelligence of these developments, he marched towards Daulatabad and defeated the rebels in an open engagement. Malik Makh Afghan entrenched himself in the fort of Dharagir, and Hasan Kangu, another Afghan leader, with his followers went away in the direction of Gulbarga. The Sultan laid siege to Daulatabad and sent his general Imad-ul-mulk Sartez in pursuit of the rebels. Daulatabad was recovered ; but soon afterwards the Sultan had to leave the place on account of the rebellion of Taghi in Gujarat. As soon as the Sultan's back was turned, the foreign Amirs, once again, made a

These Amirs were foreigners of various nationalities who had settled in India. E. Bayley thinks that it is a term for a Mughal centurion or captain of a hundred. But in this connection it is hardly the case. Here it is used generally for all those adventurers who had settled in India. That they were a turbulent and restless element is clear from the manner in which they behaved during Muhammad's reign. See Bayley, Local Muhammadan Dynasties of Gujarat, p. 43.

Also Denison Ross's Introduction to the Arabic History of Gujarat, II, pp. xxxi-xxxii.

vigorous effort to recover their lost power. They besieged the fort of Devagir and baffled the attempts of the imperialists to recapture it. The imperial general Imad-ul-mulk was defeated in an action by Hasan, and the rebels occupied Daulatabad. Ismail Makh whom they had chosen their king "voluntarily and gladly" resigned in favour of Hasan, a young and high-spirited warrior, who had taken a prominent part in these campaigns. Hasan assumed sovereignty under the title of Alauddin wad-din Abul-Muzaffar Bahman Shah on August 13, 1347 A.D.[1] Thus was founded the famous Bahmani kingdom, of which a full account will be given in another chapter.

The death of the Sultan.

Hearing of the rebellion of Taghi, the Sultan left Devagir for Gujarat. It was a mistake on his part to resolve to put down the traitor Taghi before dealing effectively with the foreign Amirs. In these depressing circumstances the Sultan had an interview with Barani whose advice he asked on matters of state. Barani suggested abdication, but the Sultan expressed his determination to punish his rebellious subjects. He told the historian clearly that he would teach the people obedience and submission by punishment. He pursued the rebel Taghi from place to place, but the latter succeeded in eluding his grasp. He subdued the Rai of Karnal and brought the entire coast under his sway. From there he proceeded to Gondal where he fell ill and was obliged to halt for some time. Having collected aa large force he marched towards Thatta but when he was about three or four days' march from that place he got fever and died on March 20, 1351 A.D. The empire, which once contained 23 provinces, and extended from Delhi and Lahore to Dvārsamudra and Mábar in the south, and from Lakhnauti and

[1] This is Firishta's date. The date given by the *Burhan-i-Masir* is December 3, 1347.

Burhan-i-Masir, Ind. Ant., 1899, XXVIII, p. 143.

Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, I, pt. II, p. 32.

Gaur in the east to Thatta and the Indus in the west, broke up into pieces, and upon its ruins arose powerful and wealthy kingdoms. Gujarat continued nominally a province of the empire, but elsewhere the imperial authority had ceased to exist.

Estimate of Muhammad.

Such was the end of this unlucky monarch. All his life, he battled against difficulties and never abandoned his task in despair. It is true, he failed, but his failure was largely due to circumstances over which he had little or no control. A severe famine which lasted for more than a decade marred the glory of his reign and set his subjects against him. The verdict that declares him a cruel and blood-thirsty tyrant like Nero or Caligula does little justice to his great genius, and ignores his conspicuous plans to cope with famine and his efforts to introduce ameliorative reforms. There is ample evidence in the pages of Barani and Ibn Batūtā to show that he was not fond of shedding blood for its own sake, and that he could be kind, generous and just even towards his enemies. He possessed an intellect and a passion for practical improvement, which we rarely find in mediæval rulers. But his task was an extremely onerous one. He had to deal with the problems of an ever-growing empire with a staff of officers who never loyally co-operated with him. He had also to reckon with the orthodox *Ulama* who clamoured for privilege and who resented his attempt to enforce justice and equality among his subjects. In view of these extenuating circumstances, the common opinion about the Sultan's character and policy needs to be revised. Mr. Gardner Brown's remarks, although he often adopts the attitude of the apologist, come very near the truth and deserve to be quoted.[1]

[1] Compare this view with that of Elphinstone, Havell, Edward Thomas, and V. Smith on the subject. All of them repeat the charge of madness, but neither in the pages of Ibn Batūtā nor in the history of Barani there is any mention of it. Edward Thomas (The Chronicles, pp. 202-03) pours his wrath upon Muhammad like a Hebrew prophet and paints him in the most lurid colours. Havell

turned back on finding the conditions unfavourable. After coming back from China, he started from Malabar to the coast of Arabia and reached Fez, the capital of his native land on the 8th November, 1349. Here he recounted the adventures of his long voyage to his admiring friends and persons, occupying exalted stations in life. Some believed him ; others looked upon him as a mere inventor of gossip. He put his experiences and observations in black and white and finished his labours on the 13th December, 1355 A.D. Ibn Batūtā died at the age of seventy-three in 1377-78 A.D.

There can be no doubt about the general veracity of Ibn Batūtā, for his statements are very often corroborated by other historians. He describes the gifts and punishments, the kindnesses and severities of his patron with considerable impartiality. His view of the Sultan's character is corroborated by Zia Barani who is more fulsome in his adulations and less balanced in his denunciations. The character of Ibn Batūtā, as it is reflected in the pages of his narrative, is profoundly interesting. Full of freshness, life, daring, a kind of superstitious piety, and easy confidence, Ibn Batūtā is a man of extravagant habits, prone to fall into pecuniary difficulties, out of which he is more than once extricated by his indulgent patron, to whom he clung like a veritable horse-leech, as long as he lived in India.

The accession of Firuz Tughluq.

The death of Muhammad Tughluq near Thatta plunged the entire royal camp into confusion, and a feeling of despair seized the leaders of the army as well as the rank and file. The Mongol mercenaries who had come to assist in the expedition against Taghi began to plunder the royal camp, and the army found it difficult to retreat in safety towards the capital. The situation was further aggravated by the fact that Muhammad had left no male heir, and it was apprehended by the nobles that disastrous consequences might follow if they did not at once proceed to choose a successor. Barani who was an eye-witness of these events writes that the late Sultan had nominated Firuz as his heir-apparent, a statement which is corroborated by another contemporary writer, Shams-i-Siraj Afif.[1] According to this testament of the late Sultan they offered the crown to Firuz and appealed to him to save the families of the generals and soldiers from the Mongols by accepting it. Firuz who was utterly devoid of ambition and who wished to lead the life of a religious recluse at first demurred to the proposal, and said that he contemplated a pilgrimage to Mecca. But the pressure of the nobles became irresistible, and at last he had to concede to their wishes in the interests of the state. Firuz's acceptance of the crown had a calming effect on the army, and order was quickly restored. But in Delhi the Khwājā Jahān's attempt to set up a supposititious[2] son of Muhammad had created a serious situation. The

[1] Barani, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., p. 535.
Tabqat-i-Akbari, Biblioth. Ind., p. 224. Lucknow text, p. 112.
Firishta says that Firuz was the testamentary legatee of the late Sultan. But again he says that when Firuz enquired of Maulana Kamal-ud-din, Shaikh Muhammad Nasir-ud-din Oudhi, and Maulana Shams-ud-din whether the late Sultan had a son, they replied that, even if there be any son, under the circumstances it was advisable to accept the *fait accompli*. From this Firishta concludes that the child was not a supposititious one. Lucknow text, p. 145. See also Briggs, I, pp. 444 and 447. But Firishta is not to be preferred to contemporary writers.

[2] Barani, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., p. 539.
Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 145.

CHAPTER XI

FIRUZ TUGHLUQ, 1351—88 A.D.

Early life of Firuz.

FIRUZ was born in the year 1309 A.D. His father's name was Sipah Salar Rajab, who was brother of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq. The fief of Dipalpur was entrusted to Tughluq by Alauddin, which he managed with remarkable tact and firmness. On hearing of the beauty and charms of the daughter of Rana Mall, the Bhatti Rajput chieftain of Abuhar, he proposed to the Rana that he should marry his daughter to his brother Rajab. The Rajput with characteristic pride spurned the proposal. Thereupon Tughluq, who was mightily offended, demanded prompt payment of revenue, and subjected the people of Abuhar to considerable hardship and misery. The old mother of the Rana had a conversation with her son on the subject which was overheard by his daughter. The young Rajput lady heroically offered to sacrifice herself, if her surrender could save the people from misery and ruin. Thus was her marriage with Rajab brought about. The offspring of this union was Firuz Tughluq. It is extraordinarily strange that Firuz who was born of a Rajput mother should have become so fanatically orthodox. Sultan Muhammad Tughluq, when he occupied the throne of Delhi, treated Firuz well and appointed him to high offices. He reposed great confidence in him, and in the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* of Barani there is internal evidence of the fact that Sultan Muhammad intended him to be his successor after his death.



Firuz Tughluq, 1351—88 A.D.

Khwājā cannot be charged with treason, for he had done so in public interest on receiving the news of the disappearance of Firuz and Tatar Khan, the principal leaders of the imperial army, from the field of battle.[1] Firuz enquired of the nobles and officers of the state if the late Sultan had left a son, and received a reply in the negative. The Khwājā repented of his conduct, and with every mark of abject submission appeared before Firuz to implore forgiveness. The latter was inclined to take a lenient view of his offence on the score of his past

[1] Shams-i-Siraj Afif, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., p. 68.

Firuz made his state entry into Delhi after having been duly crowned king on the second day of the month of Rajab, 752 A.H. (September 14th, 1351 A.D.). Sir Wolseley Haig in a learned article in the J. R. A. S., 1922, pp. 365—72, expresses the opinion that Firuz was a usurper who set aside the claims of Muhammad's son. It is very difficult to agree with Sir Wolseley on this point. Barani positively asserts that the late Sultan had nominated him as his heir by a testamentary decree and he is supported by Shams-i-Siraj Afif. But if these be dismissed as court panegyrists who were anxious to condone or overlook the faults of their patron, there are other facts which militate against the theory of usurpation. No contemporary writer—not even Ibn Batūtā—throws out a hint that Sultan Muhammad had a son. Sultan Muhammad himself towards the close of his reign when he was in Gujarat, much troubled by the foreign Amirs, once said that he would go on a pilgrimage to Mecca and entrust his kingdom to Malik Kabir, Ahmad Ayaz, and Firuz. No mention was made of abdication in favour of a son although this was suggested by Barani. Khudawand Zada, the daughter of the late Sultan, hatched a conspiracy not to secure the crown for her brother, the pretender, of whom she did not make even a casual mention, but for her own son. She must have been aware of the existence of a son of Muhammad, if one had really existed. Firuz was unwilling to accept the crown, and his gratitude to and reverence for Muhammad, by whom he was always treated with affection and kindness, could never have permitted him to set aside the claims of his lawful heir.

Afif, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., pp. 45, 46, 54.

Afif writes (p. 54):—

" بیک اتفاق باز نمودند که سلطان محمد ولد نداشت مگریک دختر که در عهد سلطان تغلق شده بود "

Firishta writes that Muhammad proposed to make him his successor, and accordingly recommended him on his death-bed to the nobles. Briggs, I, p. 444. Elliot, III, p. 267.

Firuz always had a great respect for his patron, Muhammad Tughluq, as is shown by the opening words of the Fatūhāt-i-Firuz Shahi:

" من بیچارہ مسکین فیروز بن رجب غلام محمد شاہ بن تغلق شاہ "

that he never transacted any business without referring to the Quran for an augury. Weak and timorous, he lacked the qualities of generalship, and in moments of crisis, when victory was almost within reach, his craven scruples led him either to beat a dishonourable retreat or to patch up a temporary truce with the enemy. Unlike his great cousin, he had no pretensions to finished scholarship, and was unfitted to deal with the problems of an empire which had been shaken to its foundations by the convulsions of the previous reign.

The Sultan's vaunted devotion to the Quran did not prevent him from seeking the gratification of his lower appetites. On one occasion, in the midst of a campaign, when Tatar Khan paid him a visit, he saw him lying half-naked with wine cups concealed in his bed. The Khan reproached him for this depravity, and struck with shame and remorse, the Sultan promised to observe abstinence as long as Tatar Khan was with the army. But the contemptible weakness of will soon asserted itself, and the Khan was transferred to the neighbourhood of Hisar Firūza to restore order, probably as a punishment for his "disrespectful behaviour."

But Firuz was not altogether devoid of human virtues. Towards his co-religionists he behaved with marked generosity, and his charitable and humanitarian instincts led him to make grants for performing the nuptials of the daughters of indigent Muslims and for administering poor-relief. He abolished torture, simplified the legal system and discouraged espionage. He endowed colleges where the professors and students of Islam devoted themselves to theological studies. He devised several measures to promote the welfare of his subjects of all classes,[1] the chief of which were the facilities of irrigation which he provided to the cultivators and a hospital at Delhi, where medicines were distributed gratis to the sick and the suffering. He was

[1] The contemporary chronicler says that the crops were abundant, and that the Hindus also were happy and contented. Afif, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., p. 180.



72°
76°
Khyber Pass
Peshawar
R. Indus
Srinagar
Punch
K Ā S H M Ī R
Leh
TIBET
Himalaya Mountains
Rajaori
Kishtwar
Bhimbar
JAMMU
Ramnagar
Jammu
Basoli
Chamba
Rohtang Pass
R. Chenab
R. Jhelam
32°
Kangra
K Ā N G R Ā
Sultanpur
KULU
Amritsar
Mandi
Lahore
R. Beas
Hoshiarpur
Suket
R. Sutlej
Rampur
Patti
Jalandhar
Simla
R. Ravi
P A N J Ā B
GARHWAL
Tehri
Multan
Patyāla
Srinagar
Hardwar
Almorā
R. Sutlej
Bahawalpur
R. Indus
Delhi
R. Ganges
28°
Bīkāner
OUDH
R. Jamunā
Brindāban
Alwar
Mathurā
R Ā J A S T H Ā N
Agra
Jaisalmer
Amber
Jaipur
(R Ā J P U T Ā N A)
Ājmere
Tonk
Jodhpur
Gwālior
R. Chambal
Ranthambor
Būndi
Orchā
Mahoba
Nāthadvār
Chitor
Khajraho
Ābu
Jhalrapatan
Udaipur
24°
Patan
Sāñchī
G U J A R Ā T
Ujjain
Bhopal
Ahmadābād
Indore
Baroda
R. Narbada
Dvārakā
KĀTHIAWĀR
Girnār
R. Tapti
English Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 100 200
Surat
Somnāth
Ajantā
72°
76°

RAJASTHAN.

fond of the pleasures of the chase, and a large forest was maintained near Delhi where game was carefully preserved at state expense. Desirous of introducing useful reforms, he tackled the problem of civil administration with great energy and vigour, though he made mistakes which worked to the detriment of the state. But, even if Firuz's achievements in the field of civil administration are duly recognised, he cannot be pronounced to have been a successful or a brilliant ruler, and when the balance is struck between success and failure, we must unhesitatingly record that his weak policy was largely responsible for the break-up of the early Turkish empire. The only extenuating circumstance is that he had inherited great difficulties from his predecessor. Napoleon was right when he wrote to King Joseph, " when men call a king a kind man, his reign has been a failure."

Foreign policy —The first expedition to Bengal, 1353-54 A.D.

During the confusion that followed the death of Muhammad Tughluq, Bengal completely separated itself from Delhi, and Haji Ilyas proclaimed himself an independent ruler under the title of Shams-ud-din. The Sultan marched towards Bengal at the head of a large army, and on reaching there issued the following proclamation to his Bengali subjects, in which he explained the wrongs of Haji Ilyas and his own desire to do justice to the people and to govern the country well.[1] The promises of rewards

[1] This proclamation was issued towards the end of the year 1353 A.D. It explains the cause of the invasion and recounts the wrongs and oppressions of Haji Ilyas. The Sultan addresses all classes of men and promises rich rewards to those who would remain unswerving in their allegiance to Delhi. This proclamation is one of the most extraordinary documents in the history of the Sultanate of Delhi, and throws much light upon the mild policy of Firuz.

The document occurs in "*The Inshā-i-Māhrū*," which contains the letters of Ain-ul-mulk Māhrū. It is a contemporary work and therefore of much historical value, as supplementing Zia Barani and Afif.

Maulvi Abdul Wali Khan Sahib has written a detailed explanatory notice of the work in the J. A. S. B., XIX, 1923, No. 7, pp. 253—290. He has given a translation of the original document which was reproduced in the previous edition. On comparing it

and liberal concessions made by the Sultan indicate his anxiety to avoid war, which must necessarily entail bloodshed and rapine.

> "Whereas it has come to our auspicious ear that Ilyas Haji has been committing oppression and high-handedness upon the people of the territory of Lakhnauti and Tirhut, shedding unnecessary blood, even shedding the blood of women, although it is a well-established proposition in every creed and doctrine that no woman, even if she be a Kāfir, should be slain: And (whereas the said Ilyas Haji has been levying illegal cesses, not sanctioned by the law of Islam, and thus putting the people into trouble; there being no security of life and property, no safety for honour, and chastity. And whereas the territory was conquered by our Masters and has come down to us by inheritance, and also as a gift of the Imām (' Abbasid Khalifa of Egypt ') it devolves upon our Royal and Courageous self to safeguard the people of that State. And as Ilyas Haji during the lifetime of his late Majesty was obedient, and loyal to the throne; and even during our auspicious Coronation he confessed his submission and fealty, as becomes a subordinate, sending petitions and presents to wait upon us; so, if, heretofore, were brought to our august notice an infinitesimal part of the oppression and high-handedness that he had been committing on God's creatures, we might have admonished him, so that he might have desisted therefrom: And whereas he has exceeded the limit, and publicly rebelled against our authority, therefore, we have approached with an invincible army for the purpose of opening this territory, and for the happiness of the

with the text of the *Inshā* I found it defective in several respects. Alterations have been made where necessary to make the rendering conform to the text.

The word *gabr* used in the proclamation is, I think, meant for the Hindus generally. It does not specifically stand for Zoroastrians as the Maulvi Sahib suggests. The authors of the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* and the *Zafarnāmā* frequently use the word to denote non-Muslims.

people thereof ; desiring thereby to deliver all from his tyranny, to convert the wounds of his oppressions by the salves of justice and mercy, and that the tree of their existence, withered by the hot pestilential wind of tyranny and oppression, might flourish and fructify by the limpid water of our bounty.

"We have therefore by the exuberance of our mercy commanded that all the people of the territory of Lakhnauti —the Sādāt, Ulama, Mashāyakh, and others of similar nature ; and also the *Khans, Maliks, Umara, Sadrs, Akabir,* and *M'aārif,* including their train and suite—those who may prove their sincerity or those whose zeal for Islam may prompt them thereto, may resort to our world-protecting presence, without waiting and delay. We shall give them double of what they get from fiefs, villages, lands, stipends, wages and salaries : And the class of people, called Zamindars, as *Muqaddams,* and other respectable men (رایگان مفروزیان) from the river Kasi (Kosi) to the farther limit of the fief of Lakhnauti, that (similarly) may come to our world-protecting presence, we shall remit wholly the produce and duties (revenue in cash and kind) for the current year, and from the next year, we have directed to levy the revenues and duties in accordance with the Regulation promulgated during the reign of the late Sultan, Shams-ud-din, but in no case more than that should be demanded, and the extra or illegal taxes and duties which may weigh unduly heavily upon the people of that part of the country should entirely be remitted and removed : And such of the hermits, *gabrs,* etc., who may come in their entire body to our World-protecting presence, we shall allow them double of what they used to receive from their fiefs, villages, lands, wages and stipends, etc., and those who may come in their half number (that is, in two batches on different dates), we shall allow them fifty per cent more and to any one who may come singly, we shall allow what had been fixed before. Furthermore, we shall not remove

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them from their original places or give them cause for distress ; that we have commanded that one and all of this tract may live, and dwell in their homes and hearths, according to his and their hearts' desire, and may enjoy ever more contentment and freedom from anxieties, Inshā' Allāh t'aālā (if God Almighty may wish)."

When Haji Ilyas heard of his approach, he entrenched himself in the fort of Iqdala.[1] To decoy him out of the fortress Firuz had recourse to a clever strategical move ; he retraced his steps a few miles backwards in the hope that the enemy would come out of the fort in order to harass the retreating army. The expected happened, and Shams-ud-din followed the royal army at the head of a considerable force consisting of ten thousand horse and 200,000 foot, all eager to do battle with the Delhwis. The Sultan arranged his troops in battle array according to the time-honoured practice of mediæval warfare in three divisions—the right, left, and centre, and himself took an active part in organising the campaign. At the sight of these overwhelming odds, Shams-ud-din "trembled like a willow leaf," but he was too proud to acknowledge the suzerainty of Delhi. A terrible battle ensued in which the protagonists on either side fought with great valour and determination. When Shams-ud-din saw the day going against him, he fled from the field of battle and took shelter again in the fort of Iqdala. The royalists followed up their success and invested the fort in full vigour. But the shrieks and wails of women who pathetically demonstrated their grief, moved the compassionate heart of the Sultan, and he forthwith decided to abandon the fruits of a hard-earned victory. This is how the official historian of the reign describes Firuz's incapacity to deal with a difficult situation : 'To storm the fort, put more Musalmans to the sword, and expose honourable women to ignominy, would be a crime for which he could not answer on the day of judgment, and

[1] For an account of this fortress, see J. A. S. B., 1874, p. 244. It was afterwards called Azadpur by Firuz. Elliot, III, p. 297.

which would leave no difference between him and the Mughals.'[1] Tatar Khan, the imperial commandant, urged the annexation of the province, but with his characteristic weakness Firuz rejected his advice on the plea that Bengal was a land of swamps, and that it was not worth while to retain possession of it.

On his return from Bengal the Sultan devoted himself with great energy and vigour to the organisation of his administration. But a second expedition to Bengal became necessary, when Zafar Khan, the son-in-law of Fakhr-ud-din, the first independent ruler of Bengal, complained of the high-handedness of Shams-ud-din and begged the Sultan to intercede on his behalf. The official historian heard this from his father who was then in attendance on the Sultan. Zafar Khan was well received at the court, and his heart was elated with joy when the Sultan ordered the Khan-i-Jahan to make preparations for a second expedition to Bengal. Popular enthusiasm rose to such a high pitch that numerous volunteers enrolled themselves in the army which consisted of 70,000 horse, innumerable foot, 470 elephants and a large flotilla of boats. On his way to Bengal the Sultan founded the city of Jaunpur in honour of the memory of his illustrious cousin Fakhr-ud-din Jūnā.[2] Shams-ud-din had been dead for some time, and his son Sikandar had succeeded him. Following the example of his father, he shut himself up in the fort of Iqdala.[3] The fortress was besieged, and the royalists made breaches in its walls,

The second expedition, 1359-60 A.D.

[1] Elliot, III, p. 297.

[2] For an account of Jaunpur, see Chapter XIII.

[3] Firishta says that the Sultan sent from Zafrabad an envoy to Sikandar Shah and in return an envoy came from Bengal bringing with him five elephants and other valuable presents. But despite these overtures, the Sultan continued his advance upon Bengal. Badāonī agrees with Firishta.

Briggs, I, p. 451. Ranking, Al-Badāonī, I, p. 328.

Shams-i-Siraj Afif does not speak of these overtures. But it seems probable that the youthful Sikandar had attempted to avert the coming disaster by arriving at a peaceful settlement.

which were soon repaired by the Bengalis, who displayed great courage and vigour, notwithstanding the grim spectre of defeat that stared them in the face. But the patience of both sides was soon exhausted by this interminable siege, and negotiations for peace began. Sikandar's plenipotentiary Haibat Khan conducted the negotiations with great patience, tact and firmness. Sikandar agreed to the restoration of Sonārgāon to Zafar Khan and sent 40 elephants and valuable presents to the Sultan to cement their friendship. But Zafar Khan who was the chief cause of all this trouble gave up the idea of retiring to his country and preferred to remain at Delhi. Probably the amenities of social life at the capital of the empire captivated the heart of the exiled prince. Once again Firuz's weakness prevented him from asserting his sovereignty over a province which was well-nigh within his grasp.

The subjugation of the Rai of Jajnagar.

On his return from Bengal, the Sultan halted at Jaunpur, from where he marched against Jajnagar (modern Orissa), which was in a flourishing condition, and where the abundance of fruits and foodstuffs could supply the wants of the royal army.[1] The Rai of Jajnagar,[2] who was a Brahman, fled at the approach of the royal army and took shelter in an island, whither he was pursued by the Sultan's forces. The temple of Jagannath at Puri was desecrated and the idols were thrown into the sea.[3] At last, dismayed by the heavy odds arrayed against

[1] Shams-i-Siraj Afif, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., pp. 163-64.

The prices at Jajnagar were very low. Shams-i-Siraj writes that two *jitals* could buy a horse and nobody cared for cattle. Sheep were found in abundance and the royal army had a plentiful supply of them. The inhabitants lived in fine spacious houses and owned gardens and orchards. It appears that the economic conditions in the Jajnagar territory were extremely favourable.

Afif, p. 165.

[2] The Rai is called Adesar by Afif, and Siddhan by Firishta.

[3] The author of the *Sīrat-i-Firuz Shahi* who is another contemporary writer, says that the Sultan went towards the temple of Jagannath, which stood to the east of the sea, and demolished it and threw the idol into the sea.

The temple possessed enormous wealth and it is said that 30,00,000 *dinars* of silver were spent on the kitchen establishment alone.

Sīrat-i-Firuz Shahi, Allahabad University MS., p. 64.

him, he sent his emissaries to negotiate terms of peace. To their utter surprise, the Sultan informed them that he was entirely ignorant of the cause of their master's flight. The Rai explained his conduct and agreed to furnish a fixed number of elephants every year as tribute. The Sultan accepted these terms, and having obtained the submission of several other Hindu chieftains and Zamindars on his way, he returned to the capital.[1]

Conquest of Nagarkot, 1360-61 A.D.

The fortress of Nagarkot had been conquered by Muhammad Tughluq in 1337 A.D.;[2] but during the latter part of his reign its Rai had established himself as an independent ruler. The temple of Jwalamukhi in Nagarkot was an old and venerated shrine which was visited by thousands of Hindu pilgrims who made rich offerings to the idol. Its sanctity was an additional reason which led the bigoted Firuz to undertake this expedition ; and the contemporary chronicler writes that when the Sultan paid a visit to the temple, he addressed the assembled Rais, Ranas, and Zamindars in these words : " Of what avail is the worship of this stone? What desire of yours will be fulfilled by praying to it? It is declared in our Holy Law that those who act contrary to it will go to hell."[3] The fort of

[1] Firishta says that the daughter of the Rai of Jajnagar fell into the hands of the king, who brought her up as his own child. The king received the submission of the Raja of Birbhūm, who presented him with 37 elephants and other valuable articles. The Sultan then hunted in the forests of Padmavati, where he captured 33 elephants. Firishta does not speak of the terms of peace referred to by Afif.

Ranking, Al-Badāonī, I, p. 329.

Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 147. Briggs, I, p. 452.

[2] Qasīid Badr-i-Chāch, Elliot, III, p. 570.

[3] Afif, pp. 186-87.

Elliot, III, p. 318.

Firishta says that Firuz found in this temple a library of 1,300 volumes. He caused one of these books which treated of philosophy and astronomy to be translated into Persian and called it *Dalāyal-i-Firuz Shahi*. Briggs, I, p. 454. Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 148.

The same authority asserts that it is said that the fragments of the idol of Nagarkot mixed with pieces of cow's flesh were filled in bags and tied round the necks of Brahmans, who were thus paraded through the camp. But it is not corroborated by any contemporary writer.

Nagarkot was besieged, and *manjnīqs* and *arradas* were placed on all sides. After a protracted siege of six months, which well-nigh exhausted the patience of the combatants on both sides, Firuz offered pardon to the Rai, who " came down from his fort, apologised, and threw himself at the feet of the Sultan, who placed his hand on his back, bestowed upon him rich robes of honour and sent him back to his fort."

The conquest of Thatta, 1371-72 A.D.

The Thatta expedition is one of the most interesting episodes in the reign of Firuz Tughluq. It is a singular instance of the Sultan's fatuity and lack of strategical skill. Not a gifted general, he could never risk à war à *outrance* like his great predecessors, Alauddin Khilji and Muhammad Tughluq, and his irresolution and piety always presented the most serious obstacle to the achievement of brilliant victory. The expedition originated in a desire to avenge the wrongs done by the people of Thatta to the late Sultan. Preparations for the campaign were made, and volunteers were enrolled in the army which consisted of 90,000 cavalry, numerous infantry and 480 elephants. A large flotilla of five thousand boats was also constructed and placed under experienced admirals. Jam Babiniya,[1] the cheiftain of Sindh, arranged in battle array his forces which numbered 20,000 horse and 400,000 foot, and prepared for action. Meanwhile in the Sultan's camp provisions

Briggs, I, p. 454.

Badāonī says, he read the *Dalāyal-i-Firuz Shahi* at Lahore in the year 1591-92 A.D. from beginning to end.

He says that he read other works also translated in the name of Firuz. This corroborates Firishta's testimony.

Ranking, Al-Badāonī, I, p. 332.

[1] Shams-i-Siraj Afif in his *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Biblioth. Ind., p. 201, writes Jam and Babiniya. The correct name, however, would be Jam Babiniya for Jam is a title and not a proper name. Mir Masum also writes (Elliot, I, p. 226) Jam Babiniya. Firishta writes Jam Bani (Briggs, IV, p. 42) which is probably a short form of Jam Babiniya. The author of the *Tuhfat-ul-kiram*, a later authority than Mir Masum, incorrectly says that in 1370 Firuz marched against Thatta whose chief Jam Khair-ud-din submitted. Elliot, I, p. 342.

The Muslim historians have made much confusion about the names of these Jams. See Raverty's note in J. A. S. B., 1892, I, pp. 329-30.

became scarce owing to famine and pestilence, which decimated the troops and swept away nearly one-fourth of the cavalry.

Reduced to sore straits the troops lost heart, but when the whole army, despite its ebbing strength, made an assault, it drove the enemy into their fort. The Sultan, unwilling to risk another engagement, retired to Gujarat in order to obtain fresh reinforcements. But through the treachery of the guides the whole army lost its way and fell into the Rann of Kutch.[1] He lost his way and for six months no news of the army reached Delhi. A dire famine prevailed ; the prices of grain rose exorbitantly high, and the hunger-stricken men gave up the ghost in despair. The want of good water and the dreariness of the desert filled them with gloom and despondency. With great difficulty the royal army reached Gujarat, where the Sultan busily engaged himself in enlisting fresh levies of men, and spent about two crores in procuring the sinews of war. Malik Imad-ul-mulk complained to the Sultan that the condition of the *regulars* in the royal army was unsatisfactory in spite of their services to the state. While the irregulars were mounted, they had to go on foot and were put to great hardships. The Sultan ordered that advances should be made to them to provide the necessary equipments. Instructions were sent to Khan-i-Jahan at Delhi to enjoin upon officers of government the necessity of treating the villages of the regulars well so that their families might not be put to any inconvenience. Having accomplished the work of reorganisation, the entire force moved towards Thatta and encamped on the hither-side of the Indus. But when the imperial commandants Imad-ul-mulk and Zafar Khan attempted to cross the river, their way was blocked by the Sindhians. It was then decided to go higher up the river in order to effect a passage below Bhakkar. This was done, and on the opposite side of the river a fierce battle was fought,

[1] For a detailed account of the *Rann*, see Bombay Gazetteer, V, pp. 11—16, and Kathiawad Gazetteer, III, p. 69.

but Firuz's weakness once more stood in the way of victory. Anxious lest the lives of the innocent Muslims be destroyed, he recalled his generals, heedless of the inconveniences which they had borne in forcing a passage across the river. As the Sindhians offered stubborn resistance, the war council decided to send Imad-ul-mulk to Delhi to bring fresh reinforcements. The worthy minister Khan-i-Jahan received him well and called volunteers from Badāon, Kanauj, Sandila, Jaunpur, Bihar, Tirhut, Chanderi, Dhar and other dependencies of the empire. The arrival of these troops considerably increased the strength of the royal army, and when the Sindhians saw the overwhelming odds arrayed against them, they judged discretion to be the better part of valour and expressed their willingness to surrender. This attitude rendered all further fighting superfluous, and a peace was at once concluded between the contending parties. The Jam offered submission; he was taken to Delhi where a liberal pension was settled on him, and his brother was reinstated in the Jamship.[1] Whatever success attended this campaign was due to the boldness and vigour of the imperial generals and the timely assistance rendered by Firuz's capable and loyal minister Khan-i-Jahan Maqbūl.

The Deccan.

Shams-i-Siraj Afif who has no clear idea of the geography of the Deccan gives a brief and confused account of that country. The Bahmani kingdom had been established during Muhammad's lifetime and Vijayanagar had fully risen to fame. Firuz's officers asked

[1] Shams-i-Siraj Afif says that the son of the Jam and Tamachi, brother of Babiniya, were placed over Thatta and titles were conferred upon them. The Sultan, then, marched to Delhi taking the Jam and Babiniya with him. It appears that Shams-i-Siraj has made Babiniya into two persons.

Mir Masum, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Masumi*, clearly says that Jam Babiniya was carried off in the retinue of the Sultan, and after remaining for some time in attendance, he was restored to the government of Sindh. Khudabakhsha MS., f. 35.

Firishta agrees with Mir Masum and says that Jam Bani was afterwards restored to his kingdom. Briggs, IV, p. 424.

The author of the *Chāchnāmā* also says that Jam Babinar was restored to his kingdom, where he ruled for 15 years.

J. A. S. B., 1841, I, p. 268.

his permission to march towards Daulatabad to reassert the supremacy of Delhi, but the Sultan 'looked distressed and his eyes suffused with tears and observed that he had resolved never more to make war upon men of Muslim faith.' Such was the bravery and courage of this monarch which is frequently applauded by the court historian. The empire of Delhi, shrivelled in extent and shorn of its splendour, was confined to the region north of the Vindhyas.

Administration—General principles.

Firuz was essentially a man of peace. His achievements in the field of civil administration entitle him to our admiration, though even some of these partially contributed to the disintegration of the empire. Under him the Muslim government in India assumed a predominantly theocratic character,[1] and pronounced its ban upon Hindu infidels and Muslim heretics alike. The intolerance of the Sultan was reflected in the administration which imposed serious disabilities upon the dissenters. The experience which Firuz had acquired under Muhammad had given him an insight into the needs of the country and impressed upon him the value of reform. This led him to devise comprehensive measures for the happiness and prosperity of his subjects. The welfare of the people, though it was often restricted to a small minority, became the watchword of the new administration, and the Hindus and Muslims both were benefited by its activity. But the comparison between Akbar and Firuz instituted by Sir Henry Elliot[2] is unnecessary as well as unjust; Firuz had not even a hundredth part of the genius of that great-hearted and broad-minded monarch, who preached from the high platform of public interest the gospel of peace, good-will and toleration

[1] Āmils were appointed to teach the principles of the faith to the Hindu converts so that they may know the truth.
Sīrat-i-Firuz Shahi, Allahabad University MS., p. 160.

[2] Elliot, III, pp. 269-70.
See prefatory note to Shams-i-Siraj Afif's Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi.
Vincent Smith also comments upon the absurdity of Sir Henry Elliot's calling Firuz Shah the Akbar of his time. Oxford History, p. 249.

towards all sects and creeds. The reforms of Firuz lacked permanence ; they failed to strengthen the Muslim polity and to gain the confidence of the Hindus whose feelings were embittered by his religious intolerance. Altogether, they produced a reaction which proved fatal to the interests of the dynasty of which he was by no means an unworthy representative.

The civil administration.

The jagir system which had been discontinued by Alauddin was revived by Firuz, and the whole empire was divided into fiefs, and the fiefs into districts held by his officers, who corresponded to the fief-holders of mediæval Europe. In addition to these grants of land, the functionaries of the state were given suitable allowances which enabled them to accumulate large fortunes. The revenue was assessed after a proper ascertainment of the condition of land. An enquiry was held into titles and tenures, and those who had been deprived of their lands were asked to make good their claims in courts of law. The abuses in the collection of revenue were put down with a high hand. The facilities of irrigation provided by the state greatly improved agriculture, and the revenue of the Doab amounted to eighty lakhs of tankās and of the territories of Delhi to six crores and eighty-five lakhs of tankās. The fear of famine no longer haunted the minds of the people, and the agriculturists became happy and prosperous.

Taxation.

Besides the land revenue the Sultan had other sources of income. The whole system of taxation was reorganised and made to conform to the spirit of the Holy Law. All vexatious and unlawful imposts that had been levied in former reigns were abolished, and Firuz in his *Fatūhāt-i-Firuz Shahi* takes credit for abolishing twenty-three of such cesses.[1] The guiding maxim of the Sultan was,

[1] Fatūhāt-i-Firuz Shahi, Elliot, III, p. 377.

The author of the *Sīrat-i-Firuz Shahi*, a contemporary writer, gives a long list of 26 taxes which Firuz abolished. The list agrees with slight variations with that given by Elliot in his translation of the *Fatūhāt-i-Firuz Shahi*.

Allahabad University MS., pp. 117-18.

"Better a people's weal than treasures vast." The state levied only four taxes which are prescribed in the Quran, namely, the *Khirāj*, the *Zakat*, the *Jeziyā*, and the *Khams*. The spoils of war and conquest won by the arms of the faithful were to be shared by the army and the state in the proportion laid down in the sacred law. One-fifth was taken by the state and the remainder by the captors. Besides these taxes, the state levied an irrigation cess, which amounted to ten per cent of the produce of fields.[1] The new taxation policy had a salutary effect on the development of trade and agriculture. Prices were low and no scarcity of the necessaries of life was ever felt.[2] The state never experienced a deficit, and every year the Sultan spent large sums on charitable endowments and works of public utility.

The canals of Firuz.

After the foundation of the town of Firuzabad in the neighbourhood of Delhi the Sultan felt a great scarcity of water. The contemporary chronicler writes that water was so scarce in the locality that travellers from Iraq and Khorasan had to pay as much as four *jitals* for a pitcherful of it. It would be unfair to say that the Sultan was actuated entirely by commercial motives in building his canals, and this view is borne out by the fact that he levied the irrigation cess with the approval of the doctors of the law. Shams-i-Siraj makes mention of two streams—one from the Jamna and the other from the Sutlaj. The

[1] Firuz consulted the canonists on the subject, who unanimously declared that the king was entitled to the right of *Sharb*, and it was after this decision that the irrigation cess was included in the rent-roll. Elliot, III, p. 361.

[2] The schedule of prices given by Shams-i-Siraj Afif is as follows:–

Wheat	...	8 *jitals*	...	1 *man*.
Barley	...	4 ,,	...	,,
Grain	...	4 ,,	...	,,
Dal	...	1 ,,	...	10 *sirs*.
Ghi	...	2½ ,,	...	1 *sir*.
Sugar	...	3-3½ ,,	...	1 ,,

The contemporary chronicler writes with a touch of exaggeration that not a spot of land remained uncultivated and the fifty-two parganas of the Doab were highly prosperous.

Shams-i-Siraj Afif, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., p. 294.

former was called the *Rajwah* and the other *Ulughkhani.* Both passed through the vicinity of Karnal and after flowing for nearly 160 miles united and discharged their waters into Hisar Firuza. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi,* who wrote in the fifteenth century and whose account is corroborated by Firishta and other later writers, speaks of four streams, and it appears probable that Firuz's canal system was more comprehensive than that mentioned by Afif.[1] The four canals mentioned by the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* are :—(1) A canal from the Sutlaj to the Ghaghar which was at a distance of 48 *kos* corresponding roughly to 96 miles ; (2) another from the neighbourhood of Mandavi and Sirmur hills which, after taking the waters of seven other streams, was carried to Hansi, whence it was carried to Arasani (Absin of Firishta), where the fort of Hisar Firuza was built by the Sultan ; (3) a third canal from the Ghaghar which, passing by the city of Sirsuti, flowed to the village of Hirani-khera or Bharni-khera near which a town was built and named Firuzabad ; (4) a fourth stream was drawn from the Jamna which flowed to Firuzabad and then its waters were carried further after filling a tank near the town. Firishta writes that in the year 1360 A.D. the Sultan caused a huge mound between the Sirsuti and the Salima rivers to be excavated.

[1] Shams-i-Siraj Afif, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., p. 127.

یک جوي از لب اب جون کشیدہ و جوي دوم از دھا نہ آب اب ستلج آور دہ—

The account given by the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* is substantially corroborated by Firishta who is a later authority. Firishta probably borrowed his account from Yahya. Lucknow text, p. 146. Briggs, I, pp. 449, 450, 452, 453.

The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* is very rare. The translation of passages from it in Elliot's History of India (Vol. IV) is very meagre. No copies of the work are to be found in any library in India, and even in England, as far as I know, there are only two or three copies. I am indebted to Professor J. N. Sarkar, who very kindly lent me his MS. for consultation. Prof. Sarkar's MS. is dated 1038 A.H. (1629 A.D.).

It is very difficult to trace the course of these canals on a modern map. For further information see the following:

J. A. S. B., 1846, p. 213.
J. A. S. B., 1840, p. 688.
J. A. S. B., 1833, pp. 105—9.
J. A. S. B., II, p. 111.
J. A. S. B., 1912, p. 279.
Rennell's Map of a Memoir, pp. 72—74.

He was told that if the mound were cut through the waters of the Sirsuti would fall into the Salima and would come to Sunnam, passing through Sarhind and Mansūrpur. Accordingly the excavation of the mound was undertaken and fifty thousand labourers were employed to work at it. Sarhind which was originally a part of the fief of Samana was separated and constituted into a district by itself.

The military organisation of the empire rested on a feudal basis. Grants of land were made to the soldiers of the army for their maintenance while the irregulars (*ghairwajh*) were paid from the royal treasury, and those who received neither salary nor grants of land were given assignments upon the revenue. The royal army consisted of 80 or 90 thousand cavalry in addition to the retainers of the feudal barons and grandees of the state, who numbered a little less than two hundred thousand. Horsemen were required to bring the right kind of animals to the registration office, and the corrupt practices that had formerly attended this business were put an end to by the vigilant Malik Razi, the *Nāib Arīz-i-mamālik* (deputy muster-master). The soldiers were treated kindly and were provided with all sorts of comforts. But the Sultan's misplaced generosity seriously impaired the efficiency of the army by allowing aged and infirm persons, no longer fit for active service, to remain in it. A new regulation laid down that when a soldier became unfit on account of old age, his son, or son-in-law, or slave should succeed him, and in this way "the veterans were to remain at home in ease and the young were to ride forth in their strength."[1] Thus military efficiency was subordinated to the dictates of magnanimity by the weak-minded Sultan, despite the remonstrances of his generals.

The Army.

[1] Shams-i-Siraj Afif, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., p. 303, Elliot, III, p. 349.

Firuz's conception of law and justice was that of an orthodox Muslim. He was stern in repressing crime, and administered justice according to the dictates of the Quran. The *mufti* expounded the law and the Qazi delivered judgment. If a traveller died on the road, the feudal chiefs and *muqaddams* calling together the Qazis and other Muslims examined the body of the deceased and drew up a report certifying under the seal of the Qazi that no wound was discernible on the body and then they buried it. The legal system of Hindustan was harsh and inhuman like the systems that prevailed in mediæval Europe. Torture was looked upon as the surest means of discovering truth, and punishment was often inflicted to wreak vengeance and not to reform the culprit. Firuz abolished torture and all other revolting forms of punishment, but clemency was shown to such an extent that many a miscreant who deserved punishment escaped scot-free.

Law, justice, and other humanitarian measures.

The Sultan's administration of poor relief deserves high praise. His solicitude for public welfare led him to issue instructions to the Kotwals to ascertain the number of the unemployed. These men were asked to apply to the Diwan, and occupation was provided for them according to their capacity. Those who could read and write were employed in the royal household, and those who showed aptitude for some sort of practical work were attached to the royal establishments, while those who wished to become slaves of some noble or grandee were favoured with letters of recommendation. To enable poor Muslims to marry their daughters, the Sultan established a regular charity office (*Diwan-i-khairat*), which considered each case on its merits, and then recommended for a grant of marriage allowance. The applicants of the first class were given fifty *tankās*, while those of the second and third were allowed thirty and twenty-five *tankās* respectively. A long-felt need was satisfied, and men came from far and wide to avail of the benefactions of the Sultan.

Himself acquainted with the science of medicine, the Sultan established a hospital (*Dār-ul-shafa*) at Delhi, where medicines were distributed to the sick free of charge. Competent physicians looked after the patients who were also supplied with food at the expense of the state. For the benefit of the pilgrims who came from distant lands to visit the mausoleums of great kings and holy men, he made liberal endowments. In the midst of his many engagements, the Sultan did not forget to extend his sympathy to the sufferers of the previous régime, whom he recompensed for their losses and obtained from them " deeds of satisfaction " for the good of the soul of Sultan Muhammad.[1] This was obviously done to please the clericalists whom Muhammad had so deeply offended.

The slave system.

One of the principal features of the reign of Firuz was the unusual growth of the slave system. From the various parts of the empire slaves were sent by viceroys and were granted allowances by the state. Those who had received a liberal education devoted themselves to the study of religion and literature, while those who had received merely technical instruction became artisans and craftsmen. Owing to the Sultan's favour the number of slaves rapidly multiplied, so that in a few years in the metropolis and the provinces of the empire their total number reached the high figure of 180,000. For the proper management of this army of slaves, a separate department with a regular staff of officers was established, which must have caused a heavy drain upon the treasury. That the institution had grown to dangerous dimensions cannot be denied ; ultimately it operated as one of the causes of the disintegration of the empire.

[1] Fatūhāt-i-Firuz Shahi, Elliot, III, p. 385.
Sīrat-i-Firuz Shahi, Allahabad University MS., p. 149.
Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 151.

The contemporary chronicler ascribes several new coins to Firuz, but a close examination shows that they all existed in the time of Muhammad Tughluq. Even the *Shashgani* (six-jital piece) which is attributed to him was not a novelty, for Ibn Batūtā makes frequent references to it. The management of the mint was far from efficient and frauds often went undetected.[1] But the Sultan never neglected the interests of his subjects; to facilitate the transactions of the poor people, he introduced half and quarter *jitals* called *adhā* (half) and *bikh* respectively. These pieces of mixed copper and silver added to the weight of the coins and gave them a real metallic value—an extremely important matter in a country like India, where the people "rigorously exact full metallic values."[2]

Currency reform.

Adha

No other king of Delhi was such an enthusiastic builder. The early Muslim rulers were too busy in fighting the hostile races of Hindustan, and the pressure of perpetual war left them hardly any time to turn their attention to works of public utility. Firuz was the first Muslim king who enjoyed a comparatively longer period of peace; and the complete absence of wars on a large scale made it possible for him to apply himself to such beneficent undertakings. He founded the towns of Firuzabad, Fatehabad, Jaunpur and several others; built mosques, palaces, monasteries and inns for the convenience of travellers, and repaired numerous buildings which had suffered from the ravages of time.[3] Numerous artisans were employed by the state and a qualified superintendent was appointed to supervise the work of each class of artisans. The principal architect of the state was Malik Ghazi Shahna who was assisted by one Abdul Haq, who was also known as Jahir Sundhar. The plan of every new building was examined in the finance

Works of public utility.

Towns founded

[1] Shams-i-Siraj Afif, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., pp. 344-45.

[2] Thomas, The Chronicles of Pathan Kings, p. 281.

[3] Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 151. Elliot, III, pp. 383-84.

office (*Diwan-i-Wizarat*) and then money was sanctioned for its construction.[1]

The Sultan was a great gardener. He resuscitated 30 old gardens of Alauddin and laid out 1,200 new ones in the vicinity of Delhi. Numerous gardens and orchards were laid out, which yielded to the state a large revenue. Much waste land was reclaimed, and though the extent of the empire was reduced its revenue increased by several millions.

Firuz took interest in the preservation of ancient monuments, and caused two monoliths of Aśoka to be removed to his new city. Learned Brahmans were called to decipher the inscriptions on the pillars, but they failed to make out the script which was totally different from the language with which they were familiar. Some of them tried to please the Sultan by saying that it was recorded in the inscriptions that no one would be able to remove the monoliths until the advent of Firuz.[2]

[1] Shams-i-Siraj Afif, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., p. 333.

Firishta enumerates 845 public buildings erected during Firuz's reign. Firuz himself mentions some of them in his *Fatuhāt-i-Firuz Shahi.*

Shams-i-Siraj Afif, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., pp. 329—33.

The works of public utility repaired and built by Firuz have been enumerated by Thomas in his Chronicles of the Pathan Kings. See pp. 290-91.

They are also mentioned in the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* of Afif and also in the *Fatuhāt-i-Firuz Shahi*, a short autobiographical memoir written by Firuz himself. Elliot, III, pp. 354, 355, 383—85.

[2] One of these was a stone pillar 42 feet 7 inches high of which 35 feet in the upper part was polished and the rest rough. The other was an iron pillar smaller in size than the stone pillar. Both pillars originally stood in the neighbourhood of Meerut and their removal was effected with considerable difficulty.

Carr Stephen, Archæology of Delhi, pp. 130, 142, 143.

The Pandits, whom the Sultan consulted, must have been, in the words of Edward Thomas, more than ordinarily obtuse or intentionally reticent for they ought to have been able to read the inscription of Bīsala Deva, King of Sākambhari, dated 1163 A.D., which is in the Devanagari character in Sanskrit. It records the victories of Bīsala Deva, the famous Chohān prince, who ruled over the country between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas.

Carr Stephen, Archæology of Delhi, pp. 137-38.

See Chapter I of this book.

Promotion of learning.

As a pious and benevolent ruler the Sultan was interested in the promotion of learning. He extended his patronage to Shaikhs and learned men and accorded to them a most hearty reception in his Palace of Grapes. He granted pensions and gratuities to them and made it a part of his state policy to encourage learned men in all parts of the empire. He was fond of history, and the works of Zia Barani and Shams-i-Siraj, besides other works on law and theology, were written during his reign.[1] Numerous colleges and monasteries were established, where men devoted themselves to study and meditation, and to each college was attached a mosque for worship. Of the professors of these colleges, two were widely known and highly esteemed. One was Maulana Jalal-ud-din Rūmi who lectured on theology and Islamic Jurisprudence and the other a famous preacher from Samarqand. Like Bishop Lanfranc and his pupils in the lecture halls at Avranches and the cloister schools of Bec and Caen, these Muslim scholars devoted themselves to theological studies, and with their outlook narrowed and vision cramped, they became the most uncompromising champions of the orthodox position.

[1] The Sultan was a patron of learning. When after the conquest of Nagarkot a large library fell into his hands, he caused some Sanskrit works to be translated into Persian. One of these was the *Dalāyal-i-Firuz Shahi*, which has already been mentioned. Barani wrote his history during his reign and dedicated his translation of the "*Akhbar Barmakiyan*" from Arabic into Persian to Firuz Shah. Other works of note written during the reign are the *Fatwa-i-Jahandari* by Zia Barani and *Fikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, whose author's name is not known. Both are mentioned in the India Office Catalogue of Persian MSS., p. 1377. The *Sīrat-i-Firuz Shahi* was also composed during this reign.

Firuz built many colleges. The *Maasiri-i-Rahimi* by Abdul Baqi (MS. in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, leaf 107) states that he built 50 *Madrasas*. Nizam-ud-din and Firishta estimate the number to be 30, which is corroborated by Sujan Rai Khatri, the author of the *Khulasat-ut-tawarikh*, who copied both. Firuz speaks of these institutions in his *Fatūhāt*. The Firuz Shahi Madrasa at Firuzabad was liberally endowed and far surpassed the other *Madrasas* of the time. The *Mutwalli* of the Madrasa was Yusuf bin Jamal, who died in 1388 A.D., and was buried in the court of the college.

For a description of the Firuz Shahi Madrasa, see Barani's *Ṭarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Biblioth. Ind., pp. 562–66.

The court and the royal household.

Besides the institutions that have been described above, there were numerous other establishments in the state, of which a bare mention will suffice in this place. Although the Sultan's piety and orthodoxy led him to despise all gorgeous display of royal splendour, he had to maintain the traditional magnificence of his court. Doubtless his court could not rival that of his predecessor in pomp and grandeur, nor was it resorted to by men from all parts of the Muslim world. But Shams-i-Siraj Afif who was a frequent visitor at the court gives a glowing description of the Darbar on the occasion of the Īd and the Shabrāt, when the palace of Firuzabad was artistically decorated and the courtiers, decked with jewels and attired in gorgeous costumes, enjoyed the numerous entertainments provided by the Sultan's bounty. Men of all classes, high and low, Muslims and Hindus, came from far and wide to take part in these festivities.

The royal household-establishments, known as the *karkhanas,* had their separate offices and a regular staff of officers to superintend their business. Each *karkhana* had a separate financial department where accounts were kept, and these were finally submitted to the *Diwan-i-Wizarat,* the royal exchequer. The accounts of the fiefs assigned to these establishments were carefully audited, and their stewards were required to present a balance-sheet to the exchequer every year.

To all appearance the administrative machinery worked well. No serious revolts or famines marred the success of the reforms which Firuz introduced. But his habitual clemency and mildness which formed the keynote of his policy contributed not a little to the inefficiency of government. The *moràle* of the Muslim community was lowered ; its fitness for the arduous duties of war was seriously impaired with the result that many of the descendants of the Khans and Maliks of old at the court ceased to aspire to become renowned warriors and generals, and bereft of ambition and opportunity they degenerated into mean office-seekers.

No account of Firuz's reign would be complete without a mention of his able and energetic minister Khan-i-Jahan Maqbūl. He was originally a Hindu of Telingana, but had latterly embraced Islam. He served under Muhammad Tughluq, who, being impressed by his talents and sturdy common sense, entrusted to him the fief of Multan. When Firuz ascended the throne, Maqbūl was elevated to the position of the first man in the empire after the fall of Ahmad bin Ayaz. When he went on distant expeditions, he left the minister in charge of the capital, and the latter managed the affairs of the state with such ability and vigour that the long absence of the Sultan had no effect upon the administration. Though a great statesman, devoted to the interests of the state, the minister was like most men of rank in his age addicted to the pleasures of the *haram*. It is said, he had two thousand women of different nationalities in his seraglio and a large number of children, who were all liberally provided for by the state. The Khan-i-Jahan lived up to a ripe old age. When he died in 1370 A.D., his son Jūnā Shah, who was born at Multan during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq, was confirmed in his office and the title which his father had so long enjoyed was bestowed upon him.[1]

Khan-i-Jahan Maqbūl.

[1] Shams-i-Siraj Afif says that Khan-i-Jahan died in 770 A.H. (1368 A.D.), and was succeeded by his son, but in another place he says that he was alive in 772 A.H. (1370 A.D.). The latter date is correct. It is supported by an inscription on the 'Black Mosque' near the tomb of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliā, in which the date of the son's entry in office is given as 772 A.H.

Khan-i-Jahan was one of the favourites of the Rai of Telingana. The Rai dying on the way to Delhi, Khan-i-Jahan, who was called Kuttu or Kunnu, embraced Islam in the presence of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq under the name of Maqbūl. In his letters and signatures he used to call himself " Maqbūl, slave of Muhammad Tughluq." Although illiterate, he was a very wise man. He took a prominent part in political affairs in Sultan Muhammad's time. In Firuz's reign he became virtually the Sultan's *alter ego* and managed the affairs of the state with consummate ability.

The last days of Firuz were clouded by sorrow and anxiety, and the even tenor of his life was disturbed by the dissensions of parties and factions. The infirmities of age had compelled him to delegate his authority to the minister *Khan-i-Jahan*, but the latter's overweening pride and insolence filled the old nobility with disgust. In order to put Prince Muhammad out of his way, the minister informed the Sultan that the Prince had entered into a confederacy with certain disaffected nobles and intended to take his life. So skilfully did the wily minister play upon the fears of the weak-minded Firuz that he readily granted him permission to arrest the conspirators. But the Prince proved too clever for him, and by a dexterous move he took the wind out of the sails of his arch-enemy. Having secured permission for his ladies to visit the royal seraglio, he buckled on his armour and got into one of the palanquins. His unexpected presence in this strange costume alarmed the ladies, but before any harm could be done to him, he threw himself at the feet of his father and implored forgiveness, protesting that the alleged conspiracy was a concoction of the ambitious minister. He succeeded in obtaining from the Sultan a *carte blanche* for the dismissal and arrest of the minister, who having learnt of these proceedings fled towards Mewat. The Prince was admitted into royal favour and the Sultan was pleased to declare him his heir-apparent. Secure in his position, the Prince immersed himself in the pleasures of the senses, and despite the warnings of the trusted officers of the Crown, he continued to pursue his evil ways and pitchforked his own lackeys and panders in the place of tried veterans. Opposition to the Prince grew apace, and the protagonists of rival parties engaged themselves in battle with savage fury, and the worst horrors of civil war were perpetrated. The nobles sought the protection of the old Sultan, and his appearance had a magical effect on the hostile troops. The Prince fled towards the Sirmur hills, and order was quickly restored. Firuz once more assumed sovereignty, but advancing age

The last days of Firuz.

rendered him unfit for the proper discharge of kingly duties. The last public act of his life was the conferment of the royal insignia upon his grandson, Tughluq Shah bin Fatah Khan, to whom he delegated his authority. Not long afterwards the old Sultan died at the age of 90 in the month of Ramzan, 790 A.H. (October, 1388). His death was followed by the scramble of rival princes and parties for power which will be described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XII

THE LATER TUGHLUQS AND TIMUR'S INVASION

AFTER the death of Firuz Tughluq the empire of Delhi which had shrunk to the dimensions of a small principality rapidly declined in importance. It had been greatly disturbed by the convulsions of Muhammad's reign, and Firuz had done nothing, indeed, he had neither the will nor the capacity to recover the lost provinces. As a result of his policy the centrifugal tendencies, so common in Indian history, began to work, and province after province separated itself from the empire. Ambitious chiefs and disloyal governors hoisted the flag of revolt, and defied the authority of the central power, which had become incapable of asserting itself. The basic principle of the Muslim state in the fourteenth century was force ; but the awe and fear in which the ruling class was held had disappeared owing to the relaxation of authority, and Firuz was loved and not feared by his subjects. The theocratic character of the state adversely affected its efficiency, and the influence of the *mullahs* and *muftis* proved disastrous in the long run. The Muslims, accustomed to a life of ease at the court, lost their old grit and manliness and behaved like a disorderly rabble in the midst of a campaign, a fact which accounts for the lack of generalship, discipline and strategical acumen of which ample evidence is furnished by Firuz's military policy. The jagir system led to great abuses and more often than not the grantee attempted to set up an independent principality for himself. A feudal aristocracy, deriving its power from land, tends to become turbulent, and the danger is intensified when the central power is unable to control such unruly elements. The slaves

The causes of disintegration.

of Firuz whose number had exceeded all reasonable limits were a fresh source of trouble. The whole institution had undergone a radical change, and the slaves, no longer capable and loyal like their forbears in the time of Balban and Alauddin, embroiled themselves in disgraceful intrigues and added to the disorders of the time. The incompetence of the later Tughluqs led to a recrudescence of Hindu revolts particularly in the Doab, where *Zamindars* and *Khūts* withheld tribute and began to play the rôle of petty despots. The revenue was not realised, and the whole administration fell into a state of chaos. A kingdom whose main support was military strength was bound to be pulled to pieces like a child's map, when its destinies were controlled by men who were neither warriors nor statesmen, and who could be utilised by self-seeking adventurers for their own aggrandisement. By their incompetence, the successors of Firuz accelerated the process of disintegration, the seeds of which had been sown during his reign.[1]

The weak successors of Firuz.

The successor of Firuz was his grandson Tughluq Shah, son of Prince Fatah Khan, who assumed the title of Ghiyās-ud-din Tughluq II. This young and inexperienced ruler had no idea of the magnitude of the difficulties that surrounded him and the dangers that threatened the empire of Delhi. He gave himself up to debauch and pleasure and neglected the affairs of the state. His conduct alienated the sympathies of the great officials and Amirs, and when he threw into a dungeon Abu Bakr, son of Zafar Khan, they formed a conspi-

[1] Stanley Lane-Poole mentions inter-marriage with the Hindus as one of the causes of disintegration. This is hardly correct. Firuz himself, who was born of a Hindu mother, never showed any Hindu proclivities. On the contrary, he was a bigot, who always deemed it an act of merit to persecute the "infidels." Besides, Lane-Poole's statement is not borne out by subsequent history. The great Mughal Emperor Akbar adopted the policy of matrimonial alliances with a view to strengthen the empire, and this policy succeeded remarkably well. The empire continued as vigorous as before under his two successors, and it broke up only when Aurangzeb abandoned the policy of religious toleration which his great-grandfather had inaugurated.

racy to otherthrow him. The conspirators entered the palace, and the Sultan who knew that they had designs on his escaped with the wazir towards the river. But he was pursued and overtaken by one of the conspirators just when he was about to cross the river, and was beheaded on the spot on February 19, 1389 A.D. Abu Bakr succeeded him ; gradually he established his hold over Delhi, and his influence and authority began to wax from day to day. But the peace of the realm was disturbed by the news of the murder of Malik Sultan Shah Khushdil, the Amir of Samana, who had been sent against Prince Muhammad, the younger son of Sultan Firuz Shah. The latter readily grasped at this opportunity and forthwith proceeded to Samana, where he proclaimed himself emperor. Encouraged by the offers of help from some of the Amirs and nobles at the capital, he marched towards Delhi and encamped in its neighbourhood. A terrible civil war became imminent, and ambitious chiefs and slaves like the Praetorian guards of the Roman emperors of later days began to sway the scale on one side or the other. Bahadur Nahir of Mewat joined Abu Bakr, and with his help the armies of Delhi succeeded in inflicting a defeat upon Prince Muhammad in the battle of Firuzabad. The vanquished prince went into the Doab and began to make efforts to obtain fresh allies. His troops, mortified by their defeat, ravaged the lands of the Doab and plundered the estates of the nobles and Amirs of Delhi. Sharp skirmishes with the Zamindars and petty chieftains followed and the *lex talionis* was freely resorted to. Abu Bakr's indifference to these depredations turned his nobles against him, and many of them went over to the side of the enemy. Having organised his forces, Muhammad returned to Jalesar, where he encamped and busied himself in making preparations for battle. A battle was fought near Panipat, but fortune again favoured Abu Bakr, and Prince Humayun, Muhammad's son, suffered a severe defeat. Muhammad, who was assisted by a faction at Delhi, did not lose heart, and when Abu Bakr left for Mewat to seek the help of Bahadur Nahir, the disaffected

nobles invited him to come to the capital. In response to this invitation Muhammad marched towards Delhi, where he was cordially received by his partisans. Having effected a safe entry into the capital, Prince Muhammad took his abode in the palace and ascended the throne at Firuzabad under the title of Nāir-ud-din Muhammad in August, 1390 A.D. In order to consolidate his power, the new Sultan deprived the old Firuz Shahi slaves, who were partisans of Abu Bakr, of the custody of elephants. They protested against this step but in vain, and one night they fled with their wives and children to join Abu Bakr. The Sultan sent Prince Humayun and Islam Khan against his rival and the slaves of the old régime. Islam Khan's intrepid action overpowered Abu Bakr, and when the latter saw that his cause was lost he made his submission. The Sultan pardoned Bahadur Nahir and imprisoned Abu Bakr in the fort of Meerut where he died afterwards.

The Sultan returned to Delhi, but the good effects of his victory were marred by the rebellion of the Zamindars of the Doab. The revolt of Narasingh, Zamindar of Etawah, was successfully put down, but Islam Khan's treasonable conduct caused the Sultan much anxiety. On the evidence of a kinsman of his own, Islam was condemned to death without a trial. But more formidable in magnitude than all these was the rebellion of Bahadur Nahir of Mewat, who began to make inroads into the environs of Delhi. The Sultan, although in a state of feeble health, proceeded against him and compelled him to seek refuge in his own fortress. His health declined rapidly, and he died on January 15, 1394. He was succeeded by his son Humayun, but his life was cut short by a "violent disorder," and he died after a few days.

The vacant throne now fell to the lot of Prince Mahmud, the youngest son of Muhammad, who assumed the sceptre under the title of Nāsir-ud-din Mahmud Tughluq. The problems which confronted the new government were difficult and multifarious. At the capital the scramble of parties and factions made the establishment of a strong administration well-

nigh impossible ; abroad, the Hindu chiefs and Muslim governors openly disregarded the authority of the central government. The whole country from Kanauj to Bihar and Bengal was in a state of turmoil, and many of the chiefs and Zamindars had begun to exercise *de facto* sovereignty within their territorial limits. Khwaja Jahan who had been created *Malik-us-Sharq* (Lord of the East) became independent at Jaunpur ; the Khokhars revolted in the north ; Gujarat declared its independence and Malwa and Khandesh followed suit. The government found it impossible to arrest the forces of disorder, which was aggravated by the acrimonious disputes of contending parties at Delhi. Some of the nobles put forward Nusrat Khan, a grandson of Firuz Tughluq, as a rival claimant to the throne. The Amirs and Maliks at Firuzabad together with the slaves of the old régime espoused the cause of Nusrat, while those at Delhi gave their support to Mahmud Tughluq. Thus, there were two Sultans arrayed in hostile camps, and the imperial crown was tossed to and fro like a shuttlecock between the contending factions. A large number of party leaders arose, but the most distinguished among them were Bahadur Nahir, Mallu Iqbal, and Muqarrab Khan. Fighting went on ceaselessly, and the protagonists on either side keenly contested for supremacy without any appreciable result. The provincial governors took no part in these civil wars, but they vigilantly watched the fluctuations in the fortunes of rival parties. Towards the close of the year 1397, came the news that the army of Timur had crossed the Indus and laid siege to Uchha. The effect of the advent of a foreign army was soon felt at the capital, where the parties began to shift their positions with astonishing rapidity. Mallu Iqbal went over to the side of Nusrat Khan, and the new allies swore fealty to each other, but the compact was too hastily formed to last long. Sultan Mahmud and his powerful allies, Muqarrab Khan and Bahadur Nahir, occupied old Delhi. Mallu Iqbal treacherously attacked Nusrat, but the prince having got scent of his treasonable designs escaped to Tatar Khan at Panipat. Mallu Iqbal

now turned against his irreconcilable foe, Muqarrab, and determined to drive him out of the capital. A fierce fight raged between them, and it was after two months that a peace was patched up through the intervention of some noblemen. But Mallu was not the man to abide by his plighted word ; he attacked Muqarrab at his residence and had him ruthlessly put to death. Muqarrab's death broke, as it were, the right arm of Sultan Mahmud, who, deprived of all royal authority, became a tool in the hands of Mallu Iqbal.[1] He made efforts to reorganise the administration, but the grim spectre of a foreign invasion stared him in the face. The whole country was soon to be convulsed to its depths by a storm, which swept away all parties, effaced all landmarks and inflicted a misery upon the people which beggars all description. The ominous news flashed forth that Amir Timur was advancing upon Hindustan with his myriad hosts.

Timur's invasion, 1398 A.D.

Timur was born in 1336 A.D. at Kech in Transoxiana, fifty miles south of Samarqand. He was the son of Amir Turghay, chief of the Gurkan branch of the Barlas, a noble Turkish tribe, and a nephew of Haji Barlas. At the age of 33 he became the head of the Chaghtāī Turks and constantly waged war against Persia and the adjoining lands. The condition of Persia was at this time deplorable under the successors of Muhammad Muzaffar owing to civil wars and internecine strife ; and Sharf-ud-din writes that " the poor people bore the burden of these disorders and were, in a manner, the tennis ball of misfortune and misery, and groaned under the weight of tyranny and oppression."[2] Timur who was fired by the lust of dominion put the race of Muzaffar to death and established his sway over Persia and its dependencies. But this was not

[1] It should be borne in mind that Mallu Iqbal's sway hardly extended beyond the bounds of Delhi. The provinces of the empire had all become independent by this time and in the Doab there was widespread anarchy.

[2] Petis de la Croix, II, p. 421.



Timur in Durbar.

enough to satiate his devouring ambition. He embarked upon a career of ceaseless conquests, carrying death and destruction in his train wherever he went. When he received the news of the anarchical condition of Hindustan, he determined to lead an expedition for the extirpation of infidelity. It is clearly stated in the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* and the *Zafarnama* that the principal object of the expedition was not conquest or plunder but the destruction of the unbelievers.[1] Timur summoned a council of the warriors and the *Ulama* in order to ask their advice regarding the projected expedition. Shah Rukh dwelt upon the large extent of the country and the manifold advantages that its conquest was sure to bring in its train. Prince Muhammad pointed to the resources of India, her enormous wealth in precious metals, jewels, and pearls, and emphasised the religious aspect of the matter. But some of the nobles sounded a note of alarm and suggested that if they settled permanently in India, they would degenerate in character and in a few generations the strength and valour of their race would disappear. Having heard these counsels, Timur addressed his audience thus: "My object in the invasion of Hindustan is to lead an expedition against the infidels, that, according to the law of Muhammad, we may convert to the true faith the people of that country, and purify the land itself from the filth of infidelity and polytheism; and that we may overthrow their temples and idols and become *Ghazis* and *Mujahids* before God." His view was endorsed by the learned in the law, who declared that it was their duty to destroy the enemies of the faith in order to preserve their religion and strengthen the sacred law.

The advance guard of Timur's army under Pir Muhammad soon reached India, crossed the Indus, captured Uchha, and then advanced upon Multan, which also capitulated after a

[1] Malfuzat-i-Timuri, Elliot, III, p. 397.
Zafarnama, Elliot, III, p. 480.
Matla-us-Sadain, Khudabakhsha MS., f. 240.
Davy, Institutes of Timur, p. 133.

protracted siege of six months. Having collected a large army from all parts of his wide dominions, Timur marched across the Hindukush and crossed the river Indus on September 24, 1398. The first Indian ruler to be defeated by Timur was Shihab-ud-din, an island prince, who had paid homage to Pir Muhammad, but had afterwards raised the standard of revolt. After this victory Timur crossed the Chenab and reached the town of Tulamba,[1] where a ransom of two *lakhs* was demanded from the inhabitants as the price of their safety, an exception being made in the case of the *Ulama* and the *Shaikhs*. The scanty provisions were increased by means of plunder, and a general order was given to seize grain wherever it was found. When he reached the neighbourhood of Dipalpur, the people who had murdered Musafir Qabuli whom Pir Muhammad had appointed governor of their city, fled out of fear and took refuge in the fort of Bhatnir, which was one of the most renowned fortresses in Hindustan. The generals of Timur attacked the fort on the right and the left, while the Amir himself commanded the centre near the gate. Rai Dul Chand at the head of an army of gallant Rajputs barred the entrance of the besiegers to the fort, but he was defeated by the soldiers of Timur, who "swarmed round the fort like ants and locusts." When the Rai saw that his destruction was certain, he begged for mercy. But he delayed his submission; Timur's army again began the attack and hemmed in the enemy on all sides with such a ferocity that the Rai lost heart and offered to pay homage. His life was spared, and the Amir bestowed upon him as a mark of favour a robe of gold brocade, a cap and a girdle of gold work and a gold-belted sword. The Zamindars and chiefs of the neighbouring country were subdued, and all the strangers found in the town, particularly the refugees from Dipalpur, were captured and their goods were

[1] Tulamba is about 70 miles from Multan. It is shown in Rennell's Map at the junction of the Jhelam and the Chenab. Hunter, Imp. Gaz., XIII, p. 163. Elliot, III, p. 413.

confiscated. The punishments inflicted upon these men alarmed the brother and son of the Rai, who, again, had recourse to fighting and entrenched themselves in the fort. Timur's anger blazed high, and forthwith he ordered an assault, which compelled the besieged to appeal for quarter. A heavy ransom was exacted from the Hindu townsmen, but they did not yield without a desperate fight. "The sword of Islam was washed in the blood of the infidels, and all the goods and effects, the treasure and the grain, which for many a long year had been stored in the fort, became the spoil of my soldiers. They set fire to the houses and reduced them to ashes and they razed the buildings and the fort to the ground."[1]

From Bhatnir Timur marched to Sirsuti,[2] which was easily conquered and when he reached Kaithal which is at a distance of 34 miles from Samana, he began to make preparations for an attack upon Delhi. As the army progressed in its journey, the inhabitants of the towns through which it passed fled in panic, leaving their houses and goods at the disposal of the invaders. Town after town surrendered, and in a short time Timur reached Jahanuma, a fine palace built by Firuz Shah at a distance of six miles from Delhi. The neighbouring country was ravaged, and the soldiers were permitted to obtain food and fodder for themselves and their cattle by means of plunder. When Timur reached near Delhi, he held a council of war, which urged upon him the necessity of obtaining an abundant supply of provisions and securing them in the fort of Loni,[3] which had been captured by his soldiers. The nobles and generals, who had fought bravely under his leadership, were asked by him to take their proper positions "not to be too forward nor too backward, but to act with the utmost prudence and caution in their operation." It was on this occasion that

[1] Malfuzat-i-Timuri, Elliot, III, p. 427.

[2] Sirsuti on the bank of the confluent rivers is equidistant from Hisar and Bhatnir.
Rennell, Memoir of a Map, p. 76.

[3] Loni is 7 miles N. N.-W. of Delhi. Tieff, I, p. 136.

Amirs Jahan Shah and Sulaiman Shah and others made to Timur the suggestion that the 100,000 Hindus, who had been made prisoners during the Indian campaigns, should be put to death, for it was possible that on the great day of battle they might "break their bonds, plunder our tents, and join the enemy." Timur accepted this inhuman advice and proclaimed throughout the camp that every man who had infidel prisoners should put them to death. Any one who disobeyed the order was to be executed and his goods were to be confiscated by the state. The champions of the faith, who had no love for the infidels, drew their swords, and slew the prisoners with fiendish brutality. The author of the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* writes that the order was so rigorously carried out that even a man of piety and learning like Maulana Nāsir-ud-din Omar, who had never killed a sparrow in his life, was obliged to kill 15 idolatrous Hindus, who happened to be his prisoners.[1] Having perpetrated this wanton butchery, Timur proceeded to lay down instructions for the guidance of his generals and soldiers, and pointed out to them their proper places. In accordance with their wishes, he allowed learned men, who were highly afraid of elephants, to take up positions near the ladies at the time of battle. It is strange that these men should have desired to occupy such a place ; the treatment which Timur meted out to them is a significant commentary upon the unpractical character and unmanly bearing of these mediæval

[1] Malfuzat, Elliot, III, p. 436.

The Khudabakhsha MS. of the *Matla-us-Sadain*, f. 251, says that all these men were killed by the sword of the *Jihad*, and the Maulana who had never killed a sheep in his life put to death 15 Hindus in his train. The same author says that Timur gave an order that any one who refused to carry out his command regarding the execution of prisoners should be killed and his effects should be handed over to the informant who reported his "dereliction of duty."

Matla-us-Sadain, Elliot, IV, p. 95.

Zafarnama, Calcutta text, II, p. 92.

Writing about the number of the Hindus slain Sharf-ud-din says, the lowest estimate is ten thousand. Calcutta text, p. 92.

men of letters, who followed in the wake of one of the greatest warriors of the age.

Timur organised his forces in battle array, and after the traditional practice of the east divided them into three wings—the right which was placed under Pir Muhammad Jahangir, Amir Yadgar Barlas and others ; the left was entrusted to such capable men as Sultan Husain, Prince Khalil, Amir Jahan Shah, while he himself commanded the centre. Sultan Mahmud and Mallu Iqbal prepared for battle and collected an army which contained 10,000 well-trained horse, 40,000 foot and 125 elephants, which were all well equipped with armour. The two armies confronted each other outside Delhi. The battle commenced with loud shouts and cries on both sides, and it must be said to the honour of the Delhi army, that it showed no cowardly spirit in this extremity of peril. The assault was begun by Timur's generals, Sanjak Bahadur, Saiyyad Khwaja, Allahdad, and others. They separated themselves from the advance guard, moved off to the right, and coming stealthily behind the enemy's advance guard, who suspected no such sudden move, fell upon them, and "scattered them as hungry lions scatter a flock of sheep and killed 600 of them in this one charge." Prince Pir Muhammad, the commander of the right wing, smashed the left wing of the enemy and compelled it to flee from the field of battle. Sultan Mahmud and Mallu Khan delivered an attack upon the central wing, and the soldiers of Delhi, according to the authors of the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* and the *Zafarnama*, fought with commendable courage, but "the frail insect cannot contend with the raging wind, nor the feeble deer against the fierce lion, so they were compelled to take to flight." Mahmud and Mallu Iqbal fled from the field of battle, and on the 8th of Rabi-ul-ākhir Timur hoisted his flag on the ramparts of Delhi. The Saiyyads, the Qazis, the Ulama and the Shaikhs of the town waited upon the conqueror and made their obeisance. In response to their request, Timur granted quarter to the people of Delhi and engaged himself in celebrating his hard-won victory.

The sack of Delhi by Timur's soldiery is one of the most tragic events in the blood-stained annals of that ill-fated city.

The sack of Delhi.

The causes of this indiscriminate massacre and plunder are mentioned in detail both in the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* and the *Zafarnama.*[1] Sharf-ud-din writes that thousands of soldiers had gone into the city to collect grain and sugar, but they carried out the orders of the Amir with such violence that the Hindus and *gabrs* in the cities of Delhi, Siri, Jahanpanah, and old Delhi took up arms in self-defence and attacked them. The Hindus, driven to desperation, set fire to their goods, threw their wives and children into the flames, and rushed fearlessly to fight the invaders. Stimulated by their resistance, the Muslim soldiery, already eager for plunder, gave a free rein to its ferocity, and from the 16th Rabi-us-sāni till the 18th, they plundered the city and massacred its inhabitants.[2] The four cities of Delhi, Siri, Jahanpanah and old Delhi were all

[1] Zafarnama, Calcutta text, pp. 121—23.

Elliot's translation does not agree with the Calcutta text of the Zafarnama.

The learned translator has made some confusion in giving the dates.

The order of these dates in the text is as follows :—

On Thursday the 16th the soldiers collected in the city and harassed the people. Timur ordered his Amirs to ask the soldiers not to do so. On Friday night there were 15,000 men in the city who plundered it from evening till morning. On Saturday the 18th plundering continued and each soldier captured at least fifty or hundred men, women, and children. On Sunday the 19th old Delhi was thought of, for many Hindus had fled there. Amir Khan Malik and Ali Sultan Tawachi, with 500 well-accoutred (not trusty as Elliot says) men, marched against them and slew them with their swords. Zafarnama, Calcutta text, II, pp. 121—23.

Zafarnama, Elliot, III, pp. 502—04.

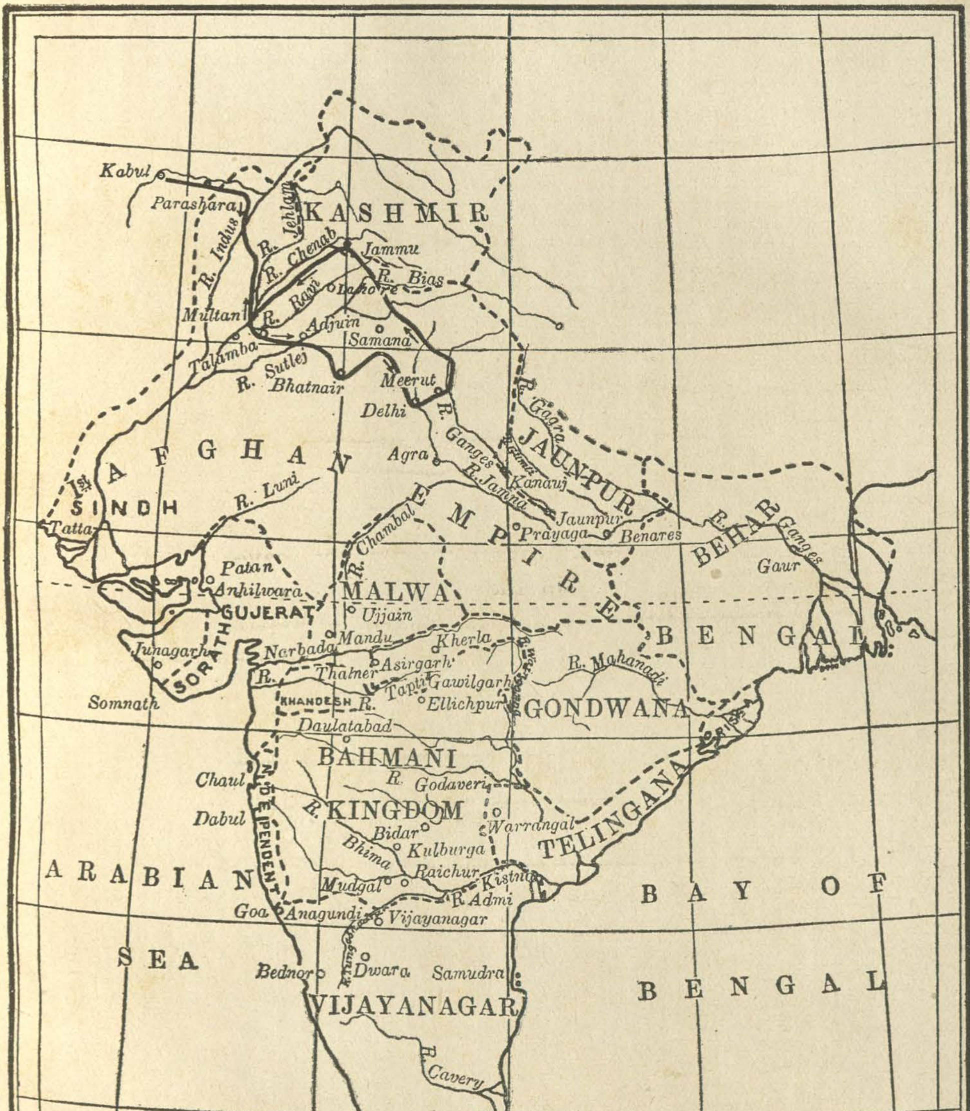
Malfuzat, Elliot, III, pp. 445—47.

Firishta says that when certain nobles and rich merchants refused to pay the ransom, he sent troops into the city at the instance of the magistrates to enforce their authority. This was a step which produced fatal consequences.

Briggs, I, p. 493.

[2] According to the *Malfuzat* the plunder began on Thursday and lasted till Saturday the 17th. Elliot, III, p. 446.

The *Zafarnama* says that on the 17th the whole place was pillaged and also on the 18th. On the 19th old Delhi was plundered.



The Invasion of Timur, 1398 A.D.

plundered and the most atrocious cruelty was shown to the inhabitants. No such calamity had ever before befallen the helpless people of Delhi. Sharf-ud-din's narrative vividly describes the horrors of the time:

"But on that Friday night there were about 15,000 men in the city who were engaged from early eve till morning in plundering and burning the houses. In many places the impure infidel *gabrs* made resistance. In the morning the soldiers who were outside, being unable to control themselves, went to the city and raised a great disturbance. On that Sunday, the 17th of the month, the whole place was pillaged and several palaces in Jahanpanah and Siri were destroyed. On the 18th the like plundering went on. Every soldier obtained more than twenty persons as slaves, and some brought as many as fifty or a hundred men, women and children as slaves out of the city. The other plunder and spoils were immense, gems and jewels of all sorts, rubies, diamonds, stuffs and fabrics of all kinds, vases and vessels of gold and silver, sums of money in *Alai tankās*, and other coins beyond all computation. Most of the women who were made prisoners wore bracelets of gold or silver on their wrists and valuable rings upon their toes. Medicines and perfumes and unguents, and the like, of these no one took any notice. On the 19th of the month old Delhi was thought of, for many infidel Hindus had fled thither and taken refuge in the great mosque, where they prepared to defend themselves. Amir Shah Malik and Ali Sultan Tawachi, with 500 trusty men, proceeded against them, and falling upon them with the sword, despatched them to hell. High towers were built with the heads of the Hindus, and their bodies became the food of ravenous beasts and birds. On the same day old Delhi was plundered. Such of the inhabitants as had escaped alive were made prisoners. For several days in succession, the prisoners were brought out of the city, and every *Amir* of a *tuman* or *kushun* took a party of them under his

command. Several thousand craftsmen and mechanics were brought out of the city, and under the command of Timur, some were divided among the princes, Amirs, and *Aghas* who had assisted in the conquest, and some were reserved for those who were maintaining the royal authority in other parts. Timur had formed the design of building a *Masjid-i-Jami* in Samarqand, his capital, and he now gave orders that all the stone masons should be reserved for that pious work."[1]

Timur leaves Delhi.

Timur halted at Delhi for a fortnight, which he spent in pleasure and enjoyment. But it occurred to him that he had come to India to wage war against infidelity and that vow he must execute to the best of his powers. He moved towards Firuzabad and thence to the fortress of Mirat (Meerut) at the head of 10,000 men, but the place was bravely defended by Ilyas Afghan, his son, Maulana Ahmad Thanesari and Safi. Timur's soldiers razed the fortifications to the ground, put the people to death and plundered all their property. As if that was not enough, the conqueror in order to signalise his victory ordered that all the towers and walls should be levelled to the earth, and the houses of the Hindus should be set on fire. The adjoining country was ravaged, and in the valley of Hardwar[2] again a fierce fight raged between the Hindus and the Muslims. Timur who was reinforced by Pir Muhammad conducted the campaign in person, which resulted in victory to the arms of Islam. This was followed by a successful raid in the Siwalik hills, where Rai Bahruz had collected a large force to resist him. The Rai was overpowered, and vast booty fell into the hands of the victors. After the defeat of Bahruz, Timur crossed the Jamna and proceeded against Ratan, a Hindu chief of influence in the Siwalik hills. The Hindus had

[1] Zafarnama, Elliot, III, pp. 503-04.

[2] Hardwar is a town on the bank of the Ganges in the Saharanpur district in the United Provinces.

posted themselves on lofty mounds which were all covered with an impenetrable forest. "The hills were so high that no eye could see from the bottom to the top, and the trees were so dense that the rays of the sun and moon could not reach the ground." But Timur was not the man to shrink from difficulties ; he ordered an advance under torch light, and when the Hindus heard of the approach of his army, they fled without making even a show of resistance. A great many of them were put to the sword, and their property was seized by the invaders.

Having completed his conquest of the Siwalik territory, Timur marched towards Jammu, the Raja of which place was defeated and made prisoner by Daulat Timur Tawachi and Husain Malik Kuchin. Sharf-ud-din writes : "By hopes, fears, and threats, he was brought to see the beauty of Islam. He repeated the creed, and ate the flesh of the cow, which is an abomination among his compatriots. This obtained him great honour, and he was taken under the protection of the emperor." Just before the defeat of the Raja of Jammu, a message had been received from Sikandar Shah of Kashmir offering submission to the conqueror.

Shaikha Khokhar had not fulfilled his pledges ; he had paid no regard to Timur's officers who had gone towards Lahore.[1] His country was ravaged and he was taken prisoner. Having placed Khizr Khan in command of the fiefs of Lahore, Multan and Dipalpur, Timur left for Samarqand.

[1] It is stated in the *Zafarnama* (Calcutta text, p. 170) that Shaikha Khokhar had entered the service of Timur in the beginning of his Indian campaign and his prestige had risen very high owing to royal favour. So great was Timur's kindness towards him that wherever the people said that they were the Khokhar chief's men, they were left unmolested by the Mughals. But it was Shaikha's impudence that drew down upon him the wrath of Timur. The head and front of his offence was that he had been wanting in courtesy to Maulana Abdulla Sadur and Hindu Shah Khalyni, two distinguished officers of the conqueror, when they went towards Lahore. Calcutta text, p. 171.

After Timur's invasion.

Timur's invasion caused widespread anarchy in Hindustan. The government at Delhi was completely paralysed, and in the vicinity of the capital as well as in the provinces of the empire, the greatest confusion prevailed. The people of Delhi had passed through terrible ordeals ; they had been subjected to an oppressive blackmail, and were deprived of their goods and effects. The horrible disasters of the sack are impossible to describe. To the sufferings consequent upon a war, conducted by heartless ruffians, fired by a fanatical thirst for bloodshed and plunder, were added the horrors of famine and pestilence, which destroyed men and decimated cattle, and caused a suspension of the agricultural industry. The dislocation of the entire social system, coupled with the abeyance of political authority capable of enforcing peace and order, favoured the plans of the military adventurers, who harried the land and harassed the people for their own aggrandisement. The small military cliques working for their own selfish ends became the chief curse of the time. In March, 1399, Sultan Nusrat Shah, who had fled into the Doab, recovered possession of Delhi, but it soon passed into the hands of Iqbal Khan, whose sway extended over a few districts in the Doab and the fiefs in the neighbourhood of the capital.[1] Iqbal gradually asserted his authority, and in 1401 he was joined by Sultan Mahmud, whom he formally

[1] The rest of the empire was parcelled out into fiefs which were independent.

Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, Elliot, IV, p. 37.

The following were the principal fiefs of the empire :—

Delhi and the Doab ...	... Iqbal Khan.
Gujarat with all its districts and dependencies.	... Zafar Khan Wajih-ul-Mulk.
Multan, Dipalpur and parts of Sindh.	... Khizr Khan.
Mahoba and Kalpi ...	... Mahmud Khan.
Kanauj, Oudh, Kara, Dalmau, Sandila, Bahraich, Bihar and Jaunpur.	... Khwaja Jahan.
Dhar	... Dilawar Khan.
Samana	... Ghalib Khan.
Biyana	... Shams Khan.

received in the capital. But as real power was in the hands of Iqbal, Sultan Mahmud chafed against the restraint imposed upon him, and sought in vain the help of Ibrahim Shah Sharqi. Thus foiled in his efforts to effect a coalition against Iqbal, the Sultan settled at Kanauj, where the disbanded troops and retainers rallied round his banner. Iqbal marched towards Gwalior to chastise the local ruler Bhima Deva, but he was obliged to raise the siege and return to Delhi. His expedition against the Hindu chiefs of Etawah was more successful ; but when he marched towards Multan, Khizr Khan, the governor, opposed him, and in a battle that ensued Iqbal was slain in 808 A.H. (1405 A.D.). The death of Iqbal removed from the path of Mahmud a formidable opponent, and on being invited by Daulat Khan and other nobles, he proceeded to Delhi, but the imbecility of his character soon made him unpopular with the army, and prevented him from making a proper use of his restored rights. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, who has carefully chronicled the events of this troubled period, writes: "The whole business was fallen into the greatest disorder. The Sultan gave no heed to the duties of his station, and had no care for the permanency of the throne ; his whole time was devoted to pleasure and debauchery."[1]

Sultan Mahmud died in 815 A.H. (1412 A.D.), and with him, as Firishta writes, fell the kingdom of Delhi from the race of the Turks, who had mightily swayed the sceptre for more than two centuries. After his death the Amirs and Maliks chose Daulat Khan as their leader and gave him their adhesion. Daulat Khan received no honours of royalty ; he occupied only the position of the head of a military oligarchy which was trying to save itself from a highly embarrassing situation. His position was strengthened when two military leaders, Mubariz Khan and Malik Idris, went over to his side. Shortly after his assumption of this quasi-royal office, Daulat Khan led an

[1] Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, Elliot, IV, pp. 43-44.

expedition to Katehar and received the submission of the Hindu chiefs. At this time came the disquieting news that Ibrahim Sharqi was besieging Qadr Khan in his fortress at Kalpi, but Daulat Khan had no forces at his command to march to his relief. Meanwhile, Khizr Khan, the governor of Multan and Timur's deputy in Hindustan, who had been watching the disordered state of things, advanced upon Delhi, and after a siege of four months compelled Daulat Khan to surrender on May 23, 1414 A.D. Fortune befriended Khizr Khan ; he easily acquired possession of Delhi and laid the foundations of a new dynasty.

CHAPTER XIII

DISINTEGRATION

(i) The rise of smaller principalities.

Malwa.

IN the tenth century the kingdom of Malwa fell into the hands of the Parmar Rajputs, and under their rule it attained to great prominence. During the reign of Raja Bhoja of Dhara, rightly called the Augustus of India, Malwa became very famous. In 1235 Iltutmish raided Ujjain and demolished the famous temple of Mahākāli. Alauddin conquered it in 1310, and from that time it continued to be held by Muslim governors until the break-up of the kingdom of Delhi after the death of Firuz Tughluq. In 1401 Dilāwar Khan, a descendant of Muhammad Ghori and one of the fief-holders of Firuz Tughluq, established his independence during the period of confusion that followed the invasion of Timur, and made Dhar the capital of his kingdom.[1] Dilāwar was succeeded by his son, Alap Khan, under the title of Hushang Shah (1405—1434 A.D.), who transferred his capital to Mandu, which he adorned with many beautiful buildings. The situation of Malwa and the fertility of its lands involved it in wars with the neighbouring kingdoms of Delhi, Jaunpur, and Gujarat, which greatly taxed her resources. Hushang was defeated in a war with Gujarat and was taken prisoner, but he was soon liberated and restored to his kingdom. He was succeeded by his son Ghazni Khan, a worthless debauchee, who was murdered by his minister, Mahmud Khan,[2]

[1] Firishta has given a connected account of the kings of Malwa. See Briggs, IV, pp. 167—279.

[2] Mahmud Khilji was the son of Malik Mughis Khilji. Both father and son acted as ministers to Hushang. Hushang's son, Ghazni Khan, who assumed the title of Muhammad Ghori, was married to the sister of Mahmud Khilji. Being a debauchee and a drunkard, he left the business of the state entirely in the hands of Mahmud Khilji, whose ambition led him to imprison his royal patron. Briggs, IV, pp. 186, 191, 193. Elliot, IV, pp. 552—54.

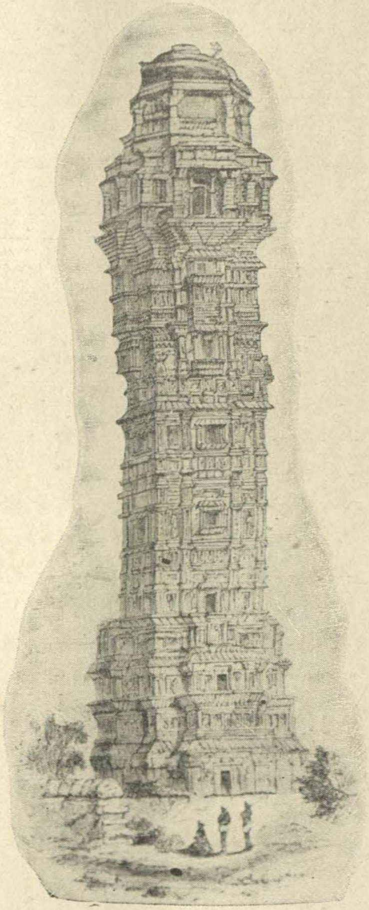
a Khilji Turk, who usurped the throne and assumed the honours of royalty. Under Mahmud Khilji (1436—69 A.D.) Malwa rose to be a powerful and prosperous kingdom, and its ruler established his fame as a great general and warrior all over Hindustan by his unending wars with the rulers of Rajputana, Gujarat, and the Sultans of the Bahmani dynasty. Mahmud, like Charles XII of Sweden, was a prodigy of valour, and his fondness for war was so great that his whole life was spent in the military camp. As an administrator he was just and generous, and Firishta writes of him: "Sultan Mahmud was polite, brave, just, and learned; and during his reign, his subjects, Muhammadans as well as Hindus, were happy, (and) maintained a friendly intercourse with each other. Scarcely a year passed that he did not take the field, so that his tent became his home, and the field of battle, his resting place. His leisure hours were devoted to hearing the histories and memoirs of the courts of different kings of the earth read."[1]

Mahmud Khilji greatly enlarged his dominion, which extended in the south to the Satpura range, in the west to the frontier of Gujarat, on the east to Bundelkhand, and on the north to Mewar and Herauti. In 1440 the ambitious Sultan proceeded against Delhi, which was in a state of decline, but Bahlol Lodi successfully resisted his advance. His war with Rana Kumbha of Chittor about the same time was indecisive. Both sides claimed the victory. The Rana commemorated his triumph by building the "Tower of Victory" at Chittor, while the Khilji war-lord erected a seven-storied tower at Mandu as a monument of his success.[2]

[1] But Abul Fazl somewhat unjustly pours his indignation upon the Sultan when he says: "Upon such a wretch in its wondrous vicissitudes thus did Fortune smile and the awe he inspired secured him the tranquil possession of power." Jarrett, Ain-i-Akbari, II, p. 220.

[2] Lane-Poole's statement that Mahmud Khilji's war with Rana Kumbha ended in a crushing defeat of the former is probably based upon Rajput chronicles. Mediæval India, p. 174. Tod's Annals and Antiquities edited by Crooke, I, pp. 334-35.

Fergusson, History of Indian Architecture, II, p. 59. According to Tod the Rana inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Sultan and



Pillar of Victory at Chittore.

Mahmud was succeeded by his son Ghiyās-ud-din in 1469 A.D., who was poisoned to death by his son Nasir-ud-din, who ascended the throne in 1500 A.D.[1] Nasir-ud-din's murder of his father does not seem to have shocked Muslim sentiment at the time it was committed, but nearly a century later it received a most scathing condemnation from Jahangir, who ordered the ashes of the parricide to be cast into the fire.

Nasir-ud-din turned out a miserable sensualist and a brutal tyrant, and Jahangir's informant told him, when he visited the place in 1617, that there were 15,000 women in his *haram*, accomplished in all arts and crafts, and that whenever he heard of a beautiful virgin, he would not desist until he obtained possession of her.[2] Death came to him in a manner in which he deserved to die. In a fit of drunkenness, when he fell into the Kaliyadaha lake, none of his attendants had the courage to pull him out, for he had mercilessly punished them for similar service on a previous occasion, and he was left to be drowned. He was succeeded in 1510 by Mahmud II, who called in the Rajputs to curb the turbulence of the Muslim oligarchy which had become powerful in the state. He appointed a Rajput nobleman, Medini Rao, to the office of minister with the result that Rajput influence became predominant at his court. Distrustful of the motives of his powerful minister, he called in the aid of Muzzaffar Shah, king of Gujarat, to expel him and re-establish his power.[3] A believer in the efficacy of the sword, Mahmud

kept him as a prisoner in Chittor for 6 months. Har Bilas Sarda bases his account on Tod.

H. B. Sarda, Maharana Kumbha, pp. 27-28.

Archæological Survey Report, XXIII, p. 112.

[1] For the story of this murder see Memoirs of Jahangir edited by Rogers and Beveridge, I, pp. 365–67.

[2] Jahangir's Memoirs edited by Rogers and Beveridge, I, p. 366.
Iqbalnama Jahangiri, text (Biblioth. Ind.), p. 99.

[3] Abul Fazl writes : " Mahmud, through his ungracious treatment of his followers, fell into misfortune, but was again restored in power by the aid of Sultan Muzzaffar Shah II of Gujarat." Jarrett, Ain-i-Akbari, II, pp. 220-21.

In a foot-note Jarrett says (p. 221), " The loyalty of Medini Rao, though proved under the greatest trials, did not disarm the king's

came into conflict with Rana Sanga, the redoubtable ruler of Mewar, who captured him, but with the magnanimity of a Rajput released him afterwards and restored him to his kingdom. The unwise Sultan who ill-appreciated this act of generosity again led an attack upon the Rana's successor, but he was captured by his ally, Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, who defeated and executed him.[1] All the male members of the royal house were put to death, the sole survivor being one who was at Humayun's court. The kingdom of Malwa was annexed to Gujarat in 1531 and continued to be a part of it until it was conquered by Humayun. Humayun expelled Bahadur Shah from Malwa in 1535 and defeated him at Mandasor and Mandu. When the sovereignty of Delhi passed into the hands of Sher Shah, he entrusted the province to one of his co-adjutors, Shujat Khan, who was succeeded on his death by his son, Malik Bayazid, known as Baz Bahadur, so famous in folk-lore and legend by reason of his passionate attachment to the beautiful and accomplished princess, Rūpmati of Sarangpur. In 1562 the conquest of Malwa was effected with terrible cruelty by Akbar's generals, Adam Khan and Pir Muhammad, and it was annexed to the Mughal empire. Baz Bahadur after a futile struggle acknowledged Akbar as his suzerain and received the command of 2,000 horse as a mark of royal favour.

Gujarat.

The province of Gujarat by reason of its fertility, wealth, and other natural resources had always attracted the foreign invaders. Her forts of Cambay, Surat, and Broach had been the emporia of overseas trade from time immemorial, and through them flowed the commerce of the countries of Europe and Asia. The coasts of Gujarat were known to the early Alexandrian traders. Barygaza or Bharukacha, now Broach, was the great emporium of trade in

suspicions, and he fled to the court of Gujarat in 1547 A.D. It appears the blame rested with the Sultan who had an unreasonable fear and distrust of the minister."

[1] Abul Fazl says that he was conveyed to the fortress of Champanir, but on his way he was put to death in 1526 A.D. Jarrett, Ain-i-Akbari, II, p. 221.

ancient times, and Indian trade with Arabia and the Red Sea passed through it.[1] Mahmud of Ghazni was the first Muslim invader, whose famous raid upon the temple of Somnath was the prelude to further Muslim invasions. But the permanent conquest of Gujarat was not attempted until the reign of Alauddin Khilji, who annexed it to the Sultanate of Delhi in 1297. The province was henceforward held by Muslim governors who were subordinate to the rulers of Delhi, but whose loyalty fluctuated according to the strength or weakness of the central government. After the invasion of Timur, when the affairs of the Delhi kingdom fell into confusion, Zafar Khan, the governor, assumed the position of an independent prince in 1401 and formally withdrew his allegiance. His son Tatar Khan conspired with some of the discontented nobles to get rid of his father, who was an obstacle to his assumption of royal dignity. He threw him into confinement and assumed royal honours under the title of Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Shah in 1403.[2] But this glory was short-lived, for he was soon afterwards poisoned by Shams Khan, one of his father's confidants. Zafar Khan was brought from Asawal, and with the consent of

[1] Tazjiyat-ul-amsar, Elliot, III, p. 31.

Wassāf who wrote towards the close of the thirteenth century speaks of the wealth and prosperity of the country, its salubrious climate and the amazing fertility of its soil. A full account of the Gujarat kingdom will be found in vol. 25 of the journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

[2] Smith (Oxford History, p. 268) says that Zafar Khan placed his son Tatar Khan upon the throne. But the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* states as a result of his enquiry that Tatar Khan conspired with the enemies of his father to obtain the throne. Bayley, Local Muhammadan Dynasties, pp. 81-82.

Burgess, Archæological Survey, Western India, VI, p. 10.

Elphinstone thus describes the extent of the province of Gujarat:

"When Gujarat separated from Delhi, the territory over which Zafar Khan ruled was very small in extent. On the north-west were the independent Rajas of Jalor and Sirohi. The Raja of Idar was in possession of the western part of the hills, while the rest of the hilly country was held by the Bhils and Kols, among whom some Rajput princes had formed petty states. The peninsula of Kathiawad was in the hands of some of the Hindu tribes, who had mostly come from Kacha and Sindh at different periods some centuries before. The real possessions, therefore, of these kings only included the strip of land between the hills and the sea, and, even of that the eastern part belonged to a Raja who resided in the fort of Champanir."

the nobles and officers of the army he assumed the honours of royalty under the title of Muzaffar Shah. He subdued Dhar and undertook several other expeditions to consolidate his power. But four years later he was poisoned by his grandson Ahmad Shah who was anxious to usurp the throne for himself.

Ahmad Shah, 1411—1441 A.D.

He was the true founder of the independence of Gujarat. A brave and warlike prince, he spent his whole life in waging wars and conquering territories to enlarge the boundaries of his small kingdom. In the first year of his reign he built the city of Ahmadabad on the left bank of the Sabarmati river near the old town of Asawal, and adorned it with beautiful buildings, and invited artisans and merchants to settle there. Like his contemporary Firuz Bahmani, he was a zealot in the cause of the faith and waged relentless wars against the Hindus, whose temples were destroyed, and whose leaders were forced to embrace Islam. In 1414 he marched against the Hindus of Girnar, defeated Rai Mandalik and captured the fort of Junagarh. A year later, he employed his arms in destroying the temple of Sidhpur, and in 1416 he marched against Dhar, but he was met by the envoys of Hushang, who offered apologies on behalf of their master. But Ahmad who had set his heart upon the conquest of Malwa, did not rest satisfied with mere expressions of regret and as soon as he was able to recruit his strength, he marched against Malwa in 1421 and laid siege to Mandu. Hushang who knew how to deal with such a formidable adversary again sent his envoys, who implored him to desist from the task of ravaging the lands of Islam and to grant forgiveness to Hushang, who repented of his conduct and promised fealty in the future. Hushang's plenipotentiaries secured pardon for him, but his perfidious attack upon the Gujarat army led to two sharp conflicts in which he suffered a severe defeat.

The next three years were devoted to the organisation of the civil administration, but Ahmad Shah who took delight in war soon turned his arms against Rao Punja of Īdar, who had

carried on treasonable correspondence with Hushang. The Raja fled, but he was overtaken and beheaded, and his territories were made over to his son, who purchased his safety by the payment of a heavy tribute. The last notable expedition was undertaken by the Sultan in 1437 to assist Prince Masud Khan, grandson of his arch-enemy, Hushang of Malwa, who had fled from the tyranny of Mahmud Khilji, the murderer of his father and the usurper of his ancestral dominions. Mandu was besieged and the usurper Mahmud Khilji was defeated in a hotly contested engagement. But the sudden outbreak of a severe epidemic spoiled the fruits of victory, and the Sultan, powerless against such an enemy, was obliged to beat a hasty retreat towards Ahmadabad, where he breathed his last in 1441.

Ahmad Shah was a brave and warlike prince ; he was a zealous champion of the faith. As long as he lived, he practised the observances of Islam and looked upon war against the Hindus as a religious duty. His love of justice was unequalled. The claims of birth, rank, or kinship were nothing in his eyes, and on one occasion, he had his son-in-law publicly executed in the bazar in circumstances of exceptional barbarity for the murder of an innocent person. The author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* justly observes that the " effect of this exemplary punishment lasted from the beginning to the end of the Sultan's reign, and no noble or soldier was concerned in murder."

Ahmad Shah was succeeded by his son Muhammad Shah who was styled as "*Zar bakhsha*" or "bestower of gold." He marched against Champanir, but the Raja called in the aid of the ruler of Malwa, and the combined armies of Malwa and Champanir put him to flight. His nobles conspired against him and caused his death by poison in 1451. His son Qutb-ud-din, who was placed upon the throne, spent a large part of his time in expeditions against the Rana of Chittor. After a short reign of eight years and a half he died in 1459, and was succeeded by his uncle Daud, a notorious profligate, who by his meanness of character so

offended the nobles that within a week of his accession to the throne they deposed him and installed in his place Fatah Khan, a grandson of Ahmad Shah, under the title of Mahmud, commonly known as Mahmud Bīgaraha, in 862 A.H. (1458 A.D.).

Mahmud Bīgaraha, 1458—1511 A.D.

Mahmud Bīgaraha may rightly be called the greatest of the Gujarat kings. The author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* pronounces a fulsome eulogy upon this "pattern of excellence," and praises his generosity, gallantry and love of justice. A highly amusing description of the Sultan is given by the same authority in these words:[1]

"Notwithstanding his high dignity and royalty, he had an enormous appetite. The full daily allowance of food for the Sultan was one *man* of Gujarat weight.[2] In eating this he put aside five *sirs* of boiled rice, and before going to sleep he used to make it up into a pasty and place one half of it on the right-hand side of his couch and the other half on the left, so that on whichever side he awoke he might find something to eat, and might then go to sleep again. In the morning after saying his prayers, he took a cup full of honey and a cup of butter with a hundred or a hundred and fifty golden plantains. He often used to say, 'If God had not raised Mahmud to the throne of Gujarat, who would have satisfied his hunger?'"

His earliest exploit was the deliverance of Nizam Shah Bahmani from Mahmud Khilji of Malwa, who had invaded his territories in 1461-62. In 1467 he attacked Rai Mandalik of Junagarh, and after repeated invasions conquered Surat and annexed it to his dominions.

Mahmud invaded Kutch next and completely defeated the Sumra and Sodha chiefs. The pirates of Jagat (Dwarka) were

[1] Mirat-i-Sikandari, Khudabakhsha MS., f. 217.
Bayley, Local Muhammadan Dynasties, p. 162.

[2] The Gujarat *man* was probably of 40 lbs. of weight. Edalji Dosabhi, History of Gujarat, p. 94.

There are curious legends relating to this Sultan current among the people. It is said that his skin was so saturated with poison that if a fly chanced to settle upon his person, it died at once.

the next to feel the force of his arms ; he attacked the island with his fleet, inflicted a crushing defeat upon Bhima, the chief of Dwarka, and took him prisoner. The captive chieftain was sent to Ahmadabad, where he was hacked to pieces, and the fragments of his corpse were hung over the city gates as a fitting punishment for his improper conduct towards the Mulla of Samarqand, whose wives and property had been seized by the pirates. He led foraging expeditions into the Champanir territory, and in 1482 when the Rawal of Champanir killed one of Mahmud's officers, who was engaged in these forays, the Sultan declared war upon him. The ruler of Malwa marched to the rescue of the Rawal, but a demonstration of force by Mahmud so frightened him that he withdrew. The Rawal had to fight single-handed against heavy odds ; the brave Rajputs held out obstinately for long, but at last they had to surrender. Champanir was taken in 1484, and the forlorn hope of the beleaguered garrison was put to the sword by the pitiless Muslims. Mahmud built a wall round the town of Champanir in commemoration of his victory and rechristened it Muhammadabad.

War with the Portuguese.

Towards the close of his reign in 1507 he led an expedition against the Portuguese, who had securely established themselves on the Western Coast, and cut off the trade of the Muslims. He allied himself with the Sultan of Turkey, who with a view to put an end to the Portuguese interference with overland trade fitted out a fleet of twelve ships and despatched 15,000 men, commanded by Mir Hozem, to attack their possessions in India. The projected joint expedition alarmed Almeida the Portuguese viceroy, who sent his son, Dom Lourenço, with eight men-of-war to guard the factories at Cannanore and Cochin. The Portuguese had to fight against heavy odds, and the pusillanimous war-council which the viceroy summoned urged upon Dom Lourenço the futility of risking an engagement, but the valiant and youthful hero spurned such counsels of prudence and determined to fight. The Muslims began the

attack near Chaul, south of Bombay ; a ball broke Dom Lourenço's thigh, but he stuck to his post of duty encouraging his crew, until another ball broke his back and felled him to the ground. The assault of the Moors succeeded ; they sank a Portuguese ship laden with valuable cargo, and Malik Az, the governor of Diu, was richly rewarded for this brilliant exploit by his master.[1] But the Portuguese quickly recovered from the effects of this defeat through the vigour and energy of Almeida and Albuquerque, and two years later in 1509, they inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Muslim fleet near Diu in Kathiawad. Mir Hozem was wounded in action, and the Muslim ships were plundered and burnt. The victory established the power of the Portuguese on the sea-coast, and gave them an undisputed command over the sea-borne trade.

Death of the Sultan.

After a glorious reign of 52 years, an unusually long period, the Sultan died in 1511. He was a great monarch ; his personal habits became known even in Europe.[2] As long as he lived, he ruled with great ability and vigour, and the Muslim chronicler speaks of his reign in these words :—

"He added glory and lustre to the kingdom of Gujarat, and was the best of all the Gujarat kings, including all who preceded, and all who succeeded him ; and whether for abounding justice and generosity ; for success in religious war, and for the diffusion of the laws of Islam and of Musalmans ; for soundness of judgment, alike in boyhood, in manhood, and in old age ; for power, for valour, and victory—he was a pattern of excellence."[3]

[1] Gerson da Cunha, History of Chaul and Bassein, p. 29.
The accounts of the Portuguese chroniclers and Muslim historians vary as to the actual losses in battle but both parties are agreed on the point that the Portuguese received a check.

[2] His mustaches were so long that he used to tie them over his head and his beard flowed down to the waist.

[3] Mirat-i-Sikandari, Bayley, Local Muhammadan Dynasties of Gujarat, p. 161.

Mahmud Bīgaraha was succeeded by his son, Khalil Khan, under the title of Muzaffar Shah II, who defeated the Rajputs and reinstated Mahmud Khilji of Malwa in his throne. The next ruler Sikandar Shah, who came to the throne in 1526, was assassinated after a brief reign of about three and a half months. His brother, Nasir Khan Mahmud II, who was raised to the throne by the assassins had to make room for the more ambitious and daring Bahadur, who deprived him of his kingdom and executed Imad-ul-Mulk, his principal supporter, on the 20th August, 1526.

Bahadur Shah, 1526—1537 A.D.

Bahadur was a brave and warlike prince ; his gallantry on the field of battle and his chivalry have won him an undying fame in mediæval history. Soon after he came to the throne in 1526, he embarked upon a career of ceaseless conquests. The efforts of the Portuguese to acquire possession of Diu were frustrated. The Sultan twice invaded the Deccan to rescue the rulers of Khandesh and Berar from the persecutions of Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. His restless temperament allowed him no rest, and when the Rana of Chittor complained of the highhandedness of Mahmud Khilji of Malwa, Bahadur marched at the head of a large army and laid siege to Mandu, which was captured without much fighting in 1531. The fall of Mandu was followed by the conquest of Virangam and Mandal in Jhalawad, and Raisin, Bhilsa, and Chanderi in Malwa. The famous fortress of Chittor was stormed in 1534. But the Sultan had incurred the displeasure of Humayun, the emperor of Delhi, by giving shelter to a political refugee whose surrender was demanded by the emperor. Bahadur's reply, couched in insolent language, so offended Humayun that he marched against Gujarat at the head of a considerable force, while Bahadur was occupied with his renewed attack on Chittor. The emperor followed up his success, captured Mandu and Champanir and made himself master of Gujarat. But luckily for Bahadur, Sher Khan's rebellion in Bengal obliged him to return to the capital leaving his brother, Mirza

Askari, in charge of the province. Bahadur, collecting a large force of about 40 thousand horse, took advantage of the emperor's absence, defeated the imperialists near Muhammadabad and recovered possession of Gujarat. But he had to encounter a more deadly enemy in the Portuguese, whose aid he had solicited against Humayun. When he tried to expel them from Diu, where he had previously permitted them to build a factory, he met with stout resistance. Bahadur acted rightly in dealing with the Portuguese in this manner, for they had fortified Diu and collected guns and ammunition, and had thus attempted to create an *imperium in imperio*. To effect this object, he wrote letters to the princes of the Deccan, inviting them to assist him in his projected enterprise, but these letters were intercepted by the Portuguese, who, frightened by Bahadur's plans, secretly hatched a plot to take his life.[1] Bahadur, who suspected no treachery, was induced to pay a visit to Nuno da Cunha, the Portuguese governor, but the interview proved fatal. He was barbarously murdered on board ship in February, 1537, when he was only 31 years of age.[2] There is little doubt that the murder was premeditated. After Baha-

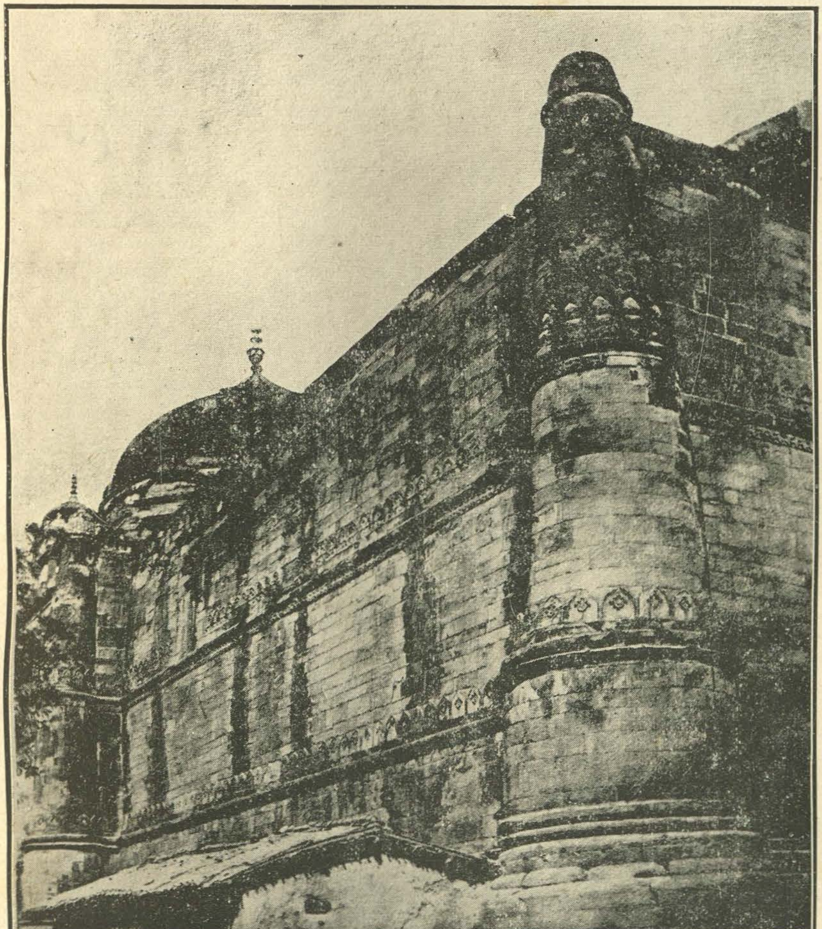
[1] Mirat-i-Sikandari, Khudabakhsha MS., f. 305.

[2] Different accounts of this tragic incident have been given by Portuguese and Muslim writers and much partisan bias has entered into the discussion. But a close examination of the evidence that exists warrants the assumption that the Portuguese meant treachery.

The author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* clearly states that the Portuguese governor had already made his treacherous preparations. He says that the king went to see a fleet of Portuguese ships notwithstanding the warning given by his six nobles, whose names he mentions, and was killed with a spear by a Portuguese assassin. Mirat-i-Sikandari, Khudabakhsha MS., f. 304.

Bayley, Local Muhammadan Dynasties of Gujarat, pp. 396-97.

Haji-ud-Dabir, who is a trustworthy authority, substantially corroborates the account given by the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*. He writes that the Sultan, in spite of the dissuasions of his courtiers, went to pay a visit to the Portuguese governor, who feigned illness and said that he could not even move. He went and sat near him, but soon left the place in spite of the Bazri's request to remain with him a little longer. At a signal from Bazri, the Portuguese ships surrounded the Sultan's barge and a fearful scene was enacted. The



Jam-i-Masjid South-West Exterior, Jaunpur.

dur's death Gujarat fell into a state of anarchy and disorder. Rival factions set up puppet kings who followed one another in rapid succession. Such disorders continued until the annexation of the province to the Mughal empire by Akbar in 1572.

Jaunpur.

When Firuz undertook his second expedition against Sikandar Shah of Bengal in 1359-60 A.D., he was obliged to halt at Zafrabad[1] during the rains. It was there that he conceived the idea of founding a town in the neighbourhood which might serve as a *point d' appui* for his military operations in Bengal. On the bank of the river Gumti he caused a new town to be built, which was named Jaunpur to commemorate the name of his illustrious cousin, Muhammad Jūnā, and spared no pains to make it beautiful and attractive. In 1376, when a fresh distribution of territories was made to safeguard the frontiers of the empire, Jaunpur and Zafrabad fell to the lot of Malik Bahrūz Sultan, who in a short time put down the Hindu revolts. After the death of Firuz in 1388, nothing of importance occurred in the

Sultan fought bravely, but one of the men of Bazri thrust a spear into his breast. The Sultan fell down into the sea and was drowned.

Arabic History of Gujarat, edited by Denison Ross, I, p. 262.

For further references see the following :—

Danvers, The Portuguese in India, I, p. 426.

Whiteway, The Rise of Portuguese Power in India, pp. 248-49.

Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 224.

Arabic History of Gujarat, edited by Denison Ross, I, pp. 260—62.

Briggs' elaborate note in which he discusses at length the subject of Bahadur's death. Vol. IV, pp. 132—41 (London, 1829).

Shaikh Zainuddin, the author of the *Tuhfatul mujahidin fi baz ahwal al-Purtagalin* (Arabic text, Lisbon ed., p. 59), clearly states that the Sultan was killed by the Portuguese.

[1] Zafrabad was an old town. The inscription on the gate of the palace of *Hazarat-i-Chiragh-i-Hind* shows that the name was known in 721 A.H. in the time of Ghiyās-ud-din Tughluq, king of Delhi. It is a mistake to think that the town was founded by Prince Zafar, governor of Firuz Tughluq, in 1360 A.D.

The last line of the inscription runs thus : " As the city was acquired by conquest and re-peopled, it was given the name of Zafrabad."

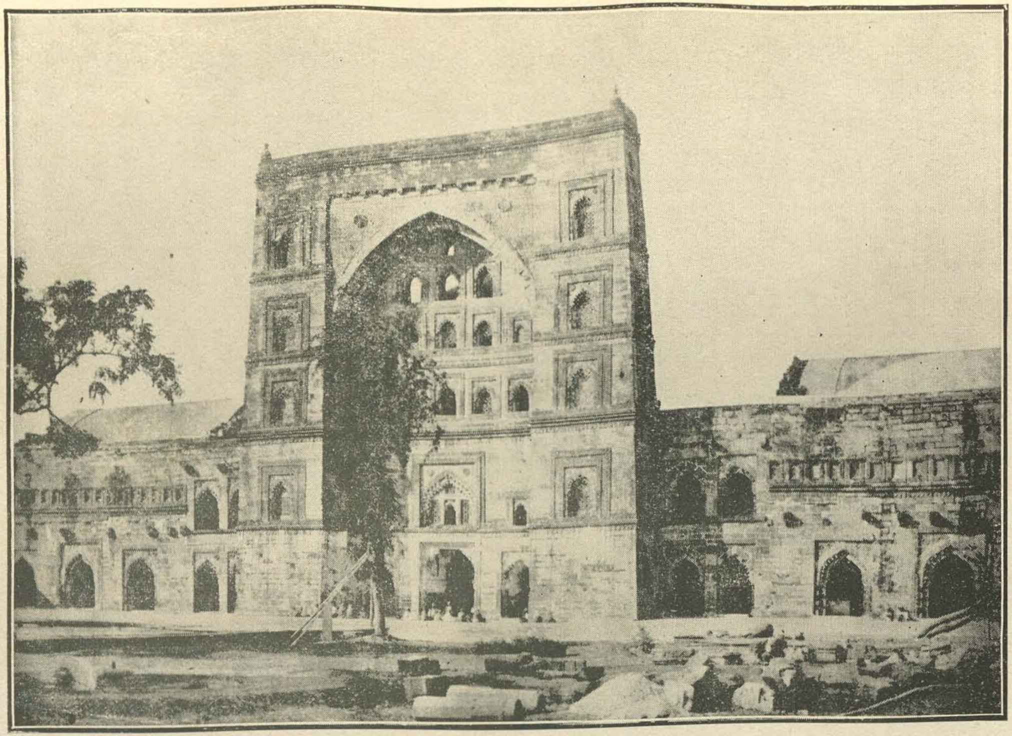
Fasih-ud-din, The Sharqi Monuments of Jaunpur, p. 105 (Inscription No. 1).

Also see Führer's note on Zafrabad in " The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur, " pp. 64—66.

history of Jaunpur until the rise to power of Khwājā Jahān in the reign of Muhammad. Khwājā Jahān, whose real name was Sarwar, was a eunuch, who had attained to high position by sheer dint of merit. The title of Khwājā Jahān was conferred upon him in 1389, and he was elevated to the rank of a wazir. A little later, when the affairs of the fiefs of Hindustan fell into confusion through the turbulence of the "base infidels," Khwājā Jahān received from Mahmud Tughluq in 1394 the title of "Malik-us-sharq" or lord of the east, and the administration of all Hindustan from Kanauj to Bihar was entrusted to him. Forthwith the new governor marched into the interior of the Doab, and suppressing the rebellions in Etawah, Kol, and Kanauj, proceeded to Jaunpur to assume charge of his office. Fortune smiled upon the Khwājā, and in a short time he brought under his sway the fiefs of Kanauj, Kara, Oudh, Sandila, Dalmau, Bahraich, Bihar, and Tirhut, and subdued the refractory Hindu chieftains. So great was his power that the Rai of Jajnagar and the ruler of Lakhnauti acknowledged his authority, and sent him the number of elephants which they had formerly sent as tribute to Delhi.[1] The confusion and anarchy caused by Timur's invasion favoured Khwājā's ambitious plans, and he declared himself independent and assumed the title of Atabak-i-Āzam.

The assumption of the royal title was no empty boast, for the Khwājā transmitted his authority intact to his adopted son, Qaranfal, a nephew of Saiyyad Khizr Khan, who was afterwards elevated to kingly dignity. When the storm of Timur's invasion had passed away, Mallu Iqbal Khan at the head of a large force marched against the ruler of Jaunpur, who struck his own coins, and styled himself in the Khutbā as Mubarak Shah Sharqi. But the want of supplies compelled both parties to retreat after two months of weary waiting. Shortly afterwards Mubarak died and was succeeded by his

[1] Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, Elliot, IV, p. 29.



Jam-i-Masjid, Jaunpur.

younger brother, Ibramim, a man of versatile talents who called himself Shams-ud-din Ibrahim Shah Sharqi. Mahmud Tughluq who was a puppet in the hands of Iqbal Khan wished to escape from the latter's galling tutelage. While Iqbal was encamped at Kanauj, Mahmud effected his escape under the pretext of going on a hunting excursion, approached Ibrahim, and solicited his aid against Iqbal. But Ibrahim was not the man to pick chestnuts out of the fire for a doubtful friend, and he treated him with studied reserve. Thus disappointed and humiliated, Mahmud returned to the Delhi army and quietly took possession of Kanauj. Iqbal Khan made an attempt to recover the place, but Mahmud offered successful resistance in 1405.

Iqbal's unexpected death in a battle against Khizr Khan, the governor of Multan, left the field clear for Mahmud, and some of the Amirs at Delhi invited him to take charge of government. Ibrahim judged it a favourable opportunity to recover his lost fief of Kanauj, but he was opposed by the Delhi army, and after some months of "long halting and slight skirmishing" he withdrew to Jaunpur. Mahmud returned to Delhi, but no sooner was his back turned than Ibrahim mobilised his forces and captured Kanauj after a siege of four months. Success emboldened him to carry his inroads into the Delhi territory in 1407, but the news of the advance of Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat, who had overpowered the ruler of Dhar, compelled him to abandon the conquered districts of Sambhal and Bulandshahar and to return to Jaunpur.[1] Soon afterwards Ibrahim marched against Qadr Khan of Kalpi, but he had to abandon the siege. Meanwhile a great change was brought about in Delhi politics by the defeat of Daulat Khan Lodi by Khizr Khan and the latter's installation in the throne on May 23, 1414.

[1] The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* writes:—
"Having passed the rainy season in Kanauj, Ibrahim marched against Delhi in the month of Jamad-al-awwal in 810 A.H. The fort of Sambhal was taken on the way, and after its capture Ibrahim marched towards Delhi intending to cross the Jamna at the ford of Kicha." Elliot, IV, p. 41.

Ibrahim now enjoyed unbroken peace for 15 years and during this period he devoted himself to the encouragement of art and the improvement of administration. To his court flocked eminent men of letters attracted by his bounty, who made Jaunpur a famous seat of Muslim learning in the east, and left traditions which are remembered even to this day. From the anarchy of the time caused by the disappearance of a strong central power and the storm of Timur's invasion, literary men sought refuge at his court and were cordially received by him. The most famous among them was Qazi Shihab-ud-din Malik-ul-ulama, a refugee from Delhi, whom Abul Fazl mentions as a man widely famous for his wisdom and learning. In order to show his gratitude to this Medici of the east, he dedicated to him several of his works such as the *Sharah-i-Hindi* and *Ishrad-al-nahwa*. The long interval of peace made possible the construction of beautiful buildings, and in 1408 was finished the famous Atala mosque, which stands to this day as a monument of Ibrahim's magnificent architectural tastes.[1]

But peace did not last long. The peculiar circumstances of the time rapidly brought about a collision between Delhi and Jaunpur. Ibrahim and his successors contended for years against the rulers of Delhi ; and these wars will be described in their proper place.

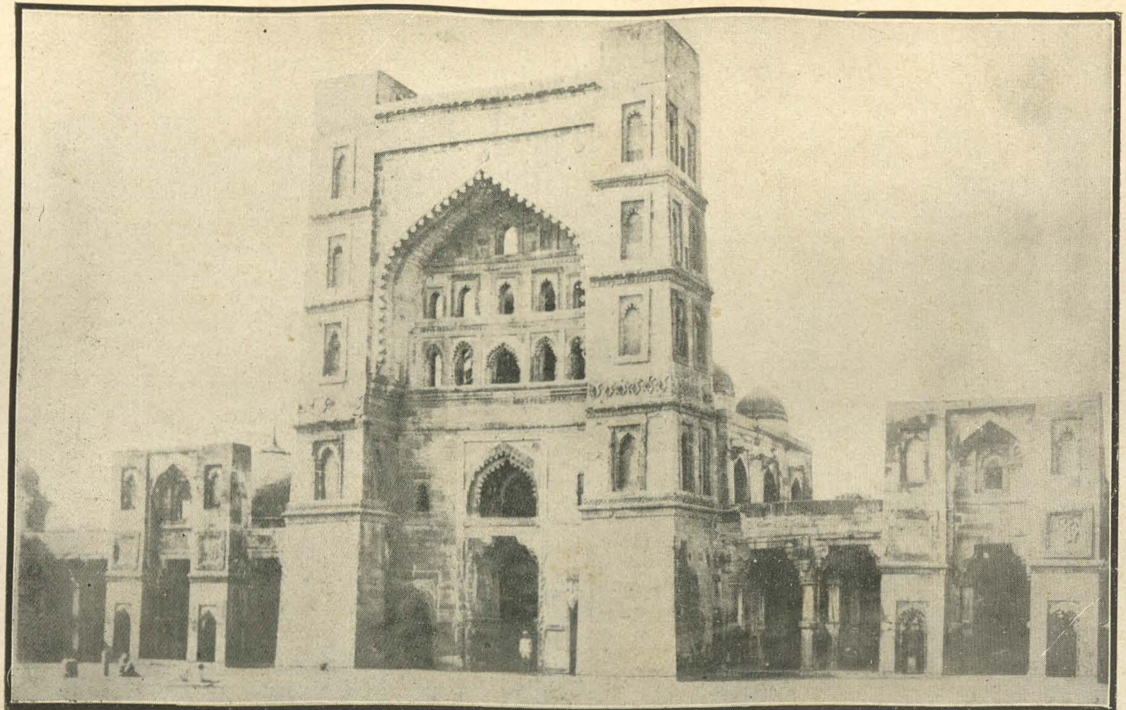
It was the timid policy of Firuz Tughluq which led to the final separation of the province of Bengal from the empire.[2]

Bengal.

The wars between Firuz and Shams-ud-din and his successor, Sikandar Shah, have been described in detail in a previous chapter. Although

[1] The Atala mosque was finished in 1408.
Führer, The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur, p. 38.

[2] The independence of Bengal dates from the time when Fakhr-ud-din, the armour-bearer of Qadr Khan, proclaimed himself ruler of Sonārgāon. Firuz might have conquered it, but his fear of shedding Muslim blood prevented him from doing so. Bengal in the 14th century was in a highly prosperous condition. Ibn Batūtā who visited



Atala Devi Mosque, Jaunpur.

these rulers occasionally sent presents to the emperor, they were to all intents and purposes independent. The dynasty of Ilyās Shah came to an end in 817 A.H. (1414 A.D.) when power was usurped by a certain Hindu Zamindar Gaṇeśa whom the Muslim chroniclers call Kāns. According to the *Riyāz*, Raja Kāns, Zamindar of Bathuriah, attacked the Muslim ruler Shams-ud-din, slew him and usurped the throne. This is in agreement with the account given in the *Advaita Prakāśa*, a religious work of the Vaiṣṇava sect written in 1568-69 A.D. Raja Gaṇeśa usurped the throne, but it is not clear whether he exercised sovereignty in his own name or acted for the puppet king. The Augustan age of Lakhnauti began with the establishment of the power of the Husaini dynasty towards the close of the fifteenth century. The first ruler, Husain Shah (1493—1519 A.D.), was a Saiyyad of Arab descent and a man of remarkable ability who enjoyed the confidence of all his chiefs. He dismissed the Abyssinian troops and reduced the corps of Paiks who, like the Turkish Janissaries, had dethroned kings in the past, and formed a body-guard of his own called *Serhungs* who guarded his person. In the early part of his reign he received hospitably Husain Shah, king of Jaunpur, who had fled towards Bengal, pressed hard by Bahlol Lodi, Sultan of Delhi. He granted him a pension and allowed him to live in a manner befitting his dignity. Himself a man of noble descent, he employed men of respectable families in the service of the state. He fully consolidated his authority in all parts of his kingdom and 'the tributary Rajas, as far as Orissa, paid implicit obedience to his commands ; nor was there a single rebellion or insurrection during his reign.' He treated his subjects with kindness and tried to promote their welfare. He built public mosques and hospitals in every district and granted pensions to learned and holy men. He created an

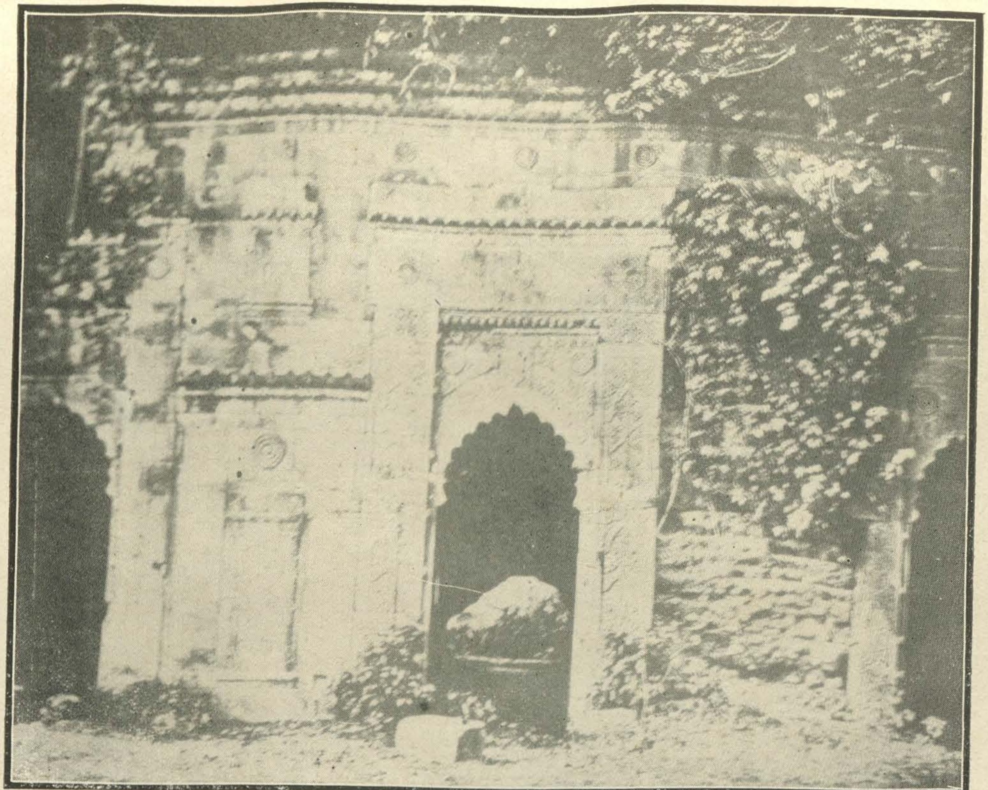
Bengal in Fakhr-ud-din's time speaks of the cheap prices that prevailed there.

Ibn Batūtā, Paris Ed., IV, pp. 212-13.

For the Husaini dynasty see J. A. S. B., 1909, pp. 204-5.

endowment for the support of the tomb, college and hospital of the saint Qutb-ul-Alum, which continues to this day. Husain Shah left eighteen sons, of whom Nusrat Shah, who was the ablest, succeeded to the throne in 1518 A.D. Nusrat Shah was a remarkable ruler. His power was so extensive that Babar in his *Memoirs* speaks of him as one of the five great Musalman princes with formidable armies. Taking advantage of the weakness of the empire of Delhi under Ibrahim, Nusrat Shah broke the treaty and recovered some of the districts which had been seized by the Delhi Sultan. He attacked Tirhut and proceeded as far as Munghir which he captured and entrusted to Qutb Khan, one of his best generals. When Babar conquered Hindustan he placated him by sending presents and afforded shelter to the Afghan prince Mahmud, who sought refuge at his court. Nusrat was a patron of art and literature but his temper was harsh and overbearing. The repeated acts of tyranny which he committed offended all those who came in contact with him. Even his private servants were dissatisfied with his treatment and when they could no longer bear his tyranny, they conspired against him and put him to death. Nusrat Shah was fond of buildings. In 1525 he built the *Barā Sonā Masjid* (Large Golden Mosque), a massive structure with a large corridor 150 feet long, and in 1530 the *Qadam Rasūl* (Foot of the Prophet), of which a full mention will be made in another place.

After Nusrat's death in 1530 his son Alauddin Firuz Shah succeeded to the throne, but he was murdered by his uncle who ascended the throne under the title of Sultan Ghiyās-ud-din Mahmud Shah IV (1533—38). He is described by the Portuguese writer, Correa, as a highly uxorious person who had ten thousand women in his *haram*. It was at this time that Sher Khan became very powerful in Bihar. He made war upon Mahmud and besieged him in Gaur. Mahmud appealed to Humayun for help, but the latter found it impossible to restore him to his throne. Shortly afterwards he died of injuries received on the field of battle.



The Eunuch's Mosque at Gour.

Sher Khan entered Gaur and became master of Bengal. With the death of Mahmud, as Stewart writes in his 'History of Bengal,' terminated the line of the independent kings of Bengal who had ruled that country for 204 years. There were others after him who called themselves kings of Gaur, but their dominions were small in extent and their right was not acknowledged by their contemporaries. The Afghans remained in power in Bengal until 1576 when Dāūd was overpowered by Akbar and the whole province was annexed to the Mughal empire. Bengal was prosperous under the Husaini dynasty and the people were happy and contented. The Portuguese writer, De Barros, thus describes the magnificence and wealth of the country under the Husaini dynasty : 'The chief city of the kingdom is called Gouro (Gaur). It is situated on the banks of the Ganges, and is said to be three of our leagues in length, and to contain 200,000 inhabitants. On the one side it has the river for its defence, and on the landward faces a wall of great height. The streets were so thronged with the concourse and traffic of people . . . that they cannot force their way past. A great part of the houses of the city are stately and well-wrought buildings.'

The fourteenth century was remarkable for the activity of the Muslim *faqirs* in Bengal. Ibn Batūtā, who travelled in Bengal towards the middle of the fourteenth century, speaks of 150 *gaddis* of *faqirs* in Fakhruddin's time. Fakhruddin was a liberal-minded ruler. He extended his patronage to holy men who came in large numbers to Bengal attracted by his bounty. Shah Safi-ud-din lived at Hugli Pandua near Satgaon. Shaikh Akhi Siraj-ud-din was a disciple of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Aulia of Delhi who died in 1325 A.D. The *Riyāz* mentions another saint Raja Biyābāna who was held in such esteem by Ilyās that the latter joined the funeral of the saint in the disguise of a mendicant. There were several saints of reputed sanctity in Pandua which owing to their presence came to be called *Hazrat*. The earliest to settle there was Shaikh Jalal-ud-din Tabrizi, who went there from Delhi and who is said to have brought from

Mecca the footprints of the Prophet. A shrine was built in his honour by Ali Shah, called from its estate *Bāīs Hazari* (22,000 bighas). It has in its possession a grant deed of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq which is dated August 3, 1337 A.D. Other noted saints were Ala-ul-Haq and his son Nūr Qutb-ul-Alam. Ala-ul-Haq was also a disciple of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Aulia. We learn from the *Mirat-ul-Asrar* composed in 1635 A.D. that the Shaikh's name was originally Shaikh Ahmad and was afterwards changed to Makhdum Shaikh Nur-ul-Haq. He is supposed to have been a contemporary of Ghiyās-ud-din of Bengal and Ibrahim Shah Sharqi of Jaunpur. His fame spread far and wide and distinguished men of rank came to seek his blessings. His death occurred in 1416 A.D. as is suggested by the chronogram *Nūr ba Nūr shud.* As has been said before, the saints made Pandua one of the most famous cities in Bengal. A nearly contemporary account of the city given in a Chinese work is as follows : 'Beyond which (Sonārgāon) there is the city of Pan-tu-wa in which the king of the country resides. It is a walled city and is very large. The king's palace is very extensive, and the pillars supporting it are of brass, on which are engraved figures of flowers and animals. In the throne-room there is a raised dais, inlaid with every kind of precious stone, on which the king sits cross-legged with his sword lying across his knees. The king and all his officers are Muhammadans.'

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there was much religious stir in Bengal. It was during this period that the impact of Hinduism and Islam set in motion new forces which tended to bring the Hindus and Muslims together and gave a new colour to the Hindu religion. When the Muslims conquered Bengal, Buddhism disappeared from the land and the Muslim iconoclasts in their fury destroyed all Buddhist buildings. Gradually the Vaiṣṇava cult emerged phœnix-like from the ashes of Buddhism. A great many persons whom the Brahmans had refused to admit into the orthodox faith readily accepted the tenets of Vaiṣṇavism and Mr. D. C. Sen rightly observes that

the lay Buddhist society furnished an excellent recruiting ground for the Vaiṣṇavas. Several leaders of learning and piety preached the doctrine of *Bhakti* or personal devotion and when Chaitanya appeared upon the scene Vaiṣṇavism prospered wonderfully. He reorganised the Vaiṣṇavas and admitted into the fold of his creed all men irrespective of the considerations of caste or birth. He laid stress on love and exhorted his followers thus :—" Be like a tree. The tree gives shade even to him who cuts its boughs. It asks no water of any one, though it be withering away for want of it. Rain and storm and the burning rays of the sun it suffers, but gives sweet-scented flowers and delicious fruits to others. Patiently serve others even as a tree and let this be your motto." These passionate effusions of an inspired seer thrilled the hearts of those who listened to him and thousands of men and women were overpowered with emotion as they beheld the great master falling into an ecstatic trance, chanting the holy name of Kriṣṇa. After Chaitanya's death Rūpa, Sanātan and Jīwa Goswāmī carried on his work. Throughout the 16th and 17th centuries the stream of Vaiṣṇavism continued its uninterrupted flow, and the heart of Bengal responded eagerly to the call of love, and the life of the masses was greatly affected by the new teachings.

The Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal are divided into many sects of which the Sahajiyās possess an extensive literature in the vernacular. The Sahajiyās deserve a brief notice. When Buddhism declined and morality in the monasteries became lax, men and women declared sexual love as a means of salvation. This was the Sahajiyā or the natural path. Chandī Dāsa was its greatest exponent in the fourteenth century. He extolled the romantic love between man and woman and elevated it into a religion. The Sahajiyās held that love of God was impossible unless a man or woman was loved with intense ardour. Such teaching necessarily produced a disastrous effect upon the followers of the cult and that is why their practices have become tainted with immorality. Chaitanya was opposed to this sort of love. He placed before his disciples purity of

life as an ideal to be followed with devoutness. He deprecated all contact with young and beautiful women and regarded looseness of morals as disastrous to society.

The impact of Islam, as has been said before, generated new influences in Bengal. Husain Shah of Bengal was the founder of a new cult called *Satyapīr* which aimed at uniting the Hindus and the Muslims. *Satyapīr* was compounded of *Satya*, a Sanskrit word, and *Pīr* which is an Arabic word. It was the name of a deity whom both communities were to worship. There are still in Bengali literature several poems composed in honour of this new deity.

Khandesh.

The province of Khandesh was situated in the valley of the Tapti river ; it was bounded in the north by the Vindhya and the Satpura ranges and in the south by the Deccan plateau, in the east by Berar and in the west by the subah of Gujarat. It was a part of Muhammad Tughluq's empire, and continued to be a feudatory of Delhi during the reign of Firuz, who entrusted it to Malik Raja Farrukhi, one of his personal attendants, in the year 1370. After the death of Firuz, when the empire of Delhi broke up, Malik Raja, a man of adventurous and ambitious spirit, in possession of a fertile province, remote from the capital, followed the example of his neighbour Dilāwar Khan Ghorī of Malwa, and declared his independence. Malik Raja's ambition brought him into collision with Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat, who overpowered him in battle on more than one occasion. But at last peace was concluded, and never again did Malik Raja go to war with Gujarat in his lifetime. He was a man of peaceful habits, inclined to be tolerant to the Hindus and kind and generous towards his subjects, whose well-being he tried to promote by encouraging agriculture and industries. When he died in 1399, he was succeeded by his son Malik Nasir, who captured the famous fortress of Asīrgarh from a Hindu chief, Āsā, whom Firishta describes as a man belonging to the caste of *Ahirs* or cowherds. As valour was wanting, Malik Nasir had recourse

to treachery ; a surprise attack was made upon the garrison in the fort, and the unsuspecting Āsā was put to death along with his family. Great was the joy of the Muslims at the fall of this fortress, and it is said that the famous Muslim saint, Zain-ud-din, came from Daulatabad to felicitate Nasir on his victory over the Hindu chieftain. A new town was founded to commemorate the auspicious event, which was named Zainabad after the saint. Malik Nasir preserved intact the territories he had inherited from his father, and when he died in 1437, he left to his successor a united Khandesh. The uneventful reigns of the rulers who followed him hardly deserve mention, although, now and then, we come across feeble attempts to throw off the yoke of Gujarat. When the direct line of Farrukhi became extinct with the murder of Ghazni Khan, the minor son of Dāūd, brother of the late king, who succeeded to the throne in 1510, the whole country fell into a state of disorder, and factions arose, which contended among themselves for power. These factious fights continued until they were put an end to by Mahmud Shah Bīgaraha of Gujarat, who placed upon the throne a grandson of Nasir, who assumed the title of Ādil Khan Farrukhi II. Ādil died in 1520, and was followed by a series of weak rulers, who found it difficult to resist the encroachments of foreign powers on their dominions. When Akbar launched his campaign against the Deccan, the fortress of Asīrgarh surrendered to the imperialists in January, 1601, and Khandesh was annexed to the Mughal empire. The dynasty of the local rulers ceased to exist.

CHAPTER XIV

DISINTEGRATION

(ii) The Bahmani Kingdom

The Rise of the Bahmani Dynasty.

THE large and unwieldy empire of Muhammad Tughluq broke up during his life-time, and the foreign Amirs of the Deccan, called the *Amiran-i-sada* by Muslim historians, successfully revolted against the authority of the emperor and set up their own kingdom at Daulatabad with Ismail Makh as their king. Ismail who was a man of retired habits resigned in favour of Hasan, a brave and warlike soldier, who was elected king by his confederates on August 13, 1347.[1] The romantic story of the origin of the dynasty related by Firishta needs no reiteration, for it has been established by modern research that Hasan was a descendant of Bahman Shah, king of Persia, and that the Brahmanical origin of the dynasty is nothing more than a myth.[2] The author of the *Burhan-i-Masir,* who is sometimes a better

[1] According to the ***Burhan-i-Masir***, the date is Shaban 28, 748 A.H. (December 3, 1347 A.D.). According to Firishta it is Friday, Rabi-us-Sani 24, 748 A.H. (August 13, 1347 A.D.).
Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 143.
Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 277.

[2] Firishta writes that Hasan was employed in the service of Gangu, a Brahman astrologer at Delhi, who enjoyed the confidence of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq. One day while Hasan was ploughing the Brahman's lands, he found in a furrow a copper vessel full of gold coins. He carried the treasure to his master who was so pleased with Hasan's honesty that he recommended him to Sultan Muhammad Tughluq. The Sultan summoned Hasan in his presence and conferred upon him the command of one hundred horses. The Brahman expressed a wish to become his minister when he was elevated to royal dignity. Hasan agreed, and it is said that in compliance with his patron's wish he appointed him his first minister.
Firishta, Lucknow text, pp. 273-74.
Briggs, II, pp. 284-85.
Scott's translation of Firishta's History of the Deccan, I, pp. 3-4.

authority for the history of the Deccan than Firishta, clearly states that Hasan traced his pedigree from Bahman bin Isfandiyar, and makes no mention of the Brahman astrologer of Delhi, whom Firishta describes as Hasan's patron ; and he is supported by Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, the author of the *Tabqat-i-Akbari,* Ahmad Amin Razi, the author of the *Haft-Iqlim*, and Haji-ud-Dabir, the author of the famous Arabic History of Gujarat—who are all highly trustworthy authorities.[1] This conclusion is supported by the evidence of inscriptions and coins, which leaves little room for doubt as to the origin of the dynasty. Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah, for such was his royal title, soon after his election, chose Gulbarga as his capital, and zealously devoted himself to the task of administering his kingdom. The whole country was divided into *tarafs* which were assigned to the Amirs who had rendered him good service in the recent war, and conferred upon them fresh honours.[2] Each of these Amirs was granted a jagir on feudal tenure, and was required to keep a number of retainers to render military service to the king

[1] An Arabic History of Gujarat, edited by Sir D. Ross, I, p. 159.
Tabqat-i-Akbari, Lucknow text, p. 406.
J. A. S. B., 1909, p. 463.
The account of Hasan's origin given in the *Tazkirat-ul-mulūk* has little historical value, and is hardly worthy of reproduction.
Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, pp. 153-54.
I have discussed the origin of the Bahmani dynasty thoroughly in my work on the Qarauna Turks.

[2] Hasan imitated the administrative methods that prevailed at the court of Muhammad Tughluq. The author of the *Burhan-i-Masir* gives an account of the various offices established by Hasan.

1. Sahib-i-Arz—one who reviews the army.
2. Naib Barbak—Deputy Usher.
3. Kur Beg-i-Maisarah—Commander of the left wing.
4. Kur Beg-i-Maimarah—Commander of the right wing.
5. Dabir—Secretary.
6. Diwan—Minister.
7. Shahna-i-Phil—Keeper of elephants.
8. Dawat-Dar—Keeper of seals.
9. Saiyad-ul-Hujjab—Lord Chamberlain.
10. Hajib-ul-Qasbah—Constable of the city.
11. Shahna-i-Bargah—Superintendent of the durbar.
12. Salarkhwan or Chashnigir—Taster.
13. Sar Pardah-Dar—Officer in charge of the royal curtains.

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whenever he needed it. Having accomplished the work of preliminary settlement, Hasan embarked upon a brilliant career of conquest. The countries of the 'infidels' were overrun[1] and one province after another was conquered. The fort of Qandhar which had been captured by the imperialists was recovered, and Sikandar Khan reduced Bidar and Malkaid, the Hindus of which places submitted without offering any resistance. When Muhammad Tughluq died in 1351 near Thatta, Alauddin Hasan was relieved of much anxiety, and as the new ruler of Delhi, Firuz, had neither the inclination nor the capacity to re-conquer such distant places, he gave a free rein to his ambition. Brilliant success attended the arms of Islam everywhere, and the author of the *Burhan-i-Masir* mentions several victories over Hindu and Muslim princes, who were compelled to pay tribute. Goa, Dabhol, Kolapur and Telingana were all conquered, and towards the close of Bahman Shah's reign his dominions extended from the east of Daulatabad to Bhongir now in the Nizam's dominions, and from the river Wainganga in the north to the river Krișṇā in the south. The Sultan's health had suffered from the pressure of unremitting exertions, and he died in 1359. On his death-bed he nominated Prince Muhammad as his heir, and exhorted his other sons and kinsmen, and the civil and military officers to render him allegiance. In right orthodox fashion the Muslim chronicler records his verdict upon Hasan's reign :—" Sultan Alauddin Shah was a just king who cherished his people and practised piety. During his reign his subjects and army used to pass their time in

[1] It is stated in the *Burhan-i-Masir* that Hasan Kangu ordered his generals to devastate and plunder the country of the infidels soon after his assumption of royal authority.

Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, pp. 144-45.

In view of Hasan's persecution of the Hindus it is difficult to understand Firishta's statement that, out of gratefulness to the Delhi astrologer, imaginary or real, whom he has immortalised, Hasan assumed the title Bahmani. The Brahman was employed as minister of Hasan and those expeditions must have been undertaken with his full approval. Though not conclusive evidence of the non-Brahman origin of the dynasty, this fact throws doubt over Firishta's statement.

perfect ease and contentment ; and he did much towards propagating the true faith."

Muhammad's accession to the throne was celebrated with great pomp and eclat, and the expenditure incurred on the coronation festivities involved a heavy drain upon the royal treasury. Desirous of conquering countries like his father, he decided to invade the territories of Vijayanagar and Telingana. He marched his forces against them and succeeded in defeating the Hindus, who fought with great courage and determination. The country was plundered and the temples were razed to the ground, and much booty consisting of rice, jewels, Arab horses and elephants fell into the hands of the victorious army.[1]

Muhammad Shah I.

Muhammad enjoyed peace for about a decade, but his impetuosity of temper led him into bitter and cruel wars with the Hindu Rajas of Telingana and Vijayanagar. The barbarous execution of the Telingana Prince for a trivial offence, which amounted to little more than a youthful indiscretion, lit up the flames of war ; and the Raja of Telingana vainly appealed for help to Firuz, the Delhi Emperor, who was too busy with his own reforming activities to embark upon such a distant campaign.[2] Having entrusted the capital to his minister, Saif-ud-din Ghori, the Sultan marched towards Telingana, but the Hindus did not tamely submit, and he was detained for two years in that hostile region. At last, a peace was made and the Raja agreed to surrender the fort of Golkunda and to pay a huge war indemnity of 33 *lākhs*. Golkunda was fixed as the boundary between the two kingdoms, and when the terms of the treaty had been accepted by the Sultan, the Raja offered him the golden throne, which was solemnly installed in the

[1] The cause of this expedition according to Firishta was the refusal of these Rajas to pay tribute and their desire to recover the territories that had been seized from them. The author of the *Burhan-i-Masir* only says, the Sultan felt desirous of conquering countries and cities.

[2] Indian Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 180.

Hall of Audience at Gulbarga. Soon afterwards war with Vijayanagar broke out, which assumed formidable dimensions. The immediate cause of the war was the humiliation of a Gulbarga messenger who had been sent to demand a large sum of money from the Raya of Vijayanagar. To forestall an attack by the Muslims, the Raya marched into the Sultan's territory at the head of 30,000 horse, 100,000 foot and 300 elephants, and laid waste the country lying between the Krişņā and the Tungbhadra.[1] The fort of Mudgal was captured, and the Muslim garrison was put to the sword. The news of this tragedy exasperated Muhammad, who vowed vengeance upon the Hindus and swore solemnly that he would not desist from fighting until he had taken the lives of one hundred thousand Hindus. Such a fearful resolve well accorded with his rash and violent temper, and he led in person an attack upon Vijayanagar. The Muslim army which consisted of 15 thousand horse, 50 thousand foot, and a train of artillery engaged the Hindus, whose martial spirit was stirred by the Brahmans, near the Tungbhadra river. The vigorous onslaughts of the Hindus shattered the right and left wings of the Muslim army, but timely succour came when the Sultan himself appeared upon the field of battle with reinforcements. The Hindus were defeated and after a terrible carnage in which neither sex nor dignity, nor age was granted immunity from death, the victorious Sultan advanced upon Vijayanagar. The city was so well fortified that it baffled the attempts of the besiegers to capture it, and when the Sultan's patience was exhausted, he feigned a retreat across the Tungbhadra in order to decoy the Hindus out of their fortresses. This manœuvre succeeded well, and when the Hindus pursued the Muslims, the latter turned back to meet the enemy whom they completely overpowered in battle. The Raja's camp was raided ; he effected his escape, but his soldiers and officers as well as the inhabitants of the neighbourhood were butchered by the ruthless Muslim soldiers.

[1] This is the Raichur Doab.

Peace was made with the Raya of Vijayanagar, and when the Sultan returned to Gulbarga, he was so much struck with remorse that he swore never to shed the blood of innocent men in the future.

Soon afterwards, the Sultan received intelligence of the rebellion of Bahram Khan Mazandarani, governor of Daulatabad, who with the help of Kombha Deva, chief of Berar,[1] appropriated the revenues of the Maratha country. The Sultan marched against him, and the demonstration of military force frightened him into submission. Through the intercession of Shaikh Zain-ud-din his life was spared, and only a sentence of banishment was passed against him.

Muhammad Shah acted ruthlessly in carrying out his domestic policy. He ordered all public distilleries to be closed and put down lawlessness with a high hand. After a reign of 17 years and 7 months the Sultan died in 1373.

Firishta pronounces a eulogy upon him for his championship of the orthodox faith, but the author of the *Burhan-i-Masir*[2] positively asserts that "he showed signs of an irreligious manner of living, which threw him on the bed of helplessness." The acts of fiendish cruelty in which Muhammad took delight and the disgraceful orgies and revels, which were a common feature of court life at Gulbarga, hardly entitle him to the praise which Firishta bestows upon him.

Mujahid and his weak successors.

After the death of Muhammad in 1373 his son Mujahid Shah succeeded to the throne. He showed great preference for the Persians and the Turks, and thus by his policy of exclusion he revived the old feuds and jealousies between the Deccanis and the

[1] Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 294.

Shams-i-Siraj Afif says that when Firuz was preparing for his march against Thatta in Gujarat, he received letters from Bahram Khan, son-in-law of Hasan Khan Kangu, from Daulatabad soliciting the Sultan's aid against Hasan Kangu's son with whom he had quarrelled.

Afif is not at all clear about the Deccan affairs.

Shams-i-Siraj Afif, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., p. 224. Elliot, III, p. 328.

[2] Burhan-i-Masir, Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 180.

foreigners, which had wrecked the government of Muhammad Tughluq. But the most serious problem of the time was the great hostility that existed between the Bahmanids and the Rayas of Vijayanagar. The Raichur Doab was the bone of contention between these two rival powers, and it was in order to acquire possession of this coveted piece of land that they waged such frequent wars, and shed the blood of thousands of innocent persons. When Mujahid Shah asked the Raya to leave the debatable land, the latter replied by demanding the fortresses of Raichur and Mudgal.[1]

Vijayanagar had by this time grown into a powerful kingdom, which commanded the allegiance of a large number of dependent princes of the south, who all looked upon it as a great bulwark against the Muslim aggressions. Mujahid marched against Vijayanagar, but he failed to capture the city. With the aid of reinforcements, he attempted a second siege, but the Hindus presented a formidable combination and compelled the Sultan to retreat.[2] A hotly contested engagement was fought outside the walls of the town, in which the Muslims suffered a crushing defeat. Peace was concluded by the veteran Saif-ud-din Ghori, but the Sultan was murdered by his cousin,[3] Daud, who usurped the throne in 1377. But this atrocious murder was not allowed to go unavenged. The foster-sister of Mujahid, Ruh Parwar Agha, hired a slave for a thousand *huns*, who sabred him in the mosque when he was kneeling down to say his prayer.

After Daud's death, Muhammad Shah[4] was elevated to the throne by the Amirs and officers in 1378. Muhammad

[1] The author of the *Burhan-i-Masir* writes that the Sultan took it into his head to exterminate the infidels of Vijayanagar and to wage a religious war for that purpose.
Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 181.
See Nuniz's description of Raichur in Sewell, pp. 331-32.

[2] See Burhan-i-Masir's account.
Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 181.

[3] Firishta calls him uncle of the Sultan.

[4] Mahmud, according to Firishta, and Muhammad, according to the author of the *Burhan-i-Masir*. But Firishta is incorrect, for

Shah was a man of peace. The cessation of war enabled him to devote his time to the pursuit of literature and science. He built mosques, established public schools and monasteries, and never allowed any one to act against the Holy Law. No rebellion occurred during the reign and the nobles and officers all loyally served their master. His munificence brought to his court learned men from all parts of Asia, and in response to his invitation Hafiz, the famous Persian poet, started for India, but the fear of " the sea and its untold dangers " led him to abandon his intention. The poet, however, sent an ode, which greatly pleased the Sultan, and he bestowed upon him a handsome reward.

Muhammad was a man of simple and abstemious habits. He had an exalted conception of the kingly office, and enunciated a doctrine which is thoroughly modern that kings were only trustees of the divine wealth, and that careless or unnecessary expenditure amounted to a breach of trust. He evinced a great interest in the welfare of his subjects ; and once when famine broke out, he employed ten thousand bullocks to bring grain from Malwa and Gujarat to mitigate its severity. The closing years of his life were saddened by the conspiracy of his sons, who were perhaps too impatient to get the throne. When he died in 1397,[1] his sons Ghiyās-ud-din and Shams-ud-din succeeded to the throne one after the other, but they exercised sovereignty only for a brief period of six months. During the reign of the latter prince, the principal Amirs of the state became so disgusted with the insolence of the slaves

numismatic evidence supports the account of the *Burhan-i-Masir.* The author of the *Tazkirat-ul-mulūk* also writes the name as Muhammad.

Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 183.
Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 301.

[1] The date given in the *Burhan-i-Masir* is Rajab 26, 799 A.H, (25th April, 1397 A.D.) and that given by Firistha is 17th Ramzan 799 A.H. The author of the *Tazkirat-ul-mulūk* says, he died in 801 A. H.

Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 184.
Firishta, Lucknow text, pp. 303-04,

that they called Firuz Khan and Ahmad Khan, grandsons of Sultan Alauddin Hasan Shah, who had fled to Sagar to escape from the tyranny of Lalcheen with a multitude of followers. Firuz came to Gulbarga, and by means of a sudden *coup d'etat* succeeded in imprisoning the reigning Sultan. He usurped the throne on the 14th February, 1397.

Firuz Shah.

The author of the *Burhan-i-Masir* describes Firuz as a "good, just, and generous king who supported himself by copying the Quran, and the ladies of whose *haram* used to support themselves by embroidering garments and selling them."[1] The same authority goes on to add:—"as a ruler he was without an equal, and many records of his justice still remain on the page of time." But this is probably an exaggerated account of the Sultan's virtues, for Firishta unequivocally states that although he observed the practices of his religion with strictness,[2] he drank hard, was passionately fond of music, and maintained a large *haram* which included women of several nationalities.[3] The sacred law of the Muslims does not allow more than four wives, and therefore the Sultan, at the suggestion of Mir Faizullah Ariju, had recourse to the device of multiplying his *haram* by means of *muta*[4] marriage; and it is said that about 800 women were daily admitted into the royal

[1] Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 191.

[2] Firishta says on the authority of Haji Muhammad Qandhari that he daily copied one-fourth part of the Quran.

He did nothing that is prohibited in the Quran except drinking wine and listening to music, but he used to say that he did the first, because it saved him from evil thoughts and the second, because music helped him to think of God.

Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 307.

[3] The same writer says that he talked to his European, Chinese, Russian, Turkish, Circassian, Georgian, Bengali, Afghan, and other wives in their own languages. This is doubtless an exaggeration.

[4] Muta is a marriage for a fixed term.

By the Shia '*Ithna-ashari*' law a Muta marriage or a marriage for a fixed term may be validly contracted.

Tyabji, Principles of Muhammadan Law, Bombay, 1913, pp. 63-64.

seraglio in this manner. Frank and jovial to a degree, Firuz took delight in social intercourse and treated his companions without the slightest reserve, but he never allowed public matters to be discussed at such convivial gatherings.

In 1398 war broke out with Vijayanagar, when the king of Vijayanagar, Hari Hara II, marched an army into the Raichur Doab with a view to take possession of the fort of Mudgal. Firuz mobilised his forces to oppose the Raya, but he had to send away a portion of his army to check the progress of the Raja of Kehrla, who had invaded Berar. Hari Hara encamped on the bank of the Kriṣṇā at the head of a large army, and waited for an encounter with the Muslims. When Firuz reached the river, Qazi Siraj suggested to him a stratagem by which he could produce confusion in the enemy's camp. Along with seven others, he went to the dancing girls of the Raya's son, and told the principal courtesan that he was skilled in music and "some other accomplishments which would highly please the Raja's son," and requested her to take him to the royal camp. She agreed to do so; the Qazi and his associates enthralled the whole audience with their charming musical performance, but shortly afterwards they began to flourish naked swords after the fashion of the Deccan dancers, and attacked the Raya's son and killed him on the spot. The Sultan's army crossed the river and delivered a tremendous assault upon the enemy. Firishta writes:—"Deval Raya, grieved by the death of his son and panic-stricken at the bravery of the assailants, made but a faint resistance. Before sunrise, having taken up his son's corpse, he fled with his army. The Sultan gained an immense booty in the camp, and pursued the fugitive prince to the vicinity of Vijayanagar. Several actions were fought in the way, all of which resulted in victory to the Sultan, and the roads were covered with the bodies of the slaughtered Hindus." The Sultan sent his brother Ahmad, on whom he had conferred the title of Khan Khana, against the Raya who was compelled to make a treaty. By this treaty the *status quo ante bellum* was restored, but the Raya had to pay

ten lākhs of *huns* or *oons* as a ransom for the release of the Brahman captives seized during the war.[1]

But a more serious struggle with Vijayanagar began in the year 1406. The immediate cause of the war was the desire of the Raya to obtain possession of the beautiful daughter of a farmer in Mudgal. The accounts of this peerless beauty by a Brahman who had educated her made the king's heart aflame with passion, and, when the girl refused to enter the royal seraglio on the plea that it would mean for her final separation from her own kith and kin, whose affection she valued more than the offers of royalty, the Raya marched his forces towards Mudgal in order to seize her by force. On hearing of the approach of the Vijayanagar army, the inhabitants fled, and among them were also the parents of the girl. Having missed their coveted prize, the troops plundered the country and several villages and towns which belonged to Firuz. When the news of these aggressions reached the Sultan, his indignation knew no bounds, and he forthwith advanced at the head of a large army against Vijayanagar, and laid siege to it. Deva Raya's allies on whom he counted for support absented themselves from the campaign, while the Gulbarga army was considerably strengthened by the re-inforcements brought by the king's brother, Ahmad. The fort of Bankapur was captured, and about 60 thousand Hindus were made prisoners. Reduced to sore straits by the pressure of his relentless foes and the apathy of his allies, the Raya decided with no little mental agony to accede to the humiliating terms dictated by the conqueror. The terms of the treaty were that the Raya was to give his daughter in marriage to the Sultan, to cede the fortress of Bankapur as dowry and to pay a large indemnity, which consisted of elephants, horses, and numerous other precious articles. Thus was peace purchased at the sacrifice of honour; and the marriage of the princess was celebrated with great eclat

[1] Scott, in his translation of Firishta, estimates this as equal to £400,000, and Meadows Taylor puts it at £440,000.

by both parties.[1] Firuz returned to his capital, where he sent for the farmer's daughter who had been the cause of such fierce war and bloodshed, and married her to his son Hasan Khan. But Hasan was not destined to enjoy the honours of royalty ; the famous saint Ghīsū Daraz had already predicted that Ahmad was to be the next king of the Bahmani dynasty.

In 1420 Firuz's unprovoked attack upon the fort of Pangal led to a fresh war with Vijayanagar.[2] The siege lasted for two years, but it ended in utter failure owing to a serious outbreak of pestilence in the army of the Sultan. The Hindus inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Muslims ; the commander-in-chief of the Muslim forces, Mir Fazlullah, was killed in battle, and the Sultan himself fled from the field in utter confusion. The victorious Hindus mercilessly butchered the Muslims, ravaged their country and desecrated their mosques.

To a successful warrior like Firuz, such an unexpected disaster was a source of perennial grief. His failing health compelled him to leave the affairs of state in the hands of his slaves, Hushiar Ain-ul-mulk and Nizam Bidar-ul-mulk, who warned him that Ahmad's growing power was likely to be dangerous to the state. The Sultan was informed that Ahmad plotted against his life. The Habshi slaves were induced by means of false promises to join the party of Ahmad. Having made elaborate preparations, Ahmad suddenly appeared before the palace of Firuz in order to assassinate him. A fight ensued between the royal guards and Ahmad's men in which a number of men were killed on both sides. The desertions in the army convinced Firuz that the cause of his son was lost, and he advised him to submit to Ahmad, for

[1] Firishta gives a detailed account of these marriage festivities and says that the Raya was compelled, out of necessity, to celebrate the nuptials of his daughter. The author of the *Burhan-i-Masir* does not make any mention of this marriage. Firishta's statement is open to doubt.

[2] The king of Vijayanagar at this time was probably Deva Raya II. Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, pp. 62-63.

sovereignty could not be exercised without the co-operation of the army. Ahmad was allowed access to the dying king ; he fell at his feet and wept bitterly, imploring forgiveness. Firuz made over the kingdom to him and entrusted Hasan Khan to his care. He died in 1422.[1]

Ahmad Shah.

Ahmad Shah ascended the throne without opposition. His minister advised him to put to death the late Sultan's son in order to ensure his safety, but he refused to do so, and provided him with a liberal jagir at Firuzabad, where the prince utterly devoid of any political ambition frittered away his time in the pursuit of pleasure. Having finished his military organisation, Ahmad Shah turned against the Raya of Vijayanagar to take revenge

[1] This is Firishta's account. He says clearly that Firuz died a natural death. But the author of the *Burhan-i-Masir* writes that the Habshi jamadar entered the king's apartment and despatched him with a dagger ; and he is supported by no other writer except the author of the *Tazkirat-ul-mulūk*, which is a later work and cannot be treated as anything more estimable than a tertiary authority. Haji-ud-Dabir, author of the *Zafar-ul-walih Bi Muzaffar wa Alih*, says that Firuz died a natural death. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, who is an earlier authority, writes that Firuz went in a palanquin to oppose Ahmad, but when the two armies came face to face the soldiers of Firuz went over to the enemy. Firuz returned to the city and sent the keys of the fort and the royal treasury to Ahmad. Ahmad waited upon the Sultan who embraced him and seated him upon the throne.

Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 319.

Burhan-i-Masir, Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 192.

Tazkirat-ul-mulūk, Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 218.

Arabic History of Gujarat, ed. by Sir Denison Ross, I, p. 161.

Tabqat-i-Akbari, Lucknow text, p. 414.

Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, p. 66.

Meadows Taylor, Manual of Indian History, p. 167.

Gribble, History of the Deccan, pp. 82—84.

The three modern writers cited above agree with Firishta. Dr. V. Smith agrees with the *Burhan-i-Masir*. Oxford History of India, p. 277. I am strongly inclined to the view expressed by Firishta, for he is supported by historians who wrote before him and whose sources of information were excellent. In view of this consensus of opinion in favour of Firishta it is difficult to accept the statement of the author of the *Burhan-i-Masir*.

Besides, Firishta's statement is borne out by another circumstance, namely, the kind and generous treatment meted out to Firuz's son by Ahmad, despite the advice of his nobles to the contrary. If he had been the murderer of his brother, he would have surely taken the earliest steps to exterminate his survivors.

for the invasion of the previous reign. The latter appealed to the ruler of Telingana for help, but the allied forces deserted the colours of the Raya just on the eve of battle. The two armies met on the bank of the river Tungbhadra. The Sultan's army made a frontal attack upon the Raya's forces, whose strength was considerably diminished by the withdrawal of the Warangal troops. The Raya effected his escape to Vijayanagar where he entrenched himself in the fort. The whole country was laid waste by Ahmad Shah's troops, and forgetting the old compact between the Rayas and the Bahmanids to avoid wanton slaughter, he mercilessly put to death men, women, and children to the number of 20,000, and celebrated a carnival in commemoration of this bloody deed. The conduct of Ahmad Shah so exasperated the Brahmans that they determined to take his life, and when he was engaged in a hunting excursion, they chased him with tremendous fury and "reduced him to the extremity of distress." Pressed hard, Ahmad Shah took refuge within a mud enclosure, where he was assailed by his pursuers, who were at last driven off by his armour-bearer, Abdul Qadir, with the help of a detachment of troops. Freed from danger, Ahmad Shah blockaded Vijayanagar and reduced the people to such distress that Deva Raya was compelled to sue for peace. He agreed to pay all arrears of tribute, and sent his son with 30 elephants, laden with money, jewels, and other articles of untold value to the royal camp, where he was cordially received by the Sultan.

In 1424 the Sultan declared war upon Warangal. His general Khan-i-Azam fought a successful battle in which the Hindus were defeated and their chief was slain. The independence of Warangal was extinguished, and the Sultan annexed a large portion of the Raja's territories to his own dominions. This rapid success encouraged Ahmad Shah to engage in wars with the Muslim rulers of Malwa and the neighbouring states, who found it difficult to withstand his attacks. Hushang Shah fled from the field of battle, and the Sultan besides capturing rich booty put two thousand of his men to

the sword. Such wanton massacres commemorated the victories of this tyrant, who had assumed the title of '*Wali*' as a reward for his services to the cause of Islam. On his return from this expedition, he laid the foundations of the city of Bidar,[1] which afterwards became the recognised capital of the Bahmani kingdom. In 1429 he went to war with the chiefs of the Konkan, and his attack on the island of Mahim[2] brought him into collision with the king of Gujarat. The crushing defeat of his general compelled him to march in person to the scene of action, but before an engagement could be fought, peace was made through the intercession of holy men on both sides.

The last expedition of his reign was against Telingana to put down a Hindu revolt, after which he retired from public life and resigned the crown and sovereignty to the heir-apparent, Prince Zafar Khan, and asked all the nobles, ministers, and generals to swear allegiance to him. His health began to decline and he died of illness in February, 1435 A.D.

Ahmad Shah was a ferocious bigot and a cruel tyrant ; but the Muslim chronicler who forgets his cruelties in his zeal for the faith records the verdict : "His disposition was adorned with the ornament of clemency and temperance and with the jewel of abstinence and devotion." Like many other tyrants, he loved the society of learned men, and to Shaikh Azari, who composed two verses in praise of his palace at Bidar, he award-

[1] It is said that Bidar was built on the site of the ancient town of Vidarbha which is mentioned in the *Mahabharata* as the scene of the adventures of Raja Nala and his wife Damayanti.

Smith's statement that Ahmad Shah transferred the capital to Bidar is open to objection. It is true, Ahmad Shah lived at Bidar very frequently, because its climate was salubrious but the city was not definitely established as the capital of the Bahmanids till the reign of Alauddin II. Meadows Taylor whom Smith quotes writes the same thing.

Manual, p. 169.

For a description of Bidar, see Manual, pp. 169-70.

[2] Mahim stood on the site which is now occupied by the island of Bombay.

Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 213.

ed 700,000 Deccani *tankās* to which were added 25,000 more for defraying the expenses of his journey to his native land.[1]

Ahmad Shah was succeeded by his eldest son under the title of Alauddin II, who held out the promise of a glorious reign. In the earlier years of his reign, he acted like a good king, but his character soon degenerated and he spent his time in debauchery and gratification of lust.

Alauddin II.

Contrary to the practice of his time, he treated his brother Muhammad well, but the latter did not reciprocate this fraternal generosity. Misled by some evil-minded persons, the prince broke out into rebellion and collected a large force to oppose the Sultan with the help of the king of Vijayanagar. He seized the Raichur Doab, Bijapur, and other districts. These aggressions obliged the Sultan to march against him, and the hostile forces encountered each other on the field of battle. After a heavy slaughter on both sides, the issue was decided in favour of the Sultan, and Prince Muhammad and his confederates took to flight. When the fugitive prince implored forgiveness, Alauddin readily pardoned him and with extraordinary magnanimity assigned to him the district of Raichur, which he was to hold as jagir. Thus conciliated, the prince lived peaceably until his death, and never swerved from allegiance to his brother and king.

In 1436 the king sent an army to reduce the Konkan, the strip of land which lies between the ghats and the sea. The expedition was successful, and the Hindu Raja of Lonekhair formed an alliance with the Bahmani ruler by giving his daughter in marriage. The entry of a Hindu princess in the royal *haram* was so distasteful to the queen, a daughter of Nasir Khan, the ruler of Khandesh, that she appealed to her father to save her from disgrace and humiliation. Nasir Khan sought the aid of Ahmad Shah of Gujarat and with his help

[1] The poet died at Asfarayin in Khorasan in 866 A.H. (1461 A.D.) at the ripe old age of 82. Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 216.

declared war upon his son-in-law, but he was completely defeated.

But the hereditary enemy of Alauddin was the Raya of Vijayanagar. About the year 1442 Deva Raya summoned a council of the chief Brahmans and nobles, and discussed with them the causes of the success of the Muslims, which were found to be two, *viz.*, the superior strength of the Muslim cavalry and their skill in archery. This analysis of the situation led Deva Raya to revise his attitude towards the Muslims. He admitted them in his service, conferred jagirs upon them, and erected a mosque in his city for public worship. A wanton attack by Deva Raya upon the Bahmani dominions kindled the flames of war,[1] and the rival armies soon appeared on the field of battle. No decisive battle was fought during this war, and victory rested alternately with the Hindus and the Muslims.

After a siege which lasted for some months, peace was concluded between the parties, and Deva Raya agreed to pay the stipulated tribute.[2] The Sultan's war-policy was successful, but the internal administration of the country was much disturbed by the feuds of the Deccani Muslims, who were mostly Sunnis and the foreigners, the Arabs, Turks, Persians, and

[1] Firishta makes this statement.

Abdur Razzaq says that Alauddin demanded tribute from the Raya (*711 lakhs of Varahs*) when he heard of an attempt to kill the king, whereupon the king sent a spirited reply and prepared for war.

Sewell, p. 75.

Firishta is supported by the author of the *Burhan-i-Masir*, who says that the infidels taking advantage of Muhammad Khan's rebellion invaded the territories of Islam and captured the fort of Mudgal. This led the Sultan to proceed against the Raya.

Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 238.

[2] The author of the *Burhan-i-Masir* and Firishta do not mention any decisive battle on either side. The former says that after the siege had lasted some time, the Hindus sued for peace. The latter authority—who is sometimes better informed—writes that, when two Muslim officers fell into the hands of the Raya, the Sultan sent word that he would avenge their death by a slaughter of 100,000 Hindus, and that this threat induced the Raya to sue for peace.

Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 238.

Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 333.

Mughals, who professed the Shia faith.[1] This jealousy led to the perpetration of an atrocious crime. In 1454 Khalf Hasan Malik-ul-Tujjar suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of a Hindu chief in the Konkan. The remnant of the unlucky force led by Hasan wended their way to the town of Chakan[2] in order to save their lives, but the Deccani Amirs led the Sultan to believe that they meditated treason, and secured from him an order to destroy them. The Deccani Wazirs arrived in the neighbourhood of Chakan and wormed themselves into the confidence of these unsuspecting foreigners by means of feigned magnanimity. They invited them to a feast and " entertained them with the sword of tyranny and the *sharbat* of destruction, so that about 1,200 Saiyyads of pure lineage, and nearly 1,000 other foreigners from seven to seventeen years of age were put to the sword."[3]

Alauddin died in 1457 after a strenuous career, stained by blood and crime. The author of the *Burhan-i-Masir*, who is supported by Firishta in material particulars, writes that,

[1] Who were these foreigners ?

The earliest Musalmans to arrive in the Deccan were the Arabs who came in the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries to plunder and conquer the coast of Gujarat. The Parsis followed later. During the 9th and 10th centuries many traders came and settled in the coast towns. The Rajput princes of Anhilwad in Gujarat encouraged these men. Then came the Turks in the 11th and 12th centuries.

From the 13th century onwards Musalmans, traders, refugees, and slaves, continued to pour into the Deccan from foreign lands.

There were a great many such foreigners in Gujarat.

See Sir Denison Ross's Introduction, pp. xxxi-xxxii, to the Arabic History of Gujarat, volume II.

[2] Chakan is a small fort 18 miles north from Poona. It has a good ditch about 30 feet wide and 15 feet deep, but wet on the north side only. It is only 31 miles due east of the Bhorghat Pass and commands the shortest route leading from Ahmadnagar to Konkan.

[3] According to the *Burhan-i-Masir*, Khalf and many pious men were killed in battle with the Hindus, and it was only the remainder that retreated to the town of Chakan. Firishta's version is different. He says that Khalf was butchered by the Deccanis along with the Saiyyads and other foreigners in the fort of Chakan.

Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, pp. 239-240.

Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 335.

although the Sultan spent his time in the pursuit of pleasure, he did not neglect the interests of his subjects. He built mosques, established public schools and other charitable institutions, the most important of which was a hospital at Bidar, where skilful physicians were employed to cure the ailments of the poor people. The use of spirituous liquor was forbidden in his dominions, and if any one acted contrary to this injunction, molten lead was poured down his throat. Robbers and vagabonds were put down with a high hand, and men were made to appreciate the value of earning their livelihood by means of some useful employment. Not deeply religious himself, he enforced the observances of the faith and ordered the superintendents of police to educate the people in the rites and customs of Islam and the laws regarding lawful and unlawful things.

Humayun.

Alauddin was succeeded by his eldest son Humayun, who easily set aside Hasan, his younger brother, who had been placed upon the throne by some of the nobles and ministers of the state. He was a monster of cruelty, the very prototype of Nero and Caligula. It is said that on one occasion, when some rebels whom he had captured made good their escape, he bit his lips with such fury that they began to bleed, and ordered the execution of 2,000 of the city guards in a barbarous manner for they had failed to keep watch. The Muslim chronicler who praises his learning, eloquence, and wit writes that "with so many personal excellencies and outward and inward perfections he was of fierce disposition and a shedder of blood; who showed no compassion towards one accused of a crime, and fearlessly shed the blood of Musalmans for the most trivial offences."[1] But the tyrant was fortunate in securing the services of an able minister in Najmuddin Mahmud bin Muhammad Gāwān Gilani, better known in history as Mahmud Gāwān, who served the state with rare fidelity and

[1] Burhan-i-Masir, Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 243.

devotion to the last day of his life.[1] It was due to his masterful diplomacy that the Bahmani kingdom found allies to fight the foreign invaders and succeeded in quelling internal disorder. The principal interest of Humayun's reign does not lie in his foreign wars or administrative reforms, but in the hideous forms of cruelty which he practised with savage brutality. During his absence in Telingana a conspiracy was formed which resulted in the release of the king's brothers, Hasan and Yahiya, from prison. When the Sultan heard of this event, his wrath knew no bounds. He sent a force in pursuit of Hasan Khan and Mirza Habib Ullah, another prisoner who had escaped in the direction of Bijapur. Siraj Khan, the governor of Bijapur, waited upon the fugitive prince and promised security, but during the night he treacherously seized their horses and baggage and made them captives. Hasan prayed for quarter and threw himself upon the mercy of Siraj Khan, but Habib Ullah whom no threats could bend preferred death to submission. He was killed and Hasan was brought to the court under a promise of security. The Sultan caused him in his own presence to be thrown before a ferocious tiger who instantly killed and devoured him. All those who were in any way connected with the release of the prince were tortured to death or thrown alive into cauldrons of boiling oil. The king's ferocity exceeded all bounds, and the Muslim historian graphically describes his horrible cruelties in these words :—

> "From the sighs of the hearts of the afflicted each night there used to be a thousand cavities in the livers of the celestial globe, and the day light, from the smoke

[1] Firishta, who has borrowed his account from Abdul Karím Hamdani's Life of Mahmud Gāwān, writes that he was a native of Qāwān or Gāwān in Iran. His ancestors were the wazirs of Shah Gilan. Mahmud Gāwān came at the age of forty-five to the Deccan for purposes of trade. Alauddin Bahmani made him an Amir of his court and his son conferred upon him the title of Malik-ul-Tujjār. Muhammad raised him to the dignity of the first minister of the state in 1457 and entrusted to him important duties. This position he held with great honour for 25 years until his death. Firishta, Lucknow text, pp. 358-59.

of the hearts of the oppressed used to appear like a dark evening. The fire of his rage blazed up in such a way that it burned up land and water ; and the broker of his violence used to sell the guilty and the innocent by one tariff. The nobles and generals when they went to salute the Sultan used to bid farewell to their wives and children and make their wills. Most of the nobles, ministers, princes, and heirs to the sovereignty were put to the sword."

In October, 1461, Humayun died a natural death, but Firishta says that the more probable account is that he was murdered by his servants in a state of drunkenness. His death afforded welcome relief to his subjects who had for four years groaned under his tyranny in utter helplessness.[1]

Nizam Shah.

When Humayun Shah lay on his death-bed, he left the question of succession to be settled by Malik Shah Turk surnamed Khwājā Jahān, Khwājā Mahmud Gāwān, and the queen-mother, who was one of the most remarkable women that have appeared in the east. The choice of the council of regency fell upon Nizam Shah who was only a stripling of eight years and during his minority the administration of the affairs of state was to be carried on by the Dowager-queen Makhdūmah Jahān, a grand-daughter of Sultan Firuz. The queen, aided by Mahmud Gāwān, energetically set herself to the task of removing the evil effects of her husband's misrule. All the innocent persons who had been thrown into prison by the capricious despot were set at

[1] The poet Nazir composed the following chronogram which expresses the universal joy felt at the tyrant's death :—

> " Humayun Shah has passed away from the world.
> God Almighty, what a blessing was the death of Humayun !
> On the date of his death the world was full of delight.
> So 'delight of the world' gives the date of his death."

The Persian words equivalent of 'delight of the world' are "*Zauq-i-Jahan*" ذوق جہان. The numerical value of the letters comes to 865 A.H., 1460-61 A.D. In foot-note No. (8) in the Indian Antiquary, XXVIII, 1899, p. 247, the total 586 is obviously a misprint.

liberty, and the servants of the state who had been dismissed without cause were reinstated in their offices.

The new administration showed considerable vigour, but the foreign powers, who had no faith in the capabilities of a woman to rule a kingdom, began to plan invasions, and the Rais of Orissa and Telingana were the first to appear in the field at the head of a large army. Undaunted by this combination, the queen-mother organised her forces and replused the enemy with heavy losses. But this was a mere raid in comparison with the formidable invasion of Mahmud Khilji of Malwa who advanced, unopposed, to within a short distance of Bidar. Khwājā Jahān and Mahmud Gāwān marched to meet the invaders, but the Khilji Sultan inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Deccan army, which fled from the field of battle in utter confusion.[1] Then he advanced upon Bidar, laid siege to the town, and devastated the country round. The houses of the nobles as well as of the common people were razed to the ground, and their goods were robbed. The queen with her son repaired to Firuzabad on the Bhima and in this extremity of danger appealed to the ruler of Gujarat for help. The latter responded to her call and marched to her rescue at the head of a large army, but as soon as Mahmud Khilji heard of his approach, he raised the siege and retreated to his own dominions by way of Burhanpur and Asir. A year later (1462) he again set out for the Deccan by way of Daulatabad, but the coalition between Nizam Shah and the ruler of Gujarat so frightened him that he gave up all thought of invasion, and returned to his own country.

Freed from war, the queen-mother began to make preparations for celebrating the nuptials of her son, who had attained

[1] The author of the *Burhan-i-Masir* does not mention this defeat. He says that a sudden panic seized the army which without experiencing any defeat "turned towards the desert like a flock of sheep without a shepherd." But this seems to be a case of *suppressio veri*. The events that followed support Firishta's statement.

Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 278.

Manual, p. 173.

his thirteenth year, but he died, all of a sudden, on July 30, 1463, plunging his affectionate mother and the court into indescribable grief.

After the death of Nizam Shah, the nobles and officers chose his brother Muhammad Shah,[1] as their king. As Muhammad was a minor, the affairs of the state were managed by his mother and the Khwājā Jahān, who was the principal executive head of the administration. But the Khwājā abused his trust and embezzled public funds, so that the queen whom he had relegated to the background determined to get rid of him. The king denounced the minister's conduct in open Darbar, and had him murdered by one of the nobles of his court. The vacant office was now conferred upon Mahmud Gāwān, who received the title of Khwājā Jahān and became the chief authority in the state. Though the new minister was armed with unlimited powers, he behaved with moderation ; and with a singleness of aim which has no parallel in the history of the Bahmani dynasty he devoted himself to the service of the state. He fought wars, subdued countries, and "increased the Bahmani dominions to an extent never reached before." When the king reached his fourteenth year, he was married and the queen-mother retired from public affairs, but she continued to exercise her influence on the administration.

Muhammad Shah III.

Following the example of his predecessors, Muhammad also conceived the idea of waging a *jihād* against the infidels, and sent Khwājā Jahān with a large force against the Hindu chiefs of the Konkan. He captured several forts, but when he advanced towards the fortress of Sangameśvara, the Raya who was terribly frightened sued for peace and surrendered the fortress of Khalnā, the modern Viśālgarh, to the agents of Khwājā Jahān. Having seized immense booty, the minister

[1] Both the authors of the *Burhan-i-Masir* and Firishta write him as Muhammad Shah II, but this is an error. There had gone two Muhammads before him, and therefore he must be called Muhammad III. See the list of the Bahmani kings at the end of this chapter.

returned to the capital, where the Sultan loaded him with titles and accorded him precedence over all other nobles of the court. Several other expeditions were undertaken, which resulted in victory and the acquisition of immense booty.[1]

In the year 1474 a severe famine occurred in the Deccan, which is known as the Bijapur famine. It extended over several districts and caused frightful misery and suffering among the population.

Athnasius Nikitin's visit to Bidar.

In 1470 Athnasius Nikitin, a Russian merchant, visited Bidar. He makes the following observations regarding the country, its government and the people:

"The Sultan is a little man, twenty years old, in the power of the nobles. Khorassanians rule the country and serve in war. There is a Khorassanian Boyar; Melik-Tuchar, who keeps an army of 200,000 men; Melik Khan keeps 100,000; Kharat Khan, 20,000, and many are the Khans that keep 10,000 armed men."

The Sultan.

"The Sultan goes out with 300,000 men of his own troops. The land is overstocked with people; but those in the country are very miserable, whilst the nobles are extremely opulent and delight in luxury. They are wont to be carried on their silver beds, preceded by some 20 chargers caparisoned in gold, and followed by 300 men on horseback and 500 on foot, and by horn-men, ten torch-bearers and ten musicians."

The nobles.

"The Sultan goes out hunting with his mother and his lady, and a train of 10,000 men on horseback, 50,000 on foot; 200 elephants adorned in gilded armour, and in front 100 horn-men, 100 dancers, and 300 common horses in golden

The Sultan's hunts.

[1] An expedition against the Raja of Orissa who was compelled to pay tribute and another against Raya Narasinha who opposed the Sultan's army with 700,000 infantry and 500 elephants only to be defeated in the long run.

Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 288.

clothing, 100 monkeys, and 100 concubines, all foreign (haurikies)."

"The Sultan's palace has seven gates, and in each gate are seated 100 guards and 100 Muhammadan scribes, who enter the names of all persons going in and out. Foreigners are not admitted into the town. This palace is very wonderful; everything in it is carved or gilded, and, even to the smallest stone, is cut and ornamented with gold most wonderfully. Several courts of justice are within the building. Throughout the night the town of Beder is guarded by 1,000 *Kutovalovies* (Kotwals), mounted on horses in full armour, carrying each a light."

The Sultan's palace.

But the most remarkable exploit of the Sultan was his raid on Kanchi or Conjeeveram in the course of a campaign against Narasinha, Raya of Vijayanagar. Kanchi was a sacred city of the Hindus, and contained temples which "were the wonder of the age, filled with countless concealed treasures and jewels, and valuable pearls besides innumerable beautiful slave-girls."

Raid on Kanchi.

The Sultan left his camp at Kondapalli (Condapilly), and by forced marches reached Kanchi on the 12th March, 1481, accompanied by Nizam-ul-mulk Bahri and Yusuf Khan Turk. The Hindus swarmed like bees from within the temple, and fought desperately in its defence. But their fanatical courage availed them nothing, for the Sultan's army which had just been reinforced captured the fort by a determined assault. An immense booty fell into the hands of the victors, who, according to the author of the *Burhan-i-Masir*, "levelled the city and its temples with the ground, and otherthrew all the symbols of infidelity."

It is difficult to believe that wholesale demolition of temples was brought about by the Muslim soldiery, for some of these fine structures are extant to this day. Firishta's account which is less exaggerated than that of the *Burhan-i-Masir* seems to be more probable.

Mahmud Gāwān was a great administrator. He organised the military department of the state and entrusted the control of the entire forces to the king with a view to curtail the jurisdiction and power of the nobles who tended to become too powerful.

Administration.

There were two parties in the state—the Deccanis and the foreigners who were Arabs, Persians, Mughals, Turks and others. Their mutual dissensions and feuds were a source of great trouble, but Mahmud Gāwān so completely enjoyed the confidence of his master that he was able to carry out his work of reform with success. No department escaped his attention ; he organised the finances, improved the administration of justice, encouraged public education, and instituted a survey of village lands to make the state demand of revenue just and equitable. Corrupt practices were put down, and those who were guilty of peculation were called to account. The army was reformed ; better discipline was enforced, and the prospects of the soldiers were improved.

The success and influence of the minister aroused the jealousy of the Deccani nobles, who formed a conspiracy to take his life. They bribed the keeper of his seals and induced him to affix them to a blank paper on which they wrote a letter full of treasonable contents, purporting to have been written by the Khwājā to Narasinha Raya, king of Vijayanagar, and laid it before the Sultan, whose ears had already been poisoned by his enemies. The Sultan's rage knew no bounds ; he called the Khwājā in his private apartment and without enquiring into the nature of the forged document ordered, in a fit of drunkenness, his immediate execution in spite of his asseverations of innocence.[1] Thus perished by the ignoble hand of the assassin a

Murder of Mahmud Gāwān.

[1] When the Khwājā went to see the King he asked him :—

"If a slave of mine is disloyal to his benefactor, and his crime is proved, what should be his punishment ?" Like a loyal servant the Khwājā replied :—"The unfortunate wretch who practises treachery

veteran public servant, who had a glorious record of military triumphs and administrative achievements to his credit. The besotted Sultan discovered afterwards that he had been tricked by the fallen minister's enemies, but the injury that he had done to himself and the state was irreparable. Retribution followed with astounding swiftness, and the Sultan, struck with grief and remorse, died within twelve months, leaving his kingdom a prey to anarchy and misrule.

The character and achievement of Mahmud Gāwān.

Mahmud Gāwān deserves a high place among the greatest statesmen of mediæval history. Meadows Taylor rightly observes that "with him departed all the cohesion and power of the Bahmani kingdom."[1] His whole career might be summed up in the word "Devotion." Devoted he was to the interests of the Bahmanids, devoted to the ideal of territorial expansion and administrative reform. He waged wars, introduced reforms in order to strengthen the state, and even when he had reached the apogee of power, he never neglected the interests of the poor. Simplicity of living, courage and determination in times of difficulty, generosity and magnanimity of temper, love of justice and benevolence, a character that defied temptations so common in a state despotically governed, a lofty conception of morality in an age when the grossest vices were condoned or connived at—all these are traits attributed to him by the unanimous testimony of Muslim historians. But their verdict needs to be revised at least in one important point, namely, that the Khwājā was relentless in his per-

against his lord should meet with nothing but the sword." The King showed him the letter, on seeing which the Khwājā said that it was a clear forgery, although the seals were his. He protested his innocence, but in vain. The intoxicated king signalled to his slave Jauhar, the Abyssinian, and he severed the Khwājā's head from his body.

Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 357.

Burhan-i-Masir, Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1889, p. 291.

[1] Manual, p. 177.

secution of non-Muslims, and showed the same ferocity and blood-thirstiness as was shown by the masters whom he served. By sheer dint of merit, he had risen to the highest position in the state which he maintained to the day of his death. His wants were few ; he slept upon a mattress, and his food was cooked in earthen vessels. On Friday nights, clad in simple garments, he went from one parish of the city to another, giving help to the needy and the indigent. He divided his treasures into two parts—the royal treasury out of which he paid the large establishment which he had to maintain, and the private treasury from which he drew moneys to spend on charitable purposes. Out of his private income made from business, which he was able to carry on with the capital of 4,000 *larīs* that he had brought with him from Gīlān, he took 12 *larīs* a day for his own daily expenses, and of the remainder he spent one half in charity and sent the other half to his relatives abroad. He loved scholarship and possessed a library of 3,000 books, which were deposited in his college[1] at Bidar, where he spent his leisure in the society of learned men. He was well-versed in mathematics, the science of medicine, literature, and had a rare gift for epistolary composition. Firishta ascribes to him the authorship of two works—the '*Rauzat-ul-Inshā*' and '*Dīwān-i-ashr,*' which prove the versatility of his mind. Although pious, learned and munificent, the Khwājā could not rise above the narrow orthodoxy of the age, and his entire religious outlook was that of a typical mediæval canonist. Still, it is refreshing to turn from the scenes of violence and bloodshed and drunken revelry in which the court of Bidar took delight to the pure and austere life of the minister, who subordinated all personal considerations to public duties. The cruel murder of such a great and useful public servant was a calamity which accelerated the ruin of the Bahmani kingdom.

[1] The college was as complete as if just finished, but it was considerably damaged by an explosion of gunpowder in Aurangzeb's time, Briggs, II, p. 510.

Muhammad Shah died in 1482 and was succeeded by his son Mahmud Shah, who was only twelve years of age. The Sultan, when he reached manhood, turned out an imbecile, and spent his time in the company of buffoons and fiddlers who flocked to his court from far and wide. "The people," writes the historian, "following the example of their king, attended to nothing but dissipation. Revered sages pawned their very garments at the wine-cellars, and holy teachers quitting their colleges retired to taverns, and presided over the wine flask." This is doubtless an exaggerated account, but it points to the fact that the king's example had a pernicious effect on the people. As he was unfitted to cope with the situation, disorders increased on all sides, and the provincial governors began to assert their independence. The first to declare his independence was Yusuf Adil Shah at Bijapur, and he was followed by Malik Ahmad, the governor of Daulatabad, who founded the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar. In Berar Imad-ul-mulk caused the Khutba to be read in his name at Burhanpur, and in 1510 after the death of Qasim Barid[1] who had exercised supreme authority at Bidar and held the king in leading strings, Qutb-ul-mulk declared his independence at Golkunda. The Bahmani kingdom was now restricted to Bidar and the provinces near the capital. Amir Barid, the new minister, was king in all but name; he kept Mahmud in a state of humiliating dependence upon himself. When the unfortunate king died in 1518, the Bahmani dynasty virtually came to an end. Three other rulers succeeded to the throne after him, but they were mere figureheads. The last, Kalim Ullah Shah, who came to the throne in 1524, solicited the aid of Babar to recover the lost fortunes of his house,

The downfall of the Bahmani kingdom.

[1] He was originally a Georgian slave, but became minister under Mahmud Bahmani who was a puppet in his hands. His son continued to hold the same post till 1527 when Kalim Ullah, the last king, fled to Ahmadnagar, disappointed in his hopes to recover his shattered fortunes. It was, then, that Amir Barid assumed royalty.

but his appeal met with no response. With his death ended the Bahmani dynasty after a glorious career of 179 years.

The kingdom was broken up into five independent principalities which were :—

1. The Imad Shahi dynasty of Berar.
2. The Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar.
3. The Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur.
4. The Qutb Shāhi dynasty of Golkunda.
5. The Barid Shahi dynasty of Bidar.

A résumé of Bahmani history.

The Bahmani dynasty contained in all fourteen kings, who were with a few exceptions blood-thirsty tyrants, ferocious and cruel, who persecuted the Hindus and gloried in their slaughter. The founder of the dynasty had risen from obscurity to power, and his knowledge of public affairs, which he had acquired at Delhi, greatly assisted him in establishing an efficient administration. Though a capable administrator, Hasan also sanctioned the persecution of his Hindu subjects. His successors were mostly debauchees and inhuman tyrants, whose policy was ill-adapted to the real ends of government. The administration was never efficient, except perhaps during the ministry of Gāwān, owing to the factious disputes of the Deccani and foreign Amirs, and the Bahmani kings had done nothing to check the turbulence of these officers. The Hindus were treated with needless severity ; it is true, they were employed in the subordinate branches of the administration, where they were indispensable by reason of their better knowledge and experience, but the doors of the higher offices were shut against them. The system of village government continued as before, and even when the Bahmanids waged war *à outrance* against their political and religious foes, they did not disturb the ordinary husbandman in the country, who was occupied in tilling his lands, and who cared little for the politics of Bidar or Vijayanagar. The revenue reforms of Gāwān had improved the system of collection ; the agriculturists were allowed the option of paying the revenue of the

state either in cash or kind. Athnasius Nikitin of whom mention has been made before, gives interesting details regarding the condition of the Bahmani kingdom. He says, the country was populous, the lands well-cultivated, the roads safe from robbers, and the capital of the kingdom, a magnificent city with parks and promenades. He mentions the contrast between the splendour of the court, the opulence of the nobles and the poverty and squalor of the grovelling subject : and says that the people in the country were very miserable, while the nobles lived in great magnificence. From the observations of Nikitin, based upon the experience of a single reign, —and that too of one of the worst rulers of the dynasty— Dr. Vincent Smith draws the conclusion that such an overgrown establishment of armed men, women, and beasts, controlled by a selfish minority of luxurious nobles, must have sucked the country dry. But he forgets that large royal establishments in the middle ages were the rule rather than the exception. The Tughluqs in the 14th and the Mughals in the 16th and 17th centuries spent large sums of money on personal display. Mediæval monarchs, both in the east and west, spent the poor man's money like water on personal display for the simple reason that the problems which confront a modern state did not exist in those days. The Bahmanids plundered the property of their enemies, and every victory brought large treasures into their hands. But there is no evidence of oppressive exactions from their subjects even in times of war.[1] On the contrary, we read of efforts to provide facilities of irrigation to the cultivators. The Bahmani kings—sometimes even the most tyrannical of them—were patrons of art and letters and encouraged education.[2] Mosques were built in villages and

[1] The Hindus were left to till their lands in peace, and the only difference was that they had to pay to Muslims instead of Hindu landholders.

Gribble, History of the Deccan, p. 205.

[2] Law, Promotion of Learning in India during Muhammadan Rule, pp. 80—91.

Fergusson, Architecture at Bijapur, p. 12.

towns, where the *mullah* imparted instruction to Muslim boys, and in most villages in the Deccan the old endowments of the Bahmani kings exist to this day. Mahmud Gāwān's college was a large institution endowed by the minister himself, to which was attached a library containing 3,000 volumes.

The Bahmanids did not build any magnificent buildings like some other Muslim rulers. The city of Bidar is highly praised by contemporary observers as a place full of beautiful and spacious buildings. Several forts were built, which Meadows Taylor describes with a slight touch of exaggeration as "choice expressions of grandeur of design of mountain fortresses and tasteful and munificent execution." The forts of Gwaligarh and Narnulla are examples of such architecture. There are others like Parenda and Ausa which deserve mention because of their strategic position.[1]

But, in spite of all this, it must be admitted that there is much in the history of the Bahmanids that deserves the strongest condemnation. The annals of the dynasty are replete with instances of organised murders, massacres of human beings, the desecration of temples, and the disgraceful orgies which went on from day to day at the court. The armies often behaved like a lawless rabble and caused much suffering to the people. The forcible conversions embittered the feelings between the rulers and their 'infidel' subjects. But in judging the Bahmanids, it would be unfair to apply to their conduct the standards of our own day. In the fourteenth century European monarchs burnt Christian heretics and used the rack and the Inquisition to extirpate dissent. The Bahmanids acted similarly in dealing with people whose religious beliefs and practices were vastly different to their own. It is difficult to endorse the unqualified praise which Meadows Taylor bestows upon the Bahmanids, but it is equally hard to concur in their wholesale condemnation which is to be found in the

[1] Parenda is 70 miles N.W. of Gulbarga and Ausa is 70 miles N.N.W. of Gulbarga.

pages of the admirable history of India by that eminent scholar, Dr. Vincent Smith.[1]

THE FIVE MUHAMMADAN KINGDOMS OF THE DECCAN.

Berar.

The founder of the Imad Shahi dynasty was Fatah Ullah Imad Shah, who was originally a Hindu from Carnatic, but was afterwards converted to Islam. He gave proof of his ability in the service of his patron, Khan-i-Janan, viceroy of Berar, whom he afterwards succeeded in that capacity. He was the first to separate from the Bahmani kingdom, and the independence of his house dates from 1484. The dynasty lasted until 1574, when the province was incorporated in the Nizam Shahi dominions.

Bijapur.

The founder of the Adil Shahi dynasty was Yusuf Adil Khan, who was in his early life publicly known as a Georgian slave who had been purchased by Mahmud Gāwān. But Firishta writes that he was in reality of royal lineage. He was a son of Sultan Murad II of Turkey, who died in 1451. When his eldest son Muhammad succeeded to the throne, he ordered the extermination of all the male children of the late Sultan ; and it is said that Yusuf's mother with marvellous skill substituted a slave boy for her own son whom she entrusted to the care of a Persian merchant. Yusuf lived in Persia, but thinking that country to be unsafe he came to India as a slave. Gradually he rose to high rank through the favour of his patron, Mahmud Gāwān.

[1] Manual, p. 186.

Oxford History of India, p. 283.

Firishta has written an exhaustive history of the kings of Bijapur which is less ornate and more discriminating than other histories compiled under royal patronage.

Firishta reached Bijapur in 1589, where he was well received by Ibrahim Adil Shah II. With the help of his royal patron there he began to write his famous history and seems to have finished his account of Bijapur kings in 1596.

The MSS. of this history are common. It was translated by Scott into English, but the translation is now becoming scarce. The text has been published by the Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, which is fairly good and reliable.

who treated him as his son. In 1489, when the Bahmani kingdom began to show signs of decline, he declared his independence and established a principality at Bijapur, which he made the capital of his dynasty.

Yusuf Adil had a formidable enemy in Qasim Barid, who fomented intrigue against him and incited the Raya of Vijayanagar to declare war upon Bijapur. Narasinha readily embraced the proposal, but he was defeated with his allies and the coalition was completely broken up. The Hindus fled from the field of battle, their camp was plundered, and vast booty fell into the hands of Yusuf Adil Shah's army. In 1495, Dastūr Dīnar, the governor of Gulbarga, revolted, and Qasim Barid solicited the aid of Yusuf against the rebel, which was readily given. The rebel was defeated, and though Qasim Barid wished to put him to death, Yusuf Adil interceded to save his life and managed to have Gulbarga restored to him. Yusuf's move was to obtain Gulbarga for himself later on in order to cut Qasim Barid off from his estate. Qasim offered resistance but he was defeated. Dastūr Dīnar also resolved to fight with the support of some Abyssinians, but in an action that followed he was worsted and killed.

This victory enormously increased the prestige of Adil Shah and secured him in possession of the throne of Bijapur. In 1502 in pursuance of an old vow, he declared the Shia creed the state religion, and in doing so he behaved with great caution. Perfect toleration was extended to the Sunnis, and an order was promulgated that no one was to be coerced to renounce his faith. Nevertheless, this extraordinary change brought a storm of opposition on his devoted head, and the neighbouring powers formed a league against him. Alarmed by the heavy odds arrayed against him, he fled to Imad Shah of Berar, who like an astute politician advised him to restore the Sunni creed and to withdraw to Khandesh. Yusuf accepted the advice.

Meanwhile Imad-ul-mulk wrote to the allies that they were being used by Amir Barid for his own selfish purposes. The

Sultans of Ahmadnagar and Golkunda left the field with their forces, leaving Amir Barid to fight single-handed against Yusuf Adil Shah. The task of Yusuf was made easy ; he defeated Amir Barid and entered Bijapur in triumph. In 1510 the Portuguese took Goa which was a favourite resort of the Sultan. He marched to encounter them at the head of a considerable force and recovered it. But his death, which occurred a few months afterwards, enabled the Portuguese to capture the place by storm with comparative ease.

Yusuf Adil Shah is one of the most remarkable rulers of the Deccan. He was singularly free from religious bigotry, and always treated his Hindu subjects with consideration. He had married a Maratha lady,[1] daughter of Mukand Rao, a Maratha chieftain, whom he had previously subdued, and it was partly due to her influence also that Yusuf was so tolerant in matters of religion. He extended his patronage to men of letters, and many a learned man came to his court from Persia, Turkistan and Rum. His private life was free from blemish ; unlike other Muslim kings he maintained no *haram* and spent no money on personal pleasures. The Hindus were admitted to offices in the state, and in conferring privileges and honours the king made no distinction between the various classes of his subjects. A man's religious faith was no bar to public employment. Firishta bestows high praise upon him, and says that he was "handsome in person, eloquent of speech and eminent for his learning, liberality, and valour." The same authority writes that although he combined pleasure with business, he never allowed the former to interfere with the latter and always warned his ministers to act with justice and integrity and in his own person showed them an example of attention to those virtues.

[1] She was called Boobooji Khanum.

By her he had one son and three daughters, whom he married to the three rulers of the Deccan to strengthen the position of his family. Boobooji Khanum was a highly talented and ambitious lady and the part she took in the affairs of her time shows that she was a woman of keen political instincts.

Ismail was nine years of age at the time of his accession to the throne ; and the business of government was carried on by Kamal Khan, a tried officer of the late king, whom he had appointed regent on his death-bed. But the regent proved a traitor ; he intrigued with Amir Barid and tried to usurp the throne. A counterplot was formed by the queen-mother, who had him assassinated by a slave. Ismail assumed the reins of sovereignty in his own hands, but he was surrounded on all sides by powerful enemies who longed to seize his territories. He fought against the kings of Vijayanagar and the Muslim rulers of Ahmadnagar. He obtained brilliant victories in all the wars, and in the long run he recovered possession of the Raichur Doab from the Raya of Vijayanagar. Ismail died in 1534 and was succeeded by Mallu Adil Shah, who turned out so thoroughly incompetent that he was dethroned and blinded, and his brother Ibrahim was proclaimed king. In all these transactions the queen-mother played an important part.

Ismail Shah.

Ibrahim Adil Shah's first act was the restoration of the Sunni form of worship. This was followed by the dismissal of all foreigners in his service and the appointment of the Deccanis and Abyssinians in their places. The unwisdom of this policy soon manifested itself in the employment of these discharged men by the Raya of Vijayanagar, who treated them kindly and respected even their religious prejudices. Soon after a revolution occurred at Vijayanagar, when Hoji Parmal Rao usurped the crown and took the field against Ram Raja. Ram Raja was, however, too powerful to be crushed easily, and the usurper called to his aid Ibrahim and requested him to spend a week in his capital. The offer of a large subsidy tempted Ibrahim to go to Vijayanagar, where he spent a week in the midst of great rejoicings and festivities. But the Hindu Rajas disapproved of the alliance of Parmal Rao with a Muslim prince, and finding his opportunity Ram Raja laid siege to the capital and once again became king.

Ibrahim Adil Shah.

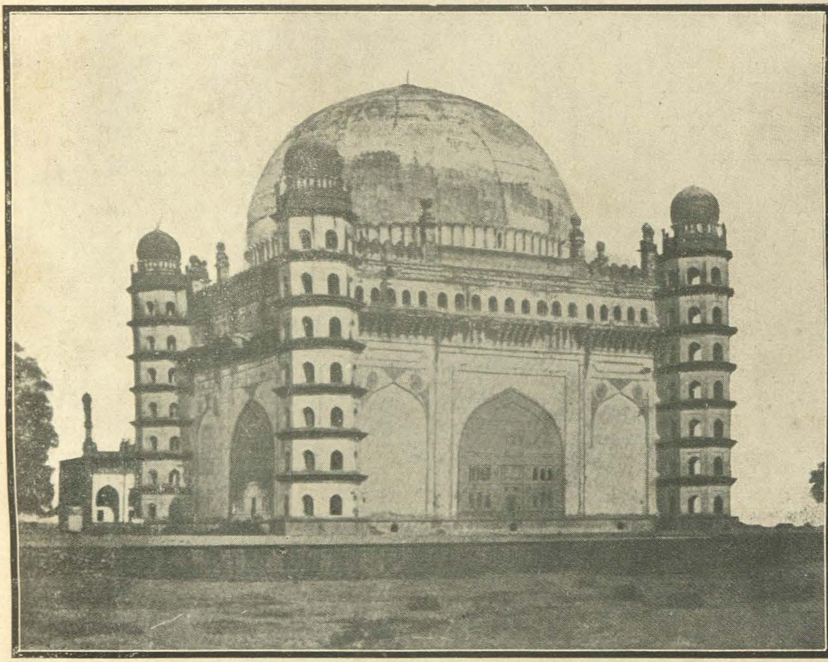
Ibrahim then engaged in a war with the rulers of Bidar, Ahmadnagar and Golkunda, and through the intrepidity, courage, and skill of his famous minister, Asad Khan, he came out successful.

Having freed himself from all danger, the king spent his time in the pursuit of pleasure. Debauchery and intemperance soon had their effect ; the king fell ill and died in 1557 and the physicians, who had failed to cure him, were either beheaded or trampled under the feet of elephants—a fact which shows the Sultan's impulsive temper and utter disregard of human life. During his reign the Hindus were employed in the revenue and the accounts departments, and Marathi was used in the preparation of accounts. The striking fact, however, is the increasing importance of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar in the politics of the Deccan.

Ali Adil Shah.

Soon after his accession the new Sultan restored the Shia faith, which had been discarded by his predecessor, and he did it in such an impolitic manner that discontent spread in the country as a result of his changed policy. In 1558, he made an alliance with Ram Raja of Vijayanagar, and invaded the Ahmadnagar territory and ravaged it. The Hindus took ample revenge for the massacres, from which they had suffered in the past, and perpetrated the most horrible excesses. The fort of Ahmadnagar, however, baffled the attempts of the besiegers who were compelled to raise the siege on account of the advent of the monsoon.

These excesses and cruelties of the Hindus disgusted even their ally Ali Adil Shah, who began to lend a ready ear to the proposals of a Muslim crusade against Vijayanagar. The principal reason for a quadruple alliance among the Muslim powers seems to be that they were alarmed by the growing preponderance of the Hindu kingdom which in their opinion menaced the independence, nay, the very existence, of the Muslim monarchies. The Sultans of Bijapur, Bidar, Ahmadnagar and Golkunda combined against Ram Raja and inflicted



Gol Gumbuz or Tomb of Adil Shah.

a crushing defeat upon him in the battle of Talikota in 1565 which will be described fully in relating the history of the Vijayanagar kingdom. Ali Adil Shah was assassinated in 1579 by a favourite eunuch whom he had offended in some way. He was succeeded by Ibrahim Adil Shah II.

Ibrahim Adil Shah II.

The new king was a minor, and the affairs of government were managed by the Dowager-queen Chand Bibi, who is so famous in history for her heroic defence of Ahmadnagar. War frequently broke out between Bijapur and Ahmadnagar, but in 1594 the Sultan of Ahmadnagar was slain in battle, and Ibrahim emerged victorious. Ibrahim died in 1626. He was the most remarkable ruler of his dynasty, " and in most respects, except its founder, the most able and popular."

Ahmadnagar.

The founder of the Nizam Shahi dynasty was Nizam-ul-mulk Bahri, the leader of the Deccan party at Bidar. After Mahmud Gāwān's death, which was brought about by a conspiracy in which the adventurer had a hand, he was appointed minister, and in this capacity he wielded unlimited authority. His son Malik Ahmad was appointed governor of Junair, where he himself wished to join him, but all his plans were frustrated by Pasand Khan, governor of Bidar, who had him strangled to death with the king's permission. Malik Ahmad declared his independence in 1498, and after some time transferred his court to the newly founded city of Ahmadnagar. He fought long and hard to obtain possession of Daulatabad and its dependencies ; and his efforts were finally crowned with success in 1499. Ahmad Nizam Shah died in 1508, and was succeeded by his son Burhan Nizam Shah.

Burhan and his successors.

As Burhan was a minor, the business of government was carried on by his father's old officers. The young prince received a good education, and Firishta writes that he saw in the royal library at Ahmadnagar a treatise on the duties of kings copied by him when he was only ten years of age. He married a

Bijapur princess, and in 1529, when a league was formed against Ahmadnagar by the rulers of Gujarat, Khandesh, and Berar, it was through the help of his brother-in-law and his Brahman minister that Burhan escaped disgrace. Later, he fell out with the king of Bijapur and brought about almost a diplomatic revolution by concluding an alliance with the Raya of Vijayanagar. The allies marched their troops into the Bijapur territory, and Burhan captured the fort of Sholapur. In 1553, taking advantage of the disorder that prevailed at Bijapur, the Nizam Shahi king laid siege to the town, but illness compelled him to raise the siege, and he died shortly afterwards. His successor was Husain Shah, who joined the confederacy that was organised by Ali Adil Shah against the Raya of Vijayanagar. After his death in 1565, Murtaza Nizam Shah succeeded him, but he abdicated the throne and entrusted the kingdom to his ministers, Sahib Khan and Salabat Khan. The subsequent history of Ahmadnagar is unimportant, except for the heroic defence made by Chand Bibi against Prince Murad. At first, she purchased peace by yielding Berar, but when the war broke out again, she succumbed to the attack of the Mughal armies, and Ahmadnagar was conquered by the imperialists in 1600.

Golkunda.

The founder of the Qutb Shahi dynasty of Golkunda was Qutb-ul-mulk, who was descended from the Baharlū tribe of the Turks. Being a well-educated man, he was employed as secretary in one of the offices of the state during the reign of Mahmud Shah Bahmani. Gradually he rose to be the governor of Telingana and loyally served his master ; but when he found that he could not get on with Qasim Barid, whose pride and insolence made him an undesirable colleague, he declared his independence in 1518.[1] Qutb Shah was murdered by his son Jamshed in 1543, when he was ninety years of age. Several weak rulers suc-

[1] The new kingdom of Golkunda took the place of the old Kākatīya kingdom of Warangal.

ceeded to the throne after him, but nothing worthy of mention happened during their reigns. In 1565 the Sultan of Golkunda also joined the grand alliance against Vijayanagar and continued to enjoy independent status until 1611, after which date it ceased to have a separate history. The kingdom was finally annexed by Aurangzeb to the Mughal empire in 1687.

When the power of the Bahmani kingdom declined, Qasim Barid, the minister, exercised supreme authority in the state.

Bidar.

Although Sultan Mahmud Shah was a mere non-entity, Qasim Barid shrank from assuming the honours of royalty. After his death in 1504, his son Amir Barid succeeded him as minister, but he did not declare his independence like others. He bided his time. It was only when the last Sultan, Kalim Ullah, fled to Bijapur that Amir Barid assumed the title of king, and formally proclaimed himself an independent ruler in 1526. The dynasty lingered until 1609 when it was supplanted by the Adil Shahs who annexed the province to their dominions.

THE SULTANS OF THE BAHMANI DYNASTY.

	Date of Accession. A.H.	A.D.
Alauddin Hasan	748	1347
Muhammad I	759	1358
Mujahid	775	1373
Daud	780	1378
Muhammad II	780	1378
Ghiyas-ud-din	799	1397
Firuz	800	1397
Ahmad Shah	825	1422
Alauddin II	838	1435
Humayun	862	1457
Nizam	865	1461
Muhammad III	867	1463
Mahmud	887	1482
Ahmad Shah	924	1518
Alauddin Shah II	927	1520
Wali Ullah Shah	929	1522
Kalim Ullah Shah	932	1524

CHAPTER XV

DISINTEGRATION

(iii) The Empire of Vijayanagar

It has been said in a previous chapter that Alauddin Khilji was the first Muslim ruler of Delhi who penetrated into the Deccan. Prior to his conquest, the Deccan was under the rule of four principal dynasties—the Yādavas of Devagir, the Kākatīyas of Warangal, the Hoysala Ballālas of Dvarsamudra and the Pāndyas of Madura. All these kingdoms, whose territorial limits frequently fluctuated owing to wars and feuds, were overthrown by Alauddin's general, Malik Kafur, and had to acknowledge the suzerainty of Delhi. The empire reached the summit of its greatness under Muhammad Tughluq, whose sway in the early part of his reign extended from Lahore and Sarhind in the north to Dvarsamudra in the south, and from Lakhnauti in the east to Sindh and Gujarat in the west. The Muslim conquest of the Deccan was nothing more than a mere military occupation. Fired by the lust of dominion and plunder, the Muslims carried death and destruction wherever they went, and reduced the Hindus, even of the far south, to a state of extreme misery and helplessness. No institutions were devised for the better government of the conquered peoples ; religious toleration was not extended to them, and the provincial satraps always behaved as independent rulers within their jurisdiction. An empire consisting of alien races, having vast differences in their social and religious outlooks and representing different stages of civilisation, cannot permanently rest upon physical force, and the great disorders of

Origin of the empire, 1336 A.D.

Muhammad Tughluq's reign were only a vindication of this principle, which has been slowly recognised by mankind. It was not merely Muhammad's severity and turbulence of the foreign Amirs that led to the convulsions of his reign, but the inherent impossibility of keeping under firm control such distant territories from Delhi in the utter absence of means of communication. The revolt of Jalal-ud-din Ahsanshah in 1335, marked the foundation of the independent principality of Madura, and a year later was founded the famous kingdom of Vijayanagar by Hari Hara and Bukka, sons of one Sangama of the Yādava race. Sewell in his valuable history of Vijayanagar enumerates seven traditionary accounts of the origin of the great Deccan kingdom.[1] But the most probable account is that which ascribes the origin of the kingdom to two brothers, Hari Hara and Bukka, who were employed in the treasury of Pratap Rudra Deva Kākatīya of Warangal, and who fled from that country when it was overrun by the Muslims in 1323. They entered the service of the Raja of Anagondi,[2] but when Anagondi fell into the hands of the Muslims the Sultan left his deputy, Malik Naib, in charge of the conquered province. Hari Hara and Bukka, who were ministers of the vanquished Hindu chief, were taken as prisoners to Delhi. But the Muslim domination galled the pride of the Hindus. They rose in rebellion against their new rulers so that the Sultan of Delhi was compelled to release the two brothers and restore to them the country of Anagondi, which they held as feudatories of the empire.[3] With the help of the

[1] Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, pp. 20—22.
B. S. Row, History of Vijayanagar, pt. I, pp. 23—26.
Major, India in the Fifteenth Century, Hakluyt ed., p. 29.
According to the inscriptions Hari Hara had four brothers—Kampa, Bukka, Marappa, and Mudppa. They were the sons of one Sangama who claimed to be of the Yādava stock. They were Śaivites. Hari Hara treated his brothers well and assigned to them important fiefs. The brothers assisted him in building up an empire by means of conquests and annexations.

[2] Anagondi is situated on the bank of the Tungbhadra in the Raichur district, Hyderabad state.

[3] Chronicle of Nuniz, Sewell, pp. 296—98.

famous sage and scholar Vidyāraṇya (forest of learning), they founded in the year 1336, the imperial city on the bank of the Tungbhadra merely as a place of shelter against the persecutions and aggressions of the Muslim invaders, and Hari Hara became the first ruler of the new dynasty.[1]

The early kings.

Hari Hara gradually extended the boundaries of his little kingdom, and by the end of the year 1340, he had established his sway over the valley of the Tungbhadra, portions of the Konkan, and the Malabar coast. Although Hari Hara and his brothers had acquired considerable power, they never assumed royal titles, perhaps because Ballāla III, the last great representative of the Hoysala dynasty, was still alive and exercised sovereign authority over the southern districts,[2] while the Sultan of Madura held in possession the south-eastern part of the peninsula. From the accounts of the Muslim historians we learn that Hari Hara I participated in the grand confederacy which was organised by Kriṣṇa Nāyak, son of Pratap Rudra Deva of Warangal, in 1344 to drive the Muslims out of the Deccan.

Zia-ud-din Barani, who is a contemporary chronicler, writes : " while this (referring to Muhammad Tughluq's expeditions in Samana and Sannam) was going on, a revolt broke out among the Hindus at Arangal. Kanhya Naik had gathered strength in the country. Malik Makbul, the Naib vizier, fled to Delhi, and the Hindus took possession of Arangal, which was thus entirely lost. About the same time one of the re-

[1] Lewis Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 110.
B. S. Row, History of Vijayanagar, p. 10.
Epig. Carn., VI, Sg. 11.
Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, pp. 23-24.
Report on Sanskrit and Tamil MSS. for 1893-94, No. 49.
Madhava, the head of the *matha* at Śringeri in the Kadur district, was known as Vidyāraṇya which literally means 'forest of learning.'

[2] Epig. Carn., X, Mr. 82.
The full titles of Vir Ballāla are given. In 1340 he declared his son as his heir. Epig. Carn., IX, Bn. 111.
Vir Ballāla died fighting against the Sultan of Madura two years later, *i.e.*, in 1342 A.D. Epig. Carn., VI, Kd. 75. Ibn Batūtā, Paris ed., IV, p. 198.

latives of Kanhya Naik, whom the Sultan had sent to Kambala (Kampila), apostatised from Islam and stirred up a revolt. The land of Kambala also was, thus, lost, and fell into the hands of the Hindus. Devagir and Gujarat alone remained secure."[1] The evidence of inscriptions also points to the fact that Hari Hara I assisted in this confederacy and fought against the Muslim forces.[2] However that may be, the peculiar circumstances of the time favoured Hari Hara's schemes of territorial aggrandisement. The last king of the Hoysala dynasty, Virūpākṣa Ballāla, the son and successor of Ballāla III, died fighting against the Sultan of Madura in 1346, and his death[3] at such a felicitous conjuncture, when the power of the Delhi Sultan had all but disappeared, enabled the valiant brothers to bring under their control the dominions of the Hoysalas. Being ambitious men, the brothers embarked upon a career of conquest, and so great was the success which attended their arms that within the life-time of Hari Hara the kingdom of Vijayanagar extended from the Krishna in the north to the neighbourhood of the Kaveri in the south, and comprised the whole country situated between the eastern and western oceans.[4] But the northward expansion of the rising kingdom

[1] Barani, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Elliot, III, pp. 245-46; Biblioth. Ind., p. 484. The text has Kampila instead of Kambala as in Elliot. Firishta's account of the foundation of Vijayanagar is incorrect both in its date and details.

Briggs, I, p. 427.

No Muslim historian except Barani says that Hari Hara and Bukka ever embraced Islam. We have the testimony of Ibn Batūtā who says that the captive princes of Anagondi were converted to Islam. His statement corroborates Barani. But such allegiance, if ever rendered, must have been merely nominal.

[2] Sewell, Lists of Antiquities, II, p. 161.

Firishta writes: 'Belal Deo and Kriṣṇa Nayak united their forces with the troops of Mabir and Dvarsamudra, who were formerly tributaries to the government of the Carnatic.' Briggs, I, p. 427.

[3] Epig. Carn., IX, Bn. 120.

The Madura Sultan is described as an "axe to the creeper of the prosperity of the Ballālas."

S. K. Aiyenger, Sources of Vijayanagar History, p. 28.

[4] Ibn Batūtā writes:—"The inhabitants of Malabar generally pay tribute to the king of Hanaur (هنور), fearing as they do his bravery

was checked by the Bahmani kingdom, founded in 1347 by Hasan, one of the leaders of the foreign Amirs, who had revolted against the authority of the Delhi Sultan. The disorders of the time enabled Hasan to enlarge his dominions so that by the time of his death in 1358 they extended from the Pen Ganga in the north to the Krishna in the south, and from Dabhol in the west to Bhonagir or Bhongir in the east. As the Bahmanids and the Vijayanagar kings followed similar schemes of territorial expansion, they frequently came into collision and fought with each other with a ferocity and vigour which has no parallel in the annals of mediæval India. For more than two centuries, the two powers contended against each other for supremacy, and in their attempts to secure the hegemony of the Deccan states perpetrated horrible crimes which have already been described in the history of the Bahmani dynasty in a previous chapter. Hari Hara had to placate Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah, who led a predatory expedition against his kingdom in 1352 by yielding portions of his territory, which according to Firishta extended as far south as the river Tungbhadra, "the vicinity of the fortress of Adoni." Hari Hara divided the empire into provinces, which he entrusted to scions of the royal family and trustworthy viceroys, whose loyalty had been proved by long and faithful service.[1] Hari Hara I died about 1353

by sea. His army too consists of about six thousand men. They are, nevertheless, a brave and warlike race. The present king is Jamal-ud-din Muhammad Ibn Hasan. He is one of the best of princes; but is himself subject to an infidel king, whose name is Horaib (هريب)."

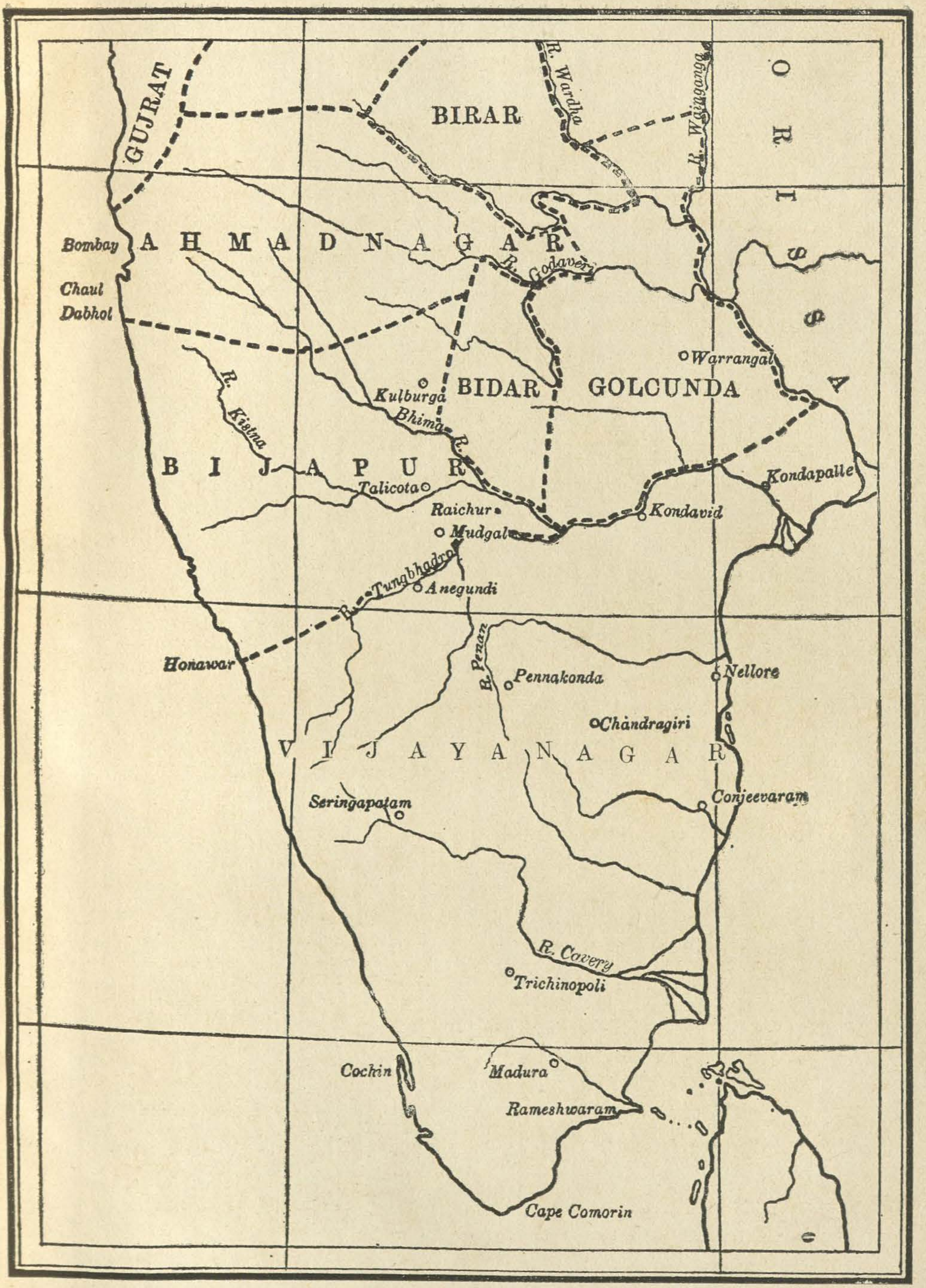
This Horaib or to be more correct Harib is no other than Hari Hara, the first ruler of Vijayanagar.

Lee, Translation of Ibn Batūtā's Travels, Chap. XVII, p. 166.

Epig. Carn., VIII, 375, and X, Mr. 39.

[1] Epig. Carn., IX, Bn. 59.

Hari Hara and Bukka exercised joint sovereignty over the realm and the territorial limits of their direct rule [a] included the northern and central portions of the Hoysala dominion; Kampa [b] was entrusted with the Udayagiri-Rajya (the modern Cadapa and Nellore districts); Marappa [c] governed the Araga or Male-Rajya comprising the modern North Canara and Shimoga districts; while Hadapada Gantarasa, [d] a minister, held another important province.


GUJRAT
BIRAR
R. Wardha
R. Waingunga
ORISSA
Bombay
AHMADNAGAR
R. Godaveri
Chaul
Dabhol
Warrangal
BIDAR
GOLCUNDA
Kulburga
R. Kistna
Bhima R.
BIJAPUR
Talicota
Kondapalle
Raichur
Kondavid
Mudgal
R. Tungbhadra
Anegundi
R. Penan
Honawar
Pennakonda
Nellore
Chandragiri
VIJAYANAGAR
Seringapatam
Conjeevaram
R. Cavery
Trichinopoli
Cochin
Madura
Rameshwaram
Cape Comorin

The Deccan.

and was succeeded by his brother Bukka who completed the building of the city of Vijayanagar and by means of his conquests greatly enlarged its dimensions.[1] So formidable was the might of his arms that he is described in the inscriptions as the master of the eastern, western and southern oceans, a terror to the Turushkas, the chiefs of Konkan, the Andhras, the Gurjars, the Kambhojas, and the Kalujas. These laudatory epithets, exaggerated as they are, point to the conclusion that he was a remarkable ruler. He sent a mission to Tai-tsu, the Ming emperor of China,[2] and waged wars, whose gruesome story is related at length in the pages of Firishta, against Muhammad Shah and Mujahid Shah, the contemporary rulers of the Bahmani dynasty. Bukka was a tolerant and liberal-minded ruler ; on one occasion he brought about a reconciliation between the Jains and their persecutors, the Vaiṣṇavas. He summoned the leaders of both parties and placing the hand of the Jains in the hand of the Vaiṣṇavas ordained that each sect should follow its modes of worship with equal freedom. This royal ordinance was proclaimed in various places with a view to establish friendly relations among the followers of rival sects in the empire.[3]

After Bukka's death which occurred in 1379 the crown passed into the hands of Hari Hara II, the first king of the

(*a*) Archæological Survey Report of India, 1907-08, p. 237, note 2.
(*b*) Nellore Inscriptions, II, p. 789, No. 28.
See Inscription No. 28.
(*c*) Epig. Carn., VIII, Sb. 375.
(*d*) Epigraphical collection for 1901, No. 57.

[1] He freed from enemies a hundred royal cities and ruled over an empire perfect in its seven parts.
Lewis Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, Yd. 46, p. 113.

[2] Bretschneider, Mediæval Researches, ed. 1910, II, p. 222.

[3] Lewis Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, Sb. 136, Ma. 18.
A copy of this decree still exists at Kalya in Magdi taluq. The date 1368 A.D. of this reconciliation given by Lewis Rice is incorrect. Hari Hara died about the year 1355 A.D. and was succeeded by his brother Bukka, some of whose records are dated 1355 A.D.
Epig. Carn., XII, Pg. 74 and Cf. 522.
Ibid., XI, Cd. 1 and 2.

dynasty, who assumed imperial titles and called himself Maharajadhiraj. He endowed temples and undertook measures in order to consolidate his vast possessions. Sewell writes that he was always a lover of peace, and Vincent Smith follows him by saying that he had a quiet time so far as the Muslims were concerned, and enjoyed leisure which he devoted to consolidating his dominion over the whole of southern India, including Trichinopoly and Conjeevaram (Kanchi).[1] But we learn from the inscriptions that in 1380, when the Turushkas seized the hill-fort of Adoni,[2] Mallapa-Odeyar's son defeated them, captured the fortress and made it over to Hari Hara. The Turushkas repeated their incursions, but they were beaten back again. To realise his imperialistic aims, he turned his attention to other countries of the south, and the Keralas, the Taulavas, the Andhras, and the Kutakas were conquered by his general Gunda, and vast booty fell into the hands of the victors.[3] Hari Hara II like his predecessor was tolerant in religious matters, as is evidenced by an inscription dated 1385 on a pillar in a Jain temple near Kamalpura at Vijayanagar. He died on the 30th August, 1404. His son appears to have succeeded him, but his reign was of a very short duration. Deva Raya succeeded him, but his claim was disputed by another son of Hari Hara, and it was not until November, 1406, that he was securely established on the throne. Deva Raya had to fight *à outrance* against the Bahmanids, who again and again invaded his territories. Firishta relates that Firuz waged unceasing wars against the Raya, and on one occasion compelled him to give his daughter

Hari Hara II.

[1] Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, p. 48.
Smith, Oxford History of India, p. 302.

[2] Adoni is in the Bellary district on the road from Bangalore to Secundarabad.
Imp. Gaz., V, p. 24.

[3] Lewis Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 115.
Kg. 43, Ck. 15, Bl. 3.
Ibid., p. 226.

in marriage to the Sultan—a mark of abject submission to which no Hindu would have submitted except in circumstances of utter helplessness.[1] Safety was purchased at the sacrifice of honour, but even this heavy price did not satisfy the Muslim ruler, who took offence at the Raya's not going with him all the way to his camp when he came to Vijayanagar to participate in the marriage festivities. Firuz's last years were clouded by sorrow and disappointment, for his son and heir, Hasan, had been ousted by his more ambitious brother, Ahmad Shah, who seized the throne for himself. Deva Raya died in 1410 and was succeeded by his son Vijaya Raya, who after a reign of nine years was followed by Deva Raya II, an unfortunate ruler who suffered great reverses at the hands of the Bahmani Sultans.

Deva Raya II, 1419–1446 A.D.

Firuz's successor, Ahmad Shah, ravaged the territories of Vijayanagar, massacred the women and children without mercy, and took a fiendish delight in shedding Hindu blood. Firishta writes that this blood-thirsty tyrant celebrated a carnival for three days, when the total number of his defenceless Hindu victims of both sexes and all ages reached 20,000. War with the Bahmanids continued, and about the year 1442 the Raya began to devise measures to strengthen his army. Impressed by the superiority of Muslim cavalry, he had recourse to the dangerous experiment of enlisting Muslim horsemen in his service, and scrupulously respected their religious prejudices. When the war broke out afresh in 1443, the Muslims inflicted heavy losses upon him and compelled him to pay tribute. During his reign Vijayanagar was visited by two foreigners—

[1] We have only Firishta's testimony regarding this marriage.
The author of the *Burhan-i-Masir* who is a detailed and accurate chronicler does not make even a casual mention of this marriage. His silence is a matter of surprise, for as an orthodox Muslim he should have mentioned this important event with great exultation. That the marriage policy was a failure is amply borne out by subsequent events. In view of these facts, we may well doubt whether this marriage ever took place.

one of them was Nicolo Conti, the Italian, and the other was Abdur-Razzāq, an envoy from Persia—who have left valuable observations regarding the city and the empire of Vijayanagar.

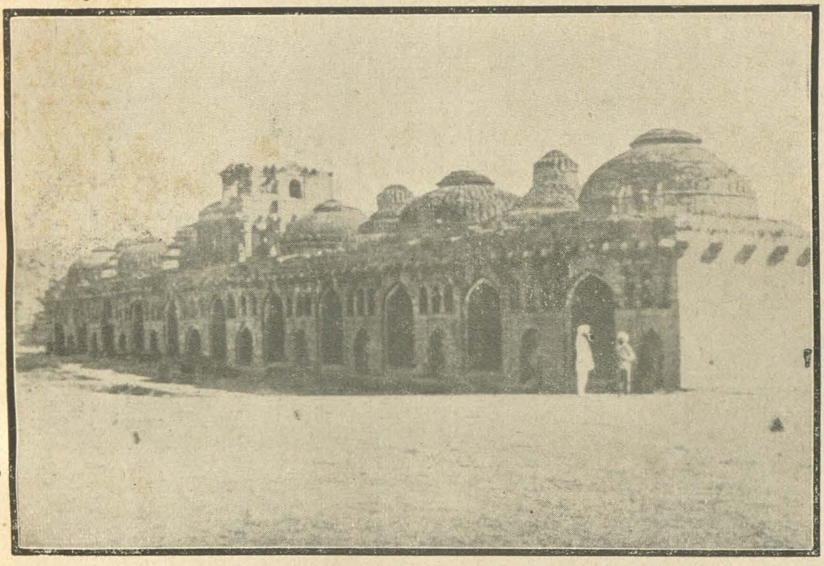
Nicolo Conti.

He visited Vijayanagar about the year 1420 or 1421. He reached Cambay in Gujarat, and after a sojourn of twenty days there he went to Vijayanagar which he describes thus:—

"The great city of Bizengalia is situated near very steep mountains. The circumference of the city is sixty miles; its walls are carried up to the mountains and enclose the valleys at their foot, so that its extent is thereby increased. In this city there are estimated to be ninety thousand men fit to bear arms.

"The inhabitants of this region marry as many wives as they please, who are burnt with their dead husbands. Their king is more powerful than all the other kings of India. He takes to himself 12,000 wives, of whom 4,000 follow him on foot wherever he may go, and are employed solely in the service of the kitchen. A like number, more handsomely equipped, ride on horseback. The remainder are carried by men in litters, of whom 2,000 or 3,000 are selected as his wives, on condition that at his death they should voluntarily burn themselves with him, which is considered to be a great honour for them.

"At a certain time of the year their idol is carried through the city, placed between two chariots, in which are young women richly adorned, who sing hymns to the god, and accompanied by a great concourse of people. Many, carried away by the fervour of their faith, cast themselves on the ground before the wheels, in order that they may be crushed to death—a mode of death which they say is very acceptable to their god, others, making an incision in their side, and inserting a rope thus through their body, hang themselves to the chariot by way of ornament, and thus suspended and half-dead accompany



Elephant Stables at Vijayanagar.

"One day messengers came from the king to summon me, and towards the evening I went to the Court, and presented five beautiful horses and two trays each containing nine pieces of damask and satin. The king was seated in great state in the forty-pillared hall, and a great crowd of Brahmans and others stood on the right and left of him. He was clothed in a robe of *zaitun* satin, and he had round his neck a collar composed of pure pearls of regal excellence, the value of which a jeweller would find it difficult to calculate. He was of an olive colour, of a spare body, and rather tall. He was exceedingly young, for there was only some slight down upon his cheeks, and none upon his chin. His whole appearance was very prepossessing. On being presented to him, I bowed down my head. He received me kindly, and seated me near him, and, taking the august letter of the emperor, made it over (to the interpreters), and said, 'My heart is exceedingly glad that the great king has sent an ambassador to me.' As I was in a profuse perspiration from the excessive heat and the quantity of clothes which I had on me, the monarch took compassion on me, and favoured me with a fan of Khatâì which he held in his hand. They then brought a tray, and gave me two packets of betel, a purse containing 500 *fanams*, and about 20 *miskals* of camphor, and, obtaining leave to depart, I returned to my lodging. The daily provision forwarded to me comprised two sheep, four couple of fowls, five *mans* of rice, one *man* of butter, one

The Raya.

died in 1482 A.D. Among his many productions the most useful is the *Matla-us-Sadain*, which is a general history of Persia from the time of Sultan Abu Said to the murder of Abu Said Gurgaon.

Some passages from this work have been translated in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, pp. 89—126.

Edoardo Barbessa who travelled in India in 1516 A.D. describes Vijayanagar as "of great extent, highly populous and the seat of an active commerce in country diamonds, rubies from Pegu, silks of China and Alexandria, and cinnabar, camphor, musk, pepper, and sandal from Malabar."

Lewis Rice, Mysore, I, p. 353.

man of sugar, and two *varahas* in gold. This occurred every day. Twice a week I was summoned to the presence towards the evening, when the king asked me several questions respecting the Khákán-i-Sa'id, and each time I received a packet of betel, a purse of *fanams*, and some *miskals* of camphor.

"From our former relation, and well-adjusted narrative, well-informed readers will have ascertained that the writer Abdur-Razzāq had arrived at the city of Bijanagar. There he saw a city exceedingly large and populous, and a king of great power and dominion, whose kingdom extended from the borders of Sarandip to those of Kulbarga, and from Bengal to Malibar, a space of more than 1,000 *parasangs*. The country is for the most part well-cultivated and fertile, and about three hundred good seaports belong to it. There are more than 1,000 elephants, lofty as the hills and gigantic as demons. The army consists of eleven *lacs* of men (1,100,000). In the whole of Hindustan there is no *rai* more absolute than himself, under which denomination the kings of that country are known. The Brahmans are held by him in higher estimation than all other men. The book of Kalila and Dimna, than which there is no other more excellent in the Persian language, and which relates to a Rai and a Brahman, is probably the composition of the wise men of this country.

The city.

"The city of Bijanagar is such that eye has not seen nor ear heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth. It is so built that it has seven fortified walls, one within the other. Beyond the circuit of the outer wall there is an esplanade extending for about fifty yards, in which stones are fixed near one another to the height of a man; one half buried firmly in the earth, and the other half rises above it, so that neither foot nor horse, however bold, can advance with facility near the outer wall. If any one wishes to learn how this resembles the city of Hirat, let him understand

that the outer fortification answers to that which extends from the hill of Mukhtar and the pass of "the Two Brothers" to the banks of the river, and the bridge of Malan, which lies to the east of the village of Ghizar, and to the west of the village of Siban.

"The fortress is in the form of a circle, situated on the summit of a hill, and is made of stone and mortar, with strong gates, where guards are always posted, who are very diligent in the collection of taxes (*jizyát*). The second fortress represents the space which extends from the bridge of the New River to the bridge of the pass of Kara, to the east of the bridge of Rangina and Jakan, and to the west of the garden of Zibanda, and the village of Jasan. The third fortress would contain the space which lies between the tomb of the *Imam* Fakhr-u-din-Razi, to the vaulted tomb of Muhammad Sultan Shah. The fourth would represent the space which lies between the bridge of Anjil and the bridge of Karad. The fifth may be reckoned equivalent to the space which lies between the garden of Zaghan and the bridge of the river Jakan. The sixth fortification would comprehend the distance between the gate of the king and that of Firozabad. The seventh fortress is placed in the centre of the others, and occupies ground ten times greater than the chief market of Hirat. In that is situated the palace of the king. From the northern gate of the outer fortress to the southern is a distance of two statute *parasangs*, and the same with respect to the distance between the eastern and western gates. Between the first, second, and third walls, there are cultivated fields, gardens, and houses. From the third to the seventh fortress, shops and bazars are closely crowded together. By the palace of the king there are four bazars, situated opposite to one another. That which lies to the north is the imperial palace or abode of the Rai. At the head of each bazar there is a lofty arcade and magnificent gallery, but the palace of the king is loftier than all of them.



Gateway of Vijayanagar Fort.

The bazars are very broad and long, so that the sellers of flowers, notwithstanding that they place high stands before their shops, are yet able to sell flowers from both sides. Sweet-scented flowers are always procurable fresh in that city, and they are considered as even necessary sustenance, seeing that without them they could not exist. The tradesmen of each separate guild or craft have their shops close to one another. The jewellers sell their rubies and pearls and diamonds and emerald openly in the bazar.

"In this charming area, in which the palace of the king is contained, there are many rivulets and streams flowing through channels of cut stone, polished and even. On the right hand of the palace of the Sultan there is the *diwan-khana*, or minister's office, which is extremely large, and presents the appearance of a *chihal-sutun*, or forty-pillared hall ; and in front of it there runs a raised gallery, higher than the stature of a man, thirty yards long and six broad, where the records are kept and the scribes are seated.

"Each class of men belonging to each profession has shops contiguous the one to the other ; the jewellers sell publicly in the bazar pearls, rubies, emeralds, and diamonds. In this agreeable locality, as well as in the king's palace, one sees numerous running streams and canals formed of chiselled stone, polished and smooth. On the left of the Sultan's portico, rises the *diwan-khana* (the council-house) which is extremely large and looks like a palace. In front of it is a hall, the height of which is above the stature of a man, its length thirty ghez, and its breadth ten. In it is placed the *daftar-khana* (the archives), and here sit the scribes. . . . In the middle of this palace, upon an high estrade, is seated an eunuch, called Daiang who alone presides over the divan. At the end of the hall stand tchobdars (hussars) drawn up in line. Every man who comes upon any business, passes between the tchobdars, offers a small present, prostrates himself with

his face to the ground, then rising up explains the business which brought him there, and the Daiang pronounces his opinion, according to the principles of justice adopted in this kingdom, and no one thereafter is allowed to make any appeal.

"In this country they have three kinds of money, made of gold mixed with alloy: one called *varahah* weighs about one *mithkal*, equivalent to two dinars; *kopeki*, the second, which is called *pertab*, is the half of the first; the third, called *fanam*, is equivalent in value to the tenth part of the last-mentioned coin. Of these different coins the *fanam* is the most useful. They cast in pure silver a coin which is the sixth of the *fanam*, which they call *tar*. This latter is also a very useful coin in currency. A copper coin with the third of a *tar* is called *djitel*. According to the practice adopted in this empire all the provinces, at a fixed period, bring their gold to the mint. If any man receive from the divan an allowance in gold, he has to be paid by the *darab-khana*."

The currency.

After Deva Raya's death which probably occurred in 1449, his two sons, Mallikarjuna and Virupakṣa, succeeded him one after the other, but they were weak men, incapable of asserting their authority. A period of intrigue, disorder and confusion ensued, which was finally put an end to by Saluva-Narasinha, the most powerful noble in Karnata and Telingana,[1] who usurped the throne during the reign of Virupakṣa[2] with the

The advent of a new dynasty.

[1] Lewis Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 117.

[2] Sewell writes that the usurpation took place at some period between 1487 A.D. and 1490 A.D. A Forgotten Empire, p. 98.

Lewis Rice, basing his account on inscriptions, says that the usurpation took place in 1478 in the reign of Virupakṣa. Smith accepts 1486 A.D. as the date of the usurpation. Oxford History, p. 303.

The last record of Virupakṣa is dated Friday, July 29, 1485 A.D. The first record in which Saluva Narasinha appears with his imperial titles is dated November 1, 1486 A.D. The actual usurpation must have taken place between these two dates.

The Saluvas were a family of chieftains who had been deprived of their ancestral possessions by the Bahmanis. They co-operated

motive of preserving the empire from dismemberment. This is known as the First Usurpation. Narasinha applied himself to the organisation of the administration with great ability and energy, and succeeded in a short time in restoring financial credit. His resources enabled him to carry on wars in the Tamil country where he made several brilliant conquests. Narasinha had to fight like other kings against the Bahmani Sultan, who defeated him and compelled him to make peace. After Narasinha's death, his possessions passed to his son, Immadi-Narasinha, but he was murdered in 1505 by his general, Naresa Nayaka of Tuluva descent, who became the founder of a new dynasty. This is known as the Second Usurpation.

Krisṇa Deva Raya, 1509—1530 A.D.

The most distinguished ruler of the new dynasty was Krisṇa Deva Raya who is said to have ascended the throne of Vijayanagar in 1509 A.D. His reign inaugurated a new epoch in the history of Vijayanagar, which attained under him to a height of greatness and prosperity never reached before. He is one of the most distinguished and powerful kings of Vijayanagar, who fought with the Muslims of the Deccan on equal terms, and avenged the wrongs that had been done to his predecessors.

The king was an able and handsome man and was admired by foreigners who saw him for his accomplishments. Paes[1] who saw the king with his own eyes thus describes him :

> " The king is of medium height, and of fair complexion and good figure, rather fat than thin ; he has on his face

with Hari Hara and his brothers in expelling the Muslims from the south. They had their headquarters at Chandragiri and professed the Vaisṇava faith. This account is corroborated by the evidence of inscriptions.

For a detailed account of the Saluvas and the first usurpation see Mythic Journal, VI, pp. 76—98.

[1] Firishta does not mention this king even by name.

But Paes and Nuniz both speak of him in terms of the warmest admiration. Paes who knew and saw the king is certainly more reliable than a later compiler like Firishta.

Paes wrote his account about 1522 A.D., and Nuniz compiled his historical summary probably during the years 1535—37 A.D.

Narrative of Paes in Sewell's A Forgotten Empire, pp. 246-47.

signs of small-pox. He is the most feared and perfect king that could possibly be, cheerful of disposition and very merry ; he is one that seeks to honour foreigners, and receive them kindly, asking about all their affairs whatever their condition may be. He is a great ruler and a man of much justice, but subject to sudden fits of ıage, and this is his title 'Crisnarao Macacao, king of kings, lord of the greater lords of India, lord of the three seas and of the land.' He has this title because he is by rank a greater lord than any, by reason of what he possesses in armies and territories, but it seems that he has (in fact) nothing compared to what a man like him ought to have, so gallant and perfect is he in all things."

The history of this period is a record of sanguinary conflicts between rival powers for supremacy, and it is with great relief that we turn to the portrait of this valiant and cultured monarch. There is no ruler among the sovereigns of the Deccan, both Hindu and Muslim, who can stand comparison with Kriṣṇa Deva Raya. Although a Vaiṣṇava himself, he tolerated other forms of religion and conceded the fullest liberty of worship. In accordance with the lofty traditions of hospitality that prevail in the east, he extended his kindness without distinction of creed or colour to foreigners, who spoke of his liberality, his genial appearance, and his elevated culture in terms of the highest admiration.[1] He shone as a wit and as a conversationalist, and was the recipient of the encomiums of the learned, and the evidence of inscriptions testifies to the fact that he was a great patron of Sanskrit and Telugu literature, and that his court like that of Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya of the north was adorned by eight celebrated poets, who were known as the *aṣṭa diggaja*.[2] He was always anxious to promote the welfare of

[1] His own contributions to literature are remarkable. See his political maxims in an article on 'Political Maxims of Kriṣṇa Deva Raya' by A. Rangaswami Saraswati in the Journal of Indian History, Vol. IV, pt. III (1926), pp. 61—88.

[2] Lewis Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 119.

his subjects, and his liberal benefactions originated in a desire to relieve human want and misery. His vast wealth enabled him to confer large endowments on temples and Brahmans, so that the fame of his charity spread all over the country. Polite and amiable in private society, sagacious and far-sighted in council, eloquent and cultured when he listened to the songs of the poets, dignified and awe-inspiring in his public *lévees*, Krişņa Deva Raya was formidable in war and sometimes went too far in humiliating his vanquished foes. But in doing so he merely reflected the spirit of that savage warfare which found its truest exponents in the Bahmani kings. *Lex talionis* was the common rule of conduct in the 15th century, and it is difficult to endorse Sewell's view of the treatment, which was meted out by Krişņa Deva Raya to the Muslim prince whom he had defeated in battle.[1]

Sewell gives a good description of the king's position and personality :[2]

> "Krişņa Deva was not only monarch *de jure*, but was in the practical fact an absolute sovereign, of extensive power and strong personal influence. He was the real ruler. He was physically strong in his best days, and kept his strength up to the highest pitch by hard bodily exercise. He rose early, and developed all his muscles by the use of the Indian clubs and the use of the sword ; he was a fine rider, and was blessed with a noble presence, which favourably impressed all who came in contact with him. He commanded his enormous armies in person, was able, brave, and statesmanlike, and was withal a man of much

The king himself wrote poetry in Sanskrit and Telugu. None of his Sanskrit works have survived, but a Telugu poem of his called '*Amuktamālyada*' or '*Vişņuchiththiyamu*,' which has come down to us, is said to be an excellent production. Longhurst, Hampi Ruins, p. 20.

[1] Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, p. 122.
Longhurst, Hampi Ruins, p. 21.
Both accounts are based on Firishta, who says that a message was sent to Ismail Adil Shah that if he would come to kiss his foot, his lands and fortresses would be restored to him.

[2] Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, pp. 121-22,

gentleness and generosity of character. He was beloved by all and respected by all. The only blot on his scutcheon is, that after his great success over the Muhammadan king he grew to be haughty and insolent in his demands."

His conquests.

Having seated himself securely upon the throne, Krisna Deva Raya set himself to the task of enlarging his dominions by means of conquest. One of the earliest expeditions of the reign was undertaken in order to chastise Ganga Raja, the chief of Ummattur (in Mysore district), who revolted against the authority of his liege-lord, and claimed Penugonda, being a representative of the Ganga dynasty. The whole country was subdued, and the fortresses of Siva Samudrama[1] and Seringapatam were captured by the Vijayanagar forces. In 1513 the strong fortress of Udayagiri in the Nellore district, which belonged to the king of Orissa, was captured, and a statue of god Krisna was carried as a trophy of war to Vijayanagar, where it was solemnly installed in a temple which received a substantial grant of lands. Having reduced Udayagiri, the Raja proceeded against the hill fortress of Kondavid, which also belonged to the king of Orissa. The fortress was captured after a siege of two months, and the Prince of Orissa was defeated in a pitched battle. The fort of Kondapali[2] fell next, and the Raya's forces captured a wife and son of the king of Orissa, Reduced to sore straits, the unhappy prince begged for quarter, and a peace was concluded between the parties, which was further cemented by the marriage of Krisna Deva Raya with a princess of Orissa.

The dismemberment of the Bahmani kingdom had caused much political confusion in the Deccan, and internecine wars and strifes had become the order of the day. The independent

[1] The main stronghold of the Ganga Raja was on the island of Siva Samudrama at the falls of the Kaveri, and parts of the Bangalore district were known as the Siva Samudrama country. Lewis Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 119.

[2] Kondapalli is a town and hill fortress in the Bezwada Taluk of the Krisna district in Madras.

Imp. Gaz., XV, p. 393.

kingdoms that arose upon the ruins of the Bahmani dominions fought among themselves and against Hindu princes for enlarging their own territories. When Sītāpati, the Raja of Kambampeta, went to war with the Muslims, the Sultan of Golkunda marched against him and defeated him. But the Raja did not suspend hostilities ; he appealed to the Hindu princes for support, and soon collected a large army. The Sultan of Golkunda, again, proceeded against him and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Hindus. The fort was captured, the population was massacred without regard to sex or age, and the ladies of the Raja were also seized by the victorious army. These atrocities called into existence a powerful league of the Hindu princes of the neighbouring countries, who encountered the Muslims at Palinchinur, and suffered a crushing defeat. At last, this dreadful war was closed by a treaty which fixed the Godavari river as the eastern boundary of Golkunda. It was at this stage that Kriṣṇa Deva Raya made his appearance. The fight centred round the fortress of Kondavid, which was, after considerable fighting, left by the Muslims to the Hindus.[1] But the Muslims appeared again, invested the fortress, and compelled the Hindus to become tributaries.[2]

War with Bijapur.

But the most important war of Kriṣṇa Deva Raya was that which he waged against Adil Shah of Bijapur. The Raya's forces which consisted of about a million of men and numerous elephants marched into the Raichur valley and laid siege to the fort. The Shah came with an army of 140,000 horse to defend the fortress, and encamped within nine miles of Raichur. The two armies engaged each other on the 19th May, 1520, and fought

[1] Kondavid is a village and hill fortress in the Guntur district. It was captured in 1516 A.D. and Vīrbhadra, son of the Ganpati king Pratapa-Rudra, was taken prisoner and was granted the Maleya Bennur country in the west of Mysore. Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, Dg. 107, p. 119.

See Nuniz's account in Sewell's "A Forgotten Empire." He says, the Raya seized the fortress from the king of Orissa.

[2] Sewell, pp. 321-22.

a decisive battle in which the Muslims were beaten and driven back with heavy losses.[1] The forlorn hope of the Bijapur army made a desperate effort to retrieve their position but in vain. The Muslim camp was sacked, and enormous booty fell into the hands of the Hindus. Faria-y-Souza and Nuniz both state that after the battle, Krişņa Deva Raya proposed the most humiliating terms to the Bijapur Sultan, which offended the Muslim princes so much that they began to think of devising means for the overthrow of the Vijayanagar empire. For the time being, the victory of the Hindus so frightened the Bijapur Sultan that he never again invaded the territories of the Raya during his lifetime. Sewell dwells at length upon the political results of this battle. It diminished the prestige of Adil Shah so much that he ceased to think of further conquest in the south, and concentrated his attention upon the organisation of his resources for a future struggle. The other Muslim powers of the Deccan began to plan measures in order to break the preponderance of the Vijayanagar empire. The Hindus were so elated with this victory that their insolence and hauteur made them the objects of universal hatred in Muslim circles. The effects of this battle on the position of the Portuguese were by no means insignificant. The prosperity of the Portuguese trade depended upon the flourishing markets of the Hindu empire, but when that empire fell, the foreign traders lost their markets, and trade declined.

Krişņa Deva Raya and the Portuguese.

The Portuguese had established themselves on the sea-coast, and although they had often to fight against the petty Hindu chiefs and the "Moors," they had established friendly relations with the Raya of Vijayanagar, who greatly benefited by their trade in horses and other useful articles. The

[1] Firishta's account is different from that given above. But Nuniz is a contemporary chronicler and therefore more reliable. Besides, it appears from Nuniz's narrative that he had excellent opportunities of informing himself of the actual state of affairs.

For Nuniz's account of this battle see Sewell's 'A Forgotten Empire,' pp. 334—45.

Portuguese were asked by their home government to be friendly to the Hindus, and in 1510 their governor, Albuquerque, sent a mission to Vijayanagar to obtain permission to build a fort at Bhatkal for purposes of self-defence. The envoy was graciously received by the Raya, but he made no satisfactory reply to the governor's request. When the Portuguese seized Goa, the Raya offered his congratulations, and granted them the permission for which they had applied before. The Muslims recaptured Goa, but it was again recovered by the Portuguese. The mutual feuds of the Hindu and Muslim rulers of the Deccan increased the political importance of foreign traders, for their assistance was sought by the contending parties.

Extent of the empire.

The conquests of Krisna Deva Raya considerably widened the extent of the empire. It extended over the area which is now covered by the Madras Presidency, the Mysore and some other native states of the Deccan. The empire reached to Cuttack in the east and Salsette in the west, and towards the south it touched the extreme border of the peninsula.

A period of decline.

With the death of Krisna Deva Raya, the empire of Vijayanagar entered upon its downward course. The new ruler Achyuta Deva, a brother of the late king, was an incompetent man, ill-fitted to control the destinies of such a large empire, surrounded by formidable and jealous neighbours. The Sultan of Bijapur seized the fortresses of Raichur and Mudgal, and Firishta writes that the Sultan commemorated his victory by holding a festival at which he " drank wine and gave a full loose to mirth and pleasure." Sometime after his accession, being hard pressed by the intrigues of his nobles and officers, Achyuta called to his aid Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur to whom he paid a large subsidy in cash and offered valuable presents. No historian has furnished us with a satisfactory explanation of this strange complication of affairs which necessitated such a step. Nuniz who strongly condemns Achyuta's cowardice and weakness of

will ascribes it to his "craven spirit and utter unworthiness."[1]

When Achyuta died in 1542, his infant son was crowned king, but he died after a short time and the crown passed to Sadāśiva, the son of his deceased brother. Sadāśiva was only a figurehead and all real power was in the hands of Ram Raja Saluva, son of Krisna Deva Raya's famous minister, Saluva Timma. Ram Raja was a man of considerable ability, but he never based his statecraft on an astute calculation of chances and risks, and gave needless provocation to his allies as well as opponents by his proud and arrogant behaviour. A series of complications arose which finally prepared the way for the ruin of Vijayanagar. In 1543 Burhan Nizam Shah allied himself with Ram Raja and Qutb Shah of Golkunda, and declared war upon Bijapur. In this predicament Ali Adil Shah appealed to his talented minister, Asad Khan, for help, and the latter, who was noted for his diplomatic skill, patched up a truce with Burhan by ceding to him some territory, and detached the Raya of Vijayanagar from the alliance. Having thus broken up the coalition, he marched against Golkunda and defeated the Qutb Shahi ruler and wounded him. Fourteen years later, when Ibrahim Adil Shah died in 1557, Husain Nizam Shah, taking advantage of this change in succession, invaded Bijapur territory. In order to exact vengeance for this unprovoked attack, Ali Adil Shah formed an alliance with Golkunda and Vijayanagar, invaded Ahmadnagar and demanded the restoration of Kalyan and Sholapur. The Sultan of Ahmadnagar treated the demand with contempt, and war became inevitable. Firishta writes :

Sadāśiva Raya.

> "The whole country was laid waste in such a manner that from Porundeh to Khiber and from Ahmadnagar to

[1] Achyuta was certainly not a warlike prince. From the inscriptions (Dg. 24, Hk. 123), it appears that he was too much in the hands of the sacerdotal class. He made profuse gifts to the Brahmans and established a sort of bank for their benefit, called the *Anandnidhi*.

Daulatabad, not a mark of population was to be seen. The infidels of Beejanagar, who for many years had been wishing for such an event, left no c uelty unpractised. They insulted the honour of the Musalman women, destroyed the mosques, and did not even respect the sacred Quran."

This atrocious conduct of the Hindus outraged Muslim sentiment and estranged even the sympathies of their allies.

The Grand Alliance.

The existence of a powerful Hindu kingdom in their midst, vastly superior to them in wealth and military resources, was gall and wormwood to the Musalmans ; and as no single power could cope with the Hindu state, the Muslim rulers sank their differences and formed a quadruple alliance to bring about its overthrow. Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golkunda was the principal negotiator of these alliances. Nizam Shah was persuaded to give to Adil Shah his daughter, Chand Bibi, in marriage, and the fort of Sholapur as dowry, and in return Adil Shah, with a view to cement the alliance further, gave his daughter in marriage to Nizam Shah's eldest son, Sultan Murtaza. The Sultan of Berar was not invited to join the confederacy, and he remained outside of it. The combined armies of the four princes began their march on December 25, 1564, towards the south and met near the town of Talikota on the bank of the Krişņa.

•The approach of the coalitionists was not heeded by Vijayanagar, and the Raya treated the allied movements with

The Battle of Talikota, 1565 A.D.

supreme indifference, deriving strength from the thought that no Muslims had ever been able in the past to ravage the city and its evirons. The prosperous and ease-loving population had no presentiment of the approaching doom ; and the military demonstration of the allies did nothing to disturb the placid serenity of life in the town where men followed their usual avocations without the least anxiety in their faces. Ram Raja, who had a marvellous faculty for self-deception, still

remained indifferent, and in the words of Firishta "treated the ambassadors of the allies with scornful language, and regarded their enmity as of little moment." But such a state of fancied security could not last long, and the Raya, convinced at last of the imminent danger, organised his forces. He sent his youngest brother, Tirumala, with 20,000 horse, 100,000 foot, and 500 elephants to guard the passages of the Krisna at all points, and despatched a brother with another force, and himself followed at the head of the remaining armies of the empire. The provincial auxiliaries swelled the imperial host ; the Kanarese and the Telugus of the frontier, the Mysorians and the Malabarese from the west and centre joined the Tamils in order to fight against the Muslims. The allies who knew the strength of the enemy well enough, had made mighty preparations. The veteran Husain Nizam Shah, whose lead was followed by his confederates, was placed in command of the centre, and the right and left wings were entrusted to Ali Adil Shah and Qutb Shah respectively. It is difficult to form a correct estimate of the troops who actually fought in this battle, for the figures of Firishta seem to have been considerably exaggerated.[1] But it cannot be denied that such huge armies had never encountered each other in the plains of the Deccan. The Hindus began the attack with desperate fury, and drove back the right and left wings of the Muslim army, smiting and slaying thousands of men. The loss of life on both sides was appallingly heavy ; and Ram Raja ordered his treasurer to place near him gold, silver, jewels, and ornaments wherewith he might reward those of his followers who stuck to their posts with a grim resolve to fight to the bitter end. The Hindus made another attack with such vigour that the enemy began to despair of success and meditated retreat. But the tide soon turned, when the artillery wing of the allied

[1] According to Firishta the Vijayanagar army alone amounted to 900,000 infantry, 45,000 cavalry, and 2,000 elephants, and 1,000 field pieces, besides 15,000 auxiliaries. But in different parts of his narrative he gives different figures.

army charged the Hindu host with bags of copper coin, and instantaneously destroyed 5,000 Hindus, who lay dead on the field of battle in front of the batteries. This was followed by a determined attack of cavalry, which pierced through the serried ranks of the enemy and scattered them in all directions. Ram Raja was himself taken prisoner, and De Couto writes that he was decapitated by Husain Nizam Shah with his own hand with the exclamation: "Now I am avenged of thee! Let God do what he will to me." The news of the capture of their king and leader came as a thunderclap to the Hindu fighters, who, seized with panic, fled pell-mell in all directions. The battle ended not in a defeat, but a complete rout; no attempt was made by the leaders of the various wings to stop the panic, and Firishta writes that the Hindus were slaughtered with a most savage ferocity. About a hundred thousand were slain, and the plunder was so great that "every man in the allied army became rich in gold, jewels, effects, tents, arms, horses, and slaves, as the Sultans left every person in possession of what he had acquired, only taking elephants for their own use."

The sack of Vijayanagar.

But this discomfiture was nothing in comparison with the ghastly tragedy that was to follow. Let us hear the story of the fall of this magnificent city in the pathetic words of Sewell, who devoted years of strenuous toil to the study of its growth and greatness.[1]

". . . . There was little fear, therefore, for the safety of the city itself. That surely was safe! But now came the dejected soldiers hurrying back from the fight, and amongst the foremost the panic-stricken princes of the royal house. Within a few hours these craven chiefs hastily left the palace, carrying with them all the treasures on which they could lay their hands. Five hundred and fifty elephants, laden with treasure in gold, diamonds and

[1] Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, pp. 206—08.

precious stones valued at more than a hundred millions sterling, and carrying the state insignia and the celebrated jewelled throne of the kings, left the city under convoy of bodies of soldiers, who remained true to the Crown. King Sadasiva was carried off by his jailor, Tirumala, now sole regent since the death of his brothers, and in long line the royal family and their followers fled southward towards the fortress of Penukonda.

"Then a panic seized the city. The truth became at last apparent. This was not a defeat merely, it was a cataclysm. All hope was gone. The myriad dwellers in the city were left defenceless. No retreat, no flight was possible except to a few, for the pack-oxen and carts had almost all followed the forces to the war, and they had not returned. Nothing could be done but to bury all treasures, to arm the younger men, and to wait. Next day the place became a prey to the robber tribes and jungle people of the neighbourhood. Hordes of Brinjaris, Lambadis, Kurubas, and the like, pounced down on the hapless city and looted the stores and shops, carrying off great quantities of riches. Couto states that there were six concerted attacks by these people during the day.

"The third day saw the beginning of the end. The victorious Musalmans had halted on the field of battle for rest and refreshment, but now they had reached the capital, and from that time forward for a space of five months Vijayanagar knew no rest. The enemy had come to destroy, and they carried out their object relentlessly. They slaughtered the people without mercy; broke down the temples and palaces; and wreaked such savage vengeance on the abode of the kings, that with the exception of a few great stone-built temples and walls, nothing now remains but a heap of ruins to mark the spot where once the stately buildings stood. They demolished the statues, and even succeeded in breaking the limbs of the

huge Narasinha monolith. Nothing seemed to escape them. They broke up the pavilions standing on the huge platform from which the kings used to watch the festivals, and overthrew all the carved work. They lit huge fires in the magnificently decorated buildings forming the temple of Vitthalaswami near the river, and smashed its exquisite stone sculptures. With fire and sword, with crowbars and axes, they carried on day after day their work of destruction. Never perhaps in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought, and wrought so suddenly, on so splendid a city ; teeming with a wealthy, and industrious population in the full plenitude of prosperity one day, and on the next, seized, pillaged, and reduced to ruins, amid scenes of savage massacre and horrors beggaring description."[1]

My readers will recall to their minds the desolating sentence of Gibbon that history is little more than a register of the crimes and misfortunes of mankind. This sombre description is not without a grain of truth. But mankind is

[1] The Portuguese historian Faria-y-Souza writes :—

"The Muhammadans spent five months in plundering Vijayanagar, although the natives had previously carried away 1,550 elephant-loads of money and jewels with above a hundred millions of gold, besides a royal chair, which was of inestimable value. In his share of the plunder, Adil Shah got a diamond, as large as an ordinary egg and another of extraordinary size, though smaller, together with other jewels of inestimable value."

For a notice of Faria-y-Souza see " Commentaries of Alfonso Albuquerque, Hakluyt Society, II, pp. cxii, cxiii.

Cæsare Frederike, who visited the city of Vijayanagar two years after the battle, writes :—"Ram Raja perished through the treachery of two Musalman generals in his service, who turned against him in the middle of the battle. The Musalmans spent six months in plundering the city, searching in all the directions for buried money. The houses were still standing but they were empty. The court had moved from Vijayanagar to Penuconda which was eight days' journey to the south, the inhabitants had disappeared and gone elsewhere, the surrounding country was so infested with thieves that he was compelled to stay six months longer at Vijayanagar than he intended. When at last he set out for Goa, he was attacked every day, and had to pay a ransom on each occasion."

For his description of the king's palace, see Mysore by Lewis Rice, I, pp. 355-56.

chastened by suffering; and the mighty stream of human progress rolls irresistibly onwards, increasing in volume through the long vista of centuries: and this must be the consolation of the historian who devotes his time to the study of the chances and changes of human fortune and the prosperity and decay of human institutions.

Ram Raja, despite his follies and foibles, deserves a word of praise. Although ninety years of age, he still possessed the energy and vigour of youth, and himself superintended the military operations on the field of battle. The extensive preparations of the Muslim powers and their anxiety to hold him in check are a fair measure of his formidable power. The contempt of an enemy is a dangerous luxury at all times, and Ram Raja might have saved his empire, if he had not so hopelessly undervalued the strength of those who had been slowly maturing their strength for a death-grapple with him.

A decisive battle.

The battle of Talikota is one of the most decisive battles in Indian History. It sounded the death knell of the Hindu empire in the south, and produced a state of chaos, which invariably follows the collapse of a vast political organisation. The Portuguese trade was hampered, because the ruin of the empire destroyed the markets which imported and sold Portuguese goods.[1] The Muslims rejoiced in the fall of their great rival, but it is doubtful whether they had achieved any substantial gains beyond a few slices of territory. The fear of the Vijayanagar empire had ever kept them alert and vigilant; under the perpetual stress of war they had never neglected the efficiency of their armies, but when this fear ceased to exist,

[1] Federici, Sasetti, and Couto are all unanimous in saying that the Portuguese carried on a flourishing trade with the empire of Vijayanagar and that its fall gave a great blow to Portuguese commercial enterprise in this country. But Sewell mentions the setting up of the Inquisition at Goa as an additional reason for the decay of trade. The fathers of the church recommended the persecution of Hindus and Muslims and the destruction of temples and mosques—a fact which led to the decline of Portuguese influence at Goa.

Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, pp. 210-11.

they quarrelled amongst themselves, and their mutual jealousies and dissensions so disabled them that they fell an easy prey to the Mughal Emperors of the north. There is no more striking example of Nemesis in mediæval Indian history.

A new dynasty.

After the fall of Ram Raja, his brother, Tirumala, exercised sovereignty in Sadāśiva's name, but about the year 1570 he usurped the throne and laid the foundations of a new dynasty. It would be wearisome to repeat the story of the murders, treacheries, intrigues, conspiracies and scrambles for power, which disfigure the annals of these times. Tirumala's second son, Ranga II, was succeeded on the throne by Venkata I about the year 1586. He was the most remarkable prince of the dynasty, a man of ability and character, who extended his patronage to poets and learned men. The successors of Venkata were powerless to preserve intact the small dominion they had inherited from him, and under them the dynasty gradually dwindled into insignificance. The Muslims seized much of the territory of the empire, and the Naiks of Madura and Tanjore built principalities for themselves out of its fragments.

Administration of Vijayanagar.

Nature of Government.

The Vijayanagar empire was the outcome of that revolutionary movement which had begun in the Deccan for the expulsion of the Muslims from that country. Ever since the conquest of the Deccan by Kafur, the vanquished races had nursed a feeling of deep resentment against their Musalman oppressors, who had caused much havoc in the country by destroying human lives, desecrating sacred shrines, and robbing the people of their wealth. The fall of the Kākatīyas in 1327, and the weakness of the Hoysalas made the rise of a new power possible, and the Vijayanagar empire soon arose as a mighty bulwark against the Muslims of the north. The circumstances

of its birth determined its future policy in regard to administration, and to the last day of its existence Vijayanagar remained essentially a military state with a strong theocratic bias. As the fundamental need which had called it into existence was the preservation of the Hindus from Muslim attacks, no effort was spared to make the empire strong enough to compete on equal terms with the Muslim states whose power it challenged, and whose southward expansion it resisted with unusual pertinacity. The kings of Vijayanagar, who were guided by the influence of the priestly class, well versed in political affairs, tried to introduce the elements of settled administration with a view to make their newly founded power strong and efficient. The task was neither new nor difficult; for the old kingdoms, whose place had been taken by Vijayanagar, had had ample experience of governing large populations. Hari Hara and Bukka, who were ambitious chiefs, quickly enforced peace and order, and revived and consecrated old usages so that in course of time their successors evolved institutions which made Vijayanagar a centre of civilisation, wealth and culture, more splendid than any that had hitherto existed in the south.

The king and his council.

The empire was a vast feudal organisation, and the king was the apex of the whole system. He was assisted by a council which was composed of ministers, provincial governors, military commanders, men of the priestly class and poets. There was no system of election, and all the members of the council were appointed by the king. Personal equation played a large part in determining the relations between the king and his councillors. Like all mediæval monarchs, the king of Vijayanagar wielded the powers of an autocrat. He looked after the civil administration and directed the military affairs of the empire, and acted as judge in cases that were submitted to him for decision. The disputes were sometimes settled in a most peaceful manner by him to the complete satisfaction of the parties concerned. When, in the time of Bukka Raya,

a dispute occurred between the Jains and the Vaiṣṇavas, the king, after hearing the evidence of leaders on both sides, took the hand of the Jains and placing it in the hand of the Vaiṣṇavas gave a conciliatory decree.[1] The king's intervention was sometimes highly effective, as in the case of the evil practice of bride-price which prevailed among the Brahmans in a certain part of the empire. King Deva Raya II summoned the representatives of all classes of Brahmans and discussed with them the legality of this baneful custom.[2] The royal award was given that marriages should be concluded by means of *kanyādāna* (free gift of a daughter) and not by means of monetary consideration. Strict penalties were laid down for the violation of the "sacred law." The tradition of royal justice was maintained by all the kings, and even Sadāśiva Raya, who was a mere *roi-faineant*, exercised this prerogative with good effect in settling a land dispute of certain Brahman grantees.[3]

The principal officers of state were the prime minister, the chief treasurer, the custodian of the jewels, the prefect of the police, who were assisted by a number of lesser officials. The prime minister was the king's chief adviser on all important questions. The prefect of police corresponded to the Kotwal of the Mughals, who was responsible for maintaining order in the city. All these officers held large jagirs which the king could resume at will. According to Nuniz, the prefect of police was obliged to give account of the robberies in the capital, and the result of this was that there were so few thefts in the country.[4] Corruption prevailed, and when a merchant sought an interview with the king, he had to offer bribes to several officers, for they would do nothing without

[1] Lewis Rice, Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions, p. 177, Sb. 136.

[2] Mad. Ep. Coll. for 1887, No. 49.
South Indian Inscriptions, I, No. 56, pp. 82—84.

[3] Local Records, Mackenzie MSS., I, pp. 41—45.

[4] Major, India in the 15th Century, I, p. 30.
Chronicle of Nuniz, Sewell, pp. 380-81.

some profit for themselves.[1] Probably bribery was not looked upon as an abominable vice in those days. In the 14th century, Ibn Batūtā, who held the office of the chief Qazi at Delhi, had to offer bribe to a brother official to expedite payment of a certain sum of money which had been granted to him by the Sultan.

The court.

A magnificent court was a necessity in the middle ages both in the east and west, and the kings of Vijayanagar spent huge sums of money in displaying their grandeur. The court was attended by nobles, learned priests, astrologers, and musicians; and fêtes were occasionally held to strike the popular imagination. Foreign visitors who were eye-witnesses of these festivities write of them in terms of the warmest admiration. Nicolo Conti has described four festivals which obviously refer to the New Year's Day, the Dipāvali, the Mahānavami, and the Holi celebrations, and he is supported by Abdur-Razzāq, who has written a vivid account of the sports, fireworks, and other objects of entertainment, which he beheld on such occasions.[2] The most important was the festival of Mahānavami, which lasted for 9 days in the month of September. Abdur-Razzāq writes:

> "The king of Bijayanagar directed that the nobles and chiefs should assemble at the royal abode from all the provinces of his country, which extends for the distance of three or four months' journey. They brought with them a thousand elephants tumultuous as the sea, and thundering as the clouds, arrayed in armour and adorned with howdahs, on which jugglers and throwers of naptha were seated; and on the foreheads, trunks and ears of the elephants extraordinary forms and pictures were traced with cinnabar and other pigments."[3]

[1] Chronicle of Nuniz, Sewell, p. 380.

[2] Major, op. cit., pp. 28-29.
Ibid., pp. 35—38. Sewell, pp. 93-94.

[3] Major, p. 35. Elliot, IV, p. 117.

It was during these nine days that the king received all the rents of his kingdom from the governors of provinces, and conferred rich rewards upon them.[1]

Provincial administration.

The empire was divided into more than 200 provinces,[2] which were again sub-divided into *Nadus* or *Kottams*, which were again sub-divided into small groups of villages and towns. Each province was held by a viceroy, who was either a prince of the royal family, or a powerful noble of the state, or some representative of the old ruling dynasties.[3] Every province was a replica of the empire. The viceroy kept his own army, held his own court, made charitable grants, and behaved like an autocrat within his jurisdiction. But in relation to the empire their position was that of feudal vassals. They had to render accounts of their stewardship to the emperor, and in time of war they were liable to render military service. Although their will was supreme within their territorial limits, they were severely punished when they behaved treacherously towards their suzerian or oppressed the people.[4] The king's powers of confiscation were very wide, and they were used against a refractory viceroy or governor who was guilty of treason or betrayed his trust. The principal officers paid one-third of their income to the state, and spent the remaining two-thirds in maintaining their establishments. No receipts were given to them, but if they made default in payment, they were punished and deprived of their estates.[5] But, in spite of this uncertainty of tenure, the provincial governors seem to have thoroughly enjoyed their time, while they were in office.

The village was, as it had been from time immemorial, the unit of administration. The village moot, corresponding

[1] Chronicle of Nuniz, Sewell, p. 379.

[2] Ibid., p. 389.

[3] Ibid., pp. 280-81, 374, 384.

[4] Duarte Barbosa, Hakluyt Society, I, p. 209.
Chronicle of Nuniz, Sewell, pp. 304, 380, 383.

[5] Chronicle of Nuniz, Sewell, p. 389.

to the Panchayat of northern India, managed its own affairs through its hereditary officers, called the Ayagars.[1] These officers were paid either by grants of land or by a fixed portion of the crops of the cultivators. Some of them exercised magisterial and judicial authority, decided petty disputes of the villagers, collected the revenue of the state, and enforced law and order. These village communities served a useful purpose ; they kept the imperial government in touch with the people.

Local government.

Fiscal system.

The main source of income was the land revenue. The state in India has, from time out of mind, levied a tax on the produce of the soil, and Hindu law prescribes one-sixth of the total produce as the share of the state. But it was impossible for a great empire like that of Vijayanagar to maintain all its pomp and dignity with such a small share. Nuniz writes, " all land belongs to the king, and from his hand the captains hold it. They make it over to husbandmen who pay nine-tenths of the produce to their lords, who, in their turn, pay one-half to the king."[2] It is difficult to accept Nuniz's statement that the state demand was fixed so high, for it would be impossible for the peasantry to subsist on merely one-tenth of the produce of their labour. Besides this land-tax, there were many other cesses which the state levied to swell its income. There was nothing unusual in the practice ; the Musalman government in the middle ages did the same. Firuz Tughluq on his accession abolished twenty-six vexatious imposts, and Aurangzeb abolished as many as forty-eight towards the middle of the seventeenth century. The state was so jealous of its rights that even when an endowment was created by a private citizen, it laid down

[1] J. B. B. R. A. S., XII, pp. 394—98.
These officers were generally twelve in number. Madras Epig. Coll., C. P. No. 21 of 1917-18.

[2] Chronicle of Nuniz, Sewell, p. 379. Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar, p. 98.

ANNUAL EXAMINATION, 1939—40.

Class XI.

HISTORY SECOND PAPER. (European)

Time 3 hours. *Max. Marks 50.*

N.B.—Attempt six questions only including Q. III which is compulsory.

I. "The die is cast. I despise Rome's wrath as I do her favour. I will, if fire can be found, publicly condemn and burn the whole Papal law." Explain how Martin Luther strove to carry out this momentous resolution. 8

II. Carefully trace the main stages in the rise of Prussia from the Thirty years' war to the death of Frederick, the Great. 8

III. Describe the events that led to the Partitions of Poland. Illustrate your answer with a sketch map 10

IV. Write short notes on any three of the following:— 8

Treaty of Augsburg 1555; the Jesuits; William the Silent; Colbert; Sully; Ignatius Loyola; Maria Theresa; and the Balance of Power.

V. Examine carefully the work of Peter, the Great as the founder of Modern Russia. 8

VI. Show how Goseph II of Austria was a very unfortunate king. 8

VII. "The eighteenth century was the period of enlightened despotism." Justify the Statement. 8

VIII. Estimate critically the achievements of Frederick the Great. 8

IX. What were the results of the seven years' war. 8

X. Compare Henry IV and Richelien as regenerators of France. 8

clearly the obligations of the tenants.[1] There is documentary evidence which proves the existence of a number of cesses besides the land-revenue.[2]

How thorough was the system of taxation is well indicated by Abdur-Razzāq's statement that even the prostitutes were not exempt from taxation, and the revenue from this despicable source amounted to 12,000 *fanams*, which was devoted to the maintenance of 12,000 police men, who were attached to the office of the Prefect of the city.[3]

It is unfortunately true that the interests of the tiller of the soil were not always consulted in these fiscal arrangements. He had to do forced labour for his landlord and had to pay in addition to the general land-tax a grazing-tax, and a marriage-tax[4]—the ordinary incidents of feudalism, some of

[1] A record of Kampa II, a son of Bukka I, dated about 1374-75 A.D., registering a gift of a village by a private person to a temple, clearly states the conditions on which the royal permission was granted. Here is the original grant :—

"This village, the whole village which is the sacred holding (tirunāmattu—kāni) of this god, limited by its four boundaries, including the village waste, wet lands and garden lands with all its limitations (Upādhi) of (communal) obligations (kodamai) and profits (āyam), (such as) individual obligations of those who live (?) outside the village (purakkala—naiyarper—kadamai), fees on cotton-looms, caste obligations, obligations (for maintaining ?) oil mills, *vil-vari*, *vāsal-vāri* (house-tax), *criminpattam* (fees for catching fish in the tank), beasts and trees, *uvachcha-vari*, *ulugalvari*, good cow and good buffalo, *Karttigaippachchai*, *tiruppudiyidu*, the share (*merwai*) of grain from each harvest granted to village watchmen, market fees (Sanda-i-mudal), obligations of *asuvadimak-kalper* (?), fees for maintaining village servants (*velli-vari*) and other similar obligations, new or old, which may (hereafter) become due from each tenant we have given for worship and repairs as a sarwamānya grant to this temple in order that it may last till the sun and the moon (exist)."

Mad. Epig. Report for 1911-12, pp. 77-78, Sec. 49.

[2] Epig. Carn., IV, Kr. 21 and 22.

Madras Ep. Rep. for 1912-13, p. 120, Sec. 54. Rep. for 1914-15, pp. 106-07, Sec. 44.

Epig. Carn., III, Ml. 95 ; IV, Gu. 1.

[3] Matla-us-Sadain, Elliot, IV, pp. 111-12.

Major, p. 29.

[4] The marriage-tax was abolished by Krișṇa Deva Raya in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, and this policy was continued by his successor.

Mad. Ep. Rep., 1909-10, pp. 102-3, Sec. 53. Epig. Carn., XI, Hk. 110. Epig. Carn., XI, Dg. 107. Ibid., XI, Hk. 17 and 111.

which, though not sanctioned by law, are paid even to this day by the more docile cultivators all over India. Besides these, the people had to pay a number of indirect taxes in the shape of customs duties on articles of ordinary consumption such as grains, fruits, vegetables, fats, and animals of all kinds.[1] There was only one road leading into the town, and as the city gate was closely guarded, it must have been impossible to escape from the payment of these tolls and taxes. These taxes were farmed out to contractors, and there is no doubt that their collection must have caused no small inconvenience to the people. Speaking of the imperial city, Nuniz writes: "The gate is rented out for 12,000 *pardaos* each year, and no man can enter it without paying just what the rentees ask, countryfolk as well as strangers . . . . every day enter by these gates 2,000 oxen, and everyone of these pays three *Vintees*, except certain polled oxen without horns, which never pay anything in any part of the realm."[2]

These sources must have yielded a considerable income to the state, which spent a large portion of it upon the maintenance of royal pomp and pageantry. The institution of Civil List did not exist, and the king spent huge amounts on his household establishments and the large armies, which were always kept in a state of readiness to fight against the Muslim powers. It is clear from the accounts of foreign visitors that life at the capital was one of great ease and comfort, and the growth of commerce and industry testifies to the high level of prosperity that prevailed there. But no contemporary Hindu writer has recorded the simple annals of the poor, and in the absence of such evidence, it is impossible for us to estimate

[1] Epig. Carn., V., Bl. 75; III, Nj. 118 and Ml. 95.
Epig. Ind., VI, pp. 230—39.

[2] Chronicle of Nuniz, Sewell, p. 366.
Sewell calculates a *Vintem* as equal to about $1\frac{7}{20}$d.
See foot-note No. 3, p. 366.
Pardao was a gold coin. See Paes' Narrative, Sewell, p. 213.
Mr. Moreland calculates 500 *pardaos* as equal to 1,000 of Akbar's rupees. India at the Death of Akbar, p. 76.

with precision the actual effect of these financial arrangements upon the struggling millions who lived in all parts of the empire.

Justice.

There is no evidence of a regular judicial procedure in the inscriptions, and it seems fairly certain that a sort of rough and ready justice was dispensed according to the discretion of the authorities. The king was the supreme court of justice, as in all other countries in the middle ages, and in important cases his intervention was effective. Petitions could be presented to the king or to his *alter ego*, the prime minister, by private suitors and were disposed of according to their merits. Abdur-Razzāq who visited Vijayanagar in 1441 writes :

> " On the left side of the Sultan's portico rises the Dewan Khana, which is extremely large and looks like a palace . . . .In the middle of this palace upon an high estrade, is seated an eunuch called the Daing, who alone presides over the diwan. At the end of the hall stand chobdars (hussars) drawn up in a line. Every man who comes upon any business, passes between the chobdars, offers a small present, prostrates himself with his face to the ground, then rising up explains the business which brought him there, and the Daing pronounces his opinion according to the principles of justice adopted in this kingdom, and no one thereafter is allowed to make any appeal."[1]

Justice in civil cases was dispensed according to the principles of Hindu law and the usage of the country, and Abdur-Razzāq writes that orders were passed upon the petitions of the aggrieved persons according to the rules of justice prevalent in the country, and no other person had any power of remonstrance.[2] Documents were duly attested by witnesses,

[1] Major, India in the 15th Century, I, p. 25.
Chronicle of Nuniz, Sewell, p. 380.
For an account of this Diwan also see Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 108. The official title of the eunuch given here is Danaik which, says the editor in a foot-note, is the spelling in the MS. of the East India Library.

[2] Matla-us-Sadain, Elliot, IV, p. 108.

and any infringement of a recognised law or usage was visited with drastic penalties. Fines were also levied for breaches of the civil law. The administration of criminal justice was harsh and barbarous. Even in Europe, before the French Revolution, the legal system was unjust and oppressive. Torture was freely employed as the surest means of discovering truth, and punishments were inconceivably severe. Theft, adultery and treason were punished with death or mutilation.[1] Sometimes the king commanded a culprit to be thrown down before the elephants, who tore him to pieces. The Brahmans were exempt from capital punishment. The local authorities were invested with judicial powers and as frequent resort to the capital was well-nigh impossible, a great many cases must have been decided by them. There is a royal decree on record, which conferred such jurisdiction upon the *Nāyaks* or the *Gaudas* who corresponded roughly to the sheriffs of the Anglo-Saxon times in England. It runs thus : "the rulers of the towns, the *Nāyaks* and the *Gaudas* will see to this. If a caste dispute arises in the country, they will summon the parties before them and advise them. And as they have the power of punishment, the parties must act according to the advice given. This proceeding to be free of cost."[2] From this decree even our modern administrators may derive a useful lesson.

The military organisation of the empire like the civil was of a feudal character. Besides the king's personal troops, the provincial governors supplied their quota in time of war and were required to give all

The Army.

[1] Chronicle of Nuniz, Sewell, p. 383.
He gives a detailed account of these revolting punishments. He says : "Nobles who become traitors are sent to be impaled alive on a wooden stake thrust through the belly, and people of the lower orders, for whatever crime they commit, he forthwith commands to cut off their heads in the market-place, and the same for a murder, unless the death was the result of a duel."

[2] Epig. Carn., XII, Si. 76.

kinds of assistance. Nuniz writes that the kings could collect as many soldiers as they wanted, and their abundant wealth enabled them to do so without much difficulty.[1] The numerical strength of the Vijayanagar armies has been variously estimated by various writers and it is difficult to accept any figure as definitely correct. Paes writes that in 1520 Kriṣṇa Deva Raya put into the field of battle a huge army consisting of 703,000 foot, 32,600 horse, and 551 elephants, besides a large number of camp-followers, sappers, and others.[2] Nuniz[3] writes similarly, but there is no doubt that the figures furnished by both are much exaggerated. It is true, the kings in those times could easily collect immense numbers, but the permanent standing army of the empire could not have been as large as described by Paes. The army was composed of elephants, cavalry and infantry, and although it fought splendidly on occasions, it was inferior in strength, patience, and endurance to the Muslim armies of the north, as is shewn by the crushing defeats so often inflicted by the latter upon the former. This inefficiency was largely due to the fact that proper military training was not provided ; indeed, it was impossible for the military leaders to drill and discipline properly such improvised levies. The cavalry of Vijayanagar was weak, because horses of good breed were almost scarce in the south, and their supply from the countries of Arabia and Persia was, for a long time, in the hands of the Muslim powers of the north. Much reliance was placed upon elephants, but these were powerless against the skilled archers and well-trained cavalry leaders who fearlessly pierced through the Hindu rabble. When once a panic ensued, nothing availed to keep together the fleeing troops, and a defeat was easily turned into a rout.

[1] Chronicle of Nuniz, Sewell, p. 373.

[2] Sewell, p. 147.

[3] Nuniz writes that the king has continually 50,000 foot-soldiers, 20,000 spearmen and shield-bearers, 3,000 men who look after the elephants, 1,600 grooms, 300 horse-trainers, 2,000 artificers, namely, blacksmiths, masons, and carpenters, and washermen who wash clothes. Chronicle of Nuniz, Sewell, p. 381.

It is no longer necessary to point out the painful contrast that existed between the splendour of the court and the squalor and poverty of the dweller in the cottage. Foreign visitors unanimously declare the magnificence of royal processions and festivals at the capital, and Paes thus records his impressions of a military review : "Then to see the grandeur of the nobles and men of rank, I cannot possibly describe it all, nor should I be believed if I tried to do so. . . . . . Truly, I was so carried out with myself that it seemed as if what I saw was a vision, and that I was in a dream."[1] Nuniz, besides dwelling upon the pomp and pageantry of the court, throws much light upon the social customs of the time. Duelling was a recognised method of settling disputes, and great honour was done to those who fought in a duel, and the dead man's estate, if any, was given to the survivor ; but no one was permitted to fight a duel without the minister's sanction, although it was of a formal nature. The practice was introduced in the Deccan by Muslims early in the sixteenth century, and Firishta condemns it as a vile custom. Duels were fought among all classes of people in the Muslim states, and even philosophers and divines had recourse to this barbarous method of ending disputes. The practice of *Sati* was common, and the Brahmans freely commended this sort of self-immolation.[2] But the position of women at the capital indicates a highly satisfactory state of affairs. There were women wrestlers, astrologers, and soothsayers, and Nuniz writes that the king had in his service women who wrote all accounts of expenses that were incurred inside the gates. He speaks of another staff of women clerks whose duty was to write all the affairs of the kingdom and compare their books with those of the writers outside.[3] From this account, it is clear that women

Social condition.

[1] Paes' Narrative, Sewell, pp. 278-79.

[2] Chronicle of Nuniz, Sewell, p. 391.

[3] Ibid., p. 382.

in those days, besides being accomplished in music and other cognate arts pertaining to their sex, were well-educated, for without a fair degree of education and technical knowledge it would have been impossible to undertake financial verification and adjustment of accounts alluded to by the Portuguese chronicler, who must have seen many of these women with his own eyes. Great laxity seems to have prevailed in matters of diet ; and although Nuniz writes that the Brahmans, whom he describes as the cream of the Vijayanagar population,[1] never killed or ate any live thing, the people used all kinds of meat. Paes and Nuniz describe the various kinds of animals and birds that were sold in the market for human consumption. The flesh of oxen or cows was strictly prohibited, and even the kings scrupulously observed this rule. Otherwise, the list of permitted animals was formidably large. Regarding the habits of kings whose example was followed by the people Nuniz writes that :

> "These kings of Bisnaga eat all sorts of things, but not the flesh of oxen or cows, which they never kill in all the country of the heathen, because they worship them. They eat mutton, pork, venison, partridges, hares, doves, quail, and all kinds of birds ; even sparrows, and rats, and cats, and lizards, all of which are sold in the market of the city of Bisnaga.
>
> Everything has to be sold alive so that each one may know what he buys—this at least so far as concerns game—and there are fish from the rivers in large quantities."[2]

[1] Chronicle of Nuniz, Sewell, p. 390.
Narrative of Paes, Sewell, p. 245.
Paes speaks of Brahmans as the fairest men and women in the land. Those who have charge of the temples are learned men and eat nothing which suffers death, neither flesh nor fish, nor anything which makes broth red, for they say that it is blood.

[2] Chronicle of Nuniz, Sewell, p. 375.
Narrative of Paes, Sewell, p. 258.
It is difficult to say how far Nuniz is correct in giving these particulars. At the present day rats, cats, and lizards would not

If the statement of the chronicler is correct, this was, as Dr. Vincent Smith says, a curious dietary for princes and people, who, in the time of Krisṇa Deva Raya and Achyuta Raya, were zealous Hindus with a special devotion to certain forms of Viṣṇu. Brahmans were held in high esteem ; they carried on the work of government, and Nuniz speaks of them as "honest men, given to merchandise, very acute and of much talent, very good at accounts, lean men and well formed, but little fit for hard work."[1] This description substantially tallies with the character of the world's most ancient aristocracy of learning, which still continues to hold its own in spite of the numerous inroads that have been made on its privileges in modern times.

Bloody sacrifices were in vogue, and Paes writes that on a certain festival the king used to witness the slaughter of 24 buffaloes and 150 sheep, the heads of the animals being struck off by a single blow. When the famous nine days' festival was over, 250 buffaloes and 4,500 sheep were slaughtered on the last day. But it seems, the cattle were so abundant that the economic loss was never felt by the people.

The wealth of the capital fostered luxury which brought in its train numerous vices. Prostitution became a common practice, and we learn from Abdur-Razzāq that there were brothels in the city, where women of loose character, by their blandishments and deceitful arts, allured men into evil ways. Here is the Persian ambassador's detailed account:

> "One thing worth mentioning is this, behind the mint there is a sort of bazar, which is more than 300 yards long and 20 broad. On two sides of it there are houses

be eaten by any one except men of some wild gipsy tribes. Nowadays, such animals are not sold anywhere in Indian markets for human consumption. As Dr. V. Smith suggests, these animals must have constituted the food of the non-Aryan element in the Vijayanagar population. A dietary of this sort for high caste Hindus is simply unthinkable.

[1] Chronicle of Nuniz, Sewell, p. 390.
Narrative of Paes, Sewell, pp. 245-46.

(khanaha) and fore-courts (safhaha), and in front of the houses, instead of benches (kursi), lofty seats are built of excellent stone, and on each side of the avenue formed by the houses, there are figures of lions, panthers, tigers, and other animals, so well painted as to seem alive. After the time of mid-day-prayers, they place at the doors of these houses, which are beautifully decorated, chairs and setters, on which the courtezans seat themselves. Everyone is covered with pearls, precious stones, and costly garments. Any man who passes through this place makes choice of whom he will. The servants of those brothels take care of whatever is taken into them, and if anything is lost they are dismissed. There are several brothels within these seven fortresses, and the revenues of them, which, as stated before, amount to 12,000 *fanams*, go to pay the wages of the police men. The business of these men is to acquaint themselves with all the events and accidents that happen within the seven walls, and to recover everything that is lost, or that may be abstracted by theft ; otherwise they are fined."[1]

The existence of these houses of ill-fame will be no surprise to those who are acquainted with modern towns like Paris and Delhi. The prostitutes were allowed to be present at public functions, and the highest nobles and officers of the state enjoyed their company without exciting scandal. Until recently, their presence was almost universally permitted on festive occasions in India, but the practice is now rapidly dying out mainly through the influence of the educated classes.

The Italian Machiavel of the fifteenth century asserted the mighty fundamental that "*the state is force*." The definition applies with remarkable appositeness to the Vijayanagar empire. It was organised to secure the Hindus against foreign invasions, and it was this object which it consistently placed in the forefront of the imperial programme throughout its long

[1] Matla-us-Sadain, Elliot, IV, pp. 112-13.

career of usefulness. Harshness there was ; of revolting usages and rites like *Sati* and sacrifice, and other undesirable practices, there was enough and to spare ; but the empire, by reason of its tolerant policy, soon became a haven of refuge for all those whom Muslim persecution drove from their homes into a sorrowful exile. All forms of worship were tolerated within the empire, so that " every man may come and go and live according to his own creed, without suffering any annoyance and without any enquiry whether he is Christian, Jew, or Moor or Heathen."[1] But the empire contained no principle of development ; it represented no ideal of human progress, and therefore could not be lasting. Like many others of its kind, it was ruined by those very causes which had brought it into existence.

[1] Epig. Carn., III, Sr. 15. Ibid., II, SB. 136.

CHAPTER XVI

AN ERA OF WEAK KINGS

KHIZR KHAN had secured the throne of Delhi, but his position was far from enviable. He hesitated to assume publicly the title of king and professed to rule merely as the vicegerent of Timur. The empire had suffered in prestige and lost in territory since the invasion of Timur owing to the ambition and greed of provincial governors, and the process of disintegration that had set in had not yet come to an end. At the capital, the parties scrambled for power, and changed their positions with an almost kaleidoscopic rapidity, and their leaders, whose sordid ambition was equalled by their unprincipled opportunism, acted according to the dictates of self-interest. The Doab had been, since the days of Balban, a most refractory part of the empire, and the Zamindars of Etawah, mostly Rajputs of the Rathor clan, Katehar, Kanauj, and Badaon withheld their tribute and disregarded the central power. They stirred up strife with such persistence that again and again punitive expeditions had to be undertaken in order to chastise them. The kingdoms of Malwa, Jaunpur, and Gujarat had become quite independent of Delhi. They were engaged in fighting with their neighbours and amongst themselves, and often encroached upon the territory of Delhi. The rulers of Malwa and Gujarat fought bloody contests between themselves and with the Rajputs whom they prevented from taking any interest in the politics of Delhi. Not far from the capital, the Mewatis were seething with discontent; they withheld tribute

The situation.

and wavered in their allegiance. Towards the northern frontier, the Khokhars carried on their depredations at Multan and Lahore, and wished to profit by the general anarchy that was prevailing all over the country. Such predatory tribes, as were still in a semi-civilised state, could not be held in check by the domesticated Muslims who swarmed around the court of Delhi. The Turk-bacchas at Sarhind were equally restive, and in conjunction with bolder and more ardent spirits fomented intrigues and formed conspiracies to establish their own influence. The Muslim governors in the provinces waged war against their neighbours, and more than once the central government had to interfere in order to prevent such an attempt at independent action. The prestige of the monarchy had fallen, though not altogether destroyed. The incompetence of rulers was the most important cause of this decline of prestige. It is remarkable that after Firuz no ruler of first-rate ability occupied the throne of Delhi ; it seems, as if the brain and character of the royal house had become enfeebled by an imperceptible process of decay, which had been going on for the last twenty years. The ease-loving Muslims of this generation could neither unite nor organise like their forbears in the past, and their separatist tendencies tended to divide them into so many military cliques working at cross purposes. There was no dearth of rapacious military adventurers and self-seeking politicians ; but these are men least fitted to evolve order out of chaos and establish settled administration in a country suffering from chronic internecine strife and weakness of public authority. It is a mistake to suppose that the decline of the prestige of the monarchy was, in any measure, due to the amalgamation of the ruling race with the Hindus. There was no real affinity between the Hindus and the Muslims. They still existed as separate parts of the body politic. Even under Firuz, who was born of a Rajput mother, the Hindus were relegated to an inferior position, and the bureaucracy of the state was exclusively manned by Muslims. The intermarriages between the royal families were due to force and not

to choice, and often left bitter memories behind.[1] They tended to alienate rather than to unite. The personal factor was all-important in mediæval politics, and the fortunes of kingdoms and empires often fluctuated according to the strength or weakness of the men who presided over their destinies. It could not be otherwise in an age which knew nothing of constitutional usage or the reign of law. The length of the sword frequently determined the limit of the sway, and weak and incompetent men were remorselessly rejected by the exigencies of the situation, or ousted by the superior strength of their rivals. The task before the Saiyyads was not an easy one, and the future of their dynasty depended upon the manner in which they would deal with the situation. Well may they quail before such a stupendous task of social reconstruction!

Khizr Khan, 1414–1421 A.D.

Khizr Khan was a Saiyyad[2] and in his childhood he had been brought up by Malik Nasir-ul-mulk Mardan Daulat, governor of Multan, whose fief was conferred upon him by Firuz Tughluq after his death. When the empire of Delhi fell into a state of confusion after Firuz's death, Khizr Khan was besieged and captured by Sarang Khan, the brother of the redoubtable leader, Mallu Iqbal Khan, in his fort of Multan in 798 A.H. (1395 A.D.)[3] But he succeeded in effecting his escape and

[1] The case of Bibi Naila, daughter of Ranamall Bhatti and mother of Firuz Tughluq, is an instance in point. Afif relates how she was forcibly snatched away by Tughluq-Shah and married to Sipah Salar Rajab.

[2] The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* mentions two reasons in support of Khizr Khan's Saiyyad descent. One reason is that on one occasion the chief of the Saiyyad Jalal-ud-din Bokhari paid a visit to Malik Mardan, and when food was served before the guests, Malik Mardan asked Khizr's brother Sulaiman to wash the great Saiyyad's hands. The Saiyyad said, "This is a Saiyyad, and is unfit for such a work as this." Another reason which he gives is that he was generous, brave, humble, hospitable, true to his word and kind. These are virtues which were conspicuous in the Prophet, and were manifest in him."

[3] Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, Elliot, IV, pp. 32, 34.

Khizr Khan along with others was admitted to an interview with Timur who cast all others into prison, but showed favour to him.

in 1398 he cast in his lot with Timur who, at the time of his departure, entrusted to him his old fief of Multan with its dependencies. The political confusion that prevailed at Delhi enabled him to acquire more power, and in 1414 he overpowered Daulat Khan and took possession of the capital. Although Khizr Khan wielded the sovereign power, he professed to rule in the name of Timur, and the titles which he assumed are clearly indicative of his sense of vassalage. The coins were struck ; the Khutba was read in Timur's name, and after his death in the name of his successor, Prince Shah Rukh ; and Khizr Khan, in order to signify his submission sometimes sent tribute to his liege-lord. Having acquired possession of Delhi, Khizr Khan set himself to the task of preliminary settlement. He created endowments for the maintenance of the poor and the indigent, whose number had enormously multiplied owing to the great political disorders of the time. A fresh arrangement of the important offices was brought about with a view to make the administration more efficient. The office of Wazir was conferred upon Malik-us-Sharq Malik Tuhfa with the title of Taj-ul-mulk—a selection which was justified by subsequent events. The fief of Saharanpur was entrusted to Saiyyad Salim, chief of the Saiyyads, who at once proceeded to his charge to set things in order. The fiefs of Multan and Fatehpur were assigned to Abdur Rahim, the adopted son of the late Malik Sulaiman, with the title of Ala-ul-mulk, and the Doab was conferred upon Ikhtiyar Khan. Malik Sarwar was appointed *Shahna* of the capital and empowered to act as the king's vicegerent in his absence. Malik Daud became Secretary of State and Malik Kālū, keeper of the elephants, and Malik Khair-ud-din was elevated to the dignity of the Arīz-i-mamālik (muster-master). The officers of state were secured in the possession of fiefs and lands which they had held in the reign of Sultan Mahmud.

The most important problem before the new government was the establishment of order in the Doab and in those provinces of the empire, which still acknowledged its suzerainty.

The intrepid Wazir, Taj-ul-mulk, marched into the district of Katehar in 1414 and ravaged the country. Rai Hara Singh fled without offering resistance, but he was pursued by the royal forces and compelled to surrender. The Hindu Zamindars of Khor,[1] Kampila, Sakit,[2] Parham, Gwalior, Seori and Chandwar submitted and paid tribute. Jalesar[3] was wrested from the Hindu chief of Chandwar and made over to the Muslims who had held it before. The countries of the Doab. Biyana, and Gwalior broke out into rebellion again and again, but order was restored, and the chiefs were compelled to acknowledge the authority of Delhi.

Soon afterwards, the affairs of the northern frontier engaged the attention of the king, where some Turk-bacchas had treacherously slain Malik Sadhu who had been sent there in place of Prince Mubarak. They captured the fort of Sarhind, and when the royal forces were sent against them, they fled into the mountains. In 1417 occurred the rebellion of Tughan Rais and the Turk-bacchas, but it was suppressed by Zirak Khan, the Amir of Samana, who compelled the Rais to submit and give his son as a hostage in order to guarantee his loyalty in the future. The Doab was the most refractory part of the empire of Delhi, and it would be wearisome to describe in detail the numerous punitive expeditions that were undertaken by Khizr Khan and his successors to chastise the rebellious chiefs. The country was in a state of utter confusion, and only a few miles from Delhi the authority of the state was disregarded by Zamindars of substance. Hara Singh of

[1] Khor is modern Shamsabad in the Farrukhabad district in the United Provinces situated on the south bank of the Buri Ganga river, 18 miles north-west of Fatehgarh town.
Farrukhabad Distt. Gaz., pp. 123-124.

[2] Sakit lies between Kampila and Rapari, 12 miles south-east of Etah town. It was at Badoli in this *pargana* that Bahlol Lodi died on his return from an expedition against Gwalior.

[3] Jalesar is 38 miles east of Muttra in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

Katehar rebelled again, and when Taj-ul-mulk, ever ready to captain an expedition against the rebels, marched into his country, he fled towards the mountains of Kamayun, leaving his baggage to be captured by the enemy.

The rebellion of Rai Sarwar in Etawah, which occurred at this time, was put down by Mahabat Khan, Amir of Badaon. In 1419 Khizr Khan himself marched against Katehar and restored order in the districts of Kol, Sambhal and Badaon, where the local governor Mahabat Khan had rebelled. But the news of a conspiracy against him compelled him to abandon the siege and march towards the capital, where he caused the conspirators to be put to death.

Taj-ul-mulk was destined to enjoy no rest. No sooner did he quell revolts in one quarter than fresh troubles broke out in another district. Nothing brings more clearly into relief the weakness of the government of Delhi than these repeated rebellions of the local Zamindars and chieftains. The whole country from Kol to Katehar seethed with discontent ; and a punitive expedition became necessary when Rai Sarwar of Etawah withheld tribute and made an attempt to establish his independence. He was besieged by the never-failing Wazir and compelled to make peace and pay the arrears of tribute. The districts of Kol, Baran, and Chandwar were subdued, and Rai Hara Singh of Katehar also made his submission.

Towards the northern frontier, Tughan Rais again hoisted the flag of revolt, but he was driven into the country of Jasrath Khokhar by Malik Khair-ud-din, and his fief was made over to Zirak Khan. The Mewatis were suppressed by Khizr Khan, who marched against them in person and besieged them in the fortress of Kutila, which belonged to Bahadur Nahir. The fortress was levelled down and the Mewatis were defeated. Taj-ul-mulk died on Muharram 7, 824 A.H. (12th January, 1421 A.D.) The death of this indefatigable minister who had never wavered in his loyalty—a highly honourable trait in his character particularly in view of the circumstances of the age—made it necessary for Khizr Khan to undertake the task

of suppressing these sporadic insurrections which broke out from time to time. But Khizr Khan's end was also drawing near. After suppressing the chiefs of Gwalior and Etawah, who had again defied his authority, he returned to Delhi where he fell ill and died on the 17th Jamad-al-awwal, 824 A.H. (20th May, 1421 A.D.)

Khizr Khan lived like a true Saiyyad. He never shed blood unnecessarily, nor did he ever sanction an atrocious crime either to cement his own power or to wreak vengeance upon his enemies. If there was little administrative reform, the fault was not his ; the disorders of the time gave him no rest, and all his life he was engaged in preserving the authority of the state in those parts where it still existed. Firishta passes a well-deserved eulogy upon him when he says : "Khizr Khan was a great and wise king, kind and true to his word ; his subjects loved him with a grateful affection so that great and small, master and servant, sat and mourned for him in black raiment till the third day, when they laid aside their mourning garments, and raised his son Mubarak Shah to the throne."

Khizr Khan on his death-bed had nominated his son Mubarak as his heir-apparent, and on the 17th Jamad-al-awwal[1] the heir-designate assumed the royal insignia with the consent of the Maliks and Amirs of the kingdom. A detailed chronicle of the reign called the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* was written by one Yahya bin Ahmad, which is the main source of all information regarding the events of the period. The annals of this reign are as dreary as those of the previous one, and we find nothing but rebellions in all parts of the country and punitive expeditions undertaken by the king to suppress them. Like his father, Mubarak confirmed the Maliks and Amirs in their landed possessions and showed great favour to them.

Mubarak Shah, 1421—1434 A.D.

[1] The MS. of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* which I have utilised gives 17th Jamad-al-awwal, whereas the date given by Elliot in his translation is 19th Jamad-al-awwal. Elliot, IV, p. 53.

The earliest rebellion of the reign was that of Jasrath Khokhar and Tughan Rais on the northern frontier. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi,* who is a contemporary chronicler, describes the cause of the revolt thus :—

" Jasrath Khokhar was an imprudent rustic. Intoxicated with victory, and elated with the strength of his forces, he began to have visions about Delhi. When he heard of the death of Khizr Khan, he passed the rivers Biyah (Beas) and Satladar (Sutlaj) with a body of horse and foot, and attacked Rai Kamal-ud-din Main at Talwandi. Rai Firoz fled before him towards the desert. Jasrath next plundered the country, from the town of Ludhiana to the neighbourhood of Arubar (Rupar), on the Sutlaj."

He then laid siege to the fort of Sarhind, but failed to take it. On hearing the news of this revolt, the Sultan marched towards Samana, and the Khokhar raised the siege of Sarhind and retreated to Ludhiana. The royal army pursued the rebel, but he fled towards the mountains. Having settled the country of Lahore, the Sultan returned to Delhi, but he was soon perturbed by the news that Jasrath Khokhar had crossed the Ravi and advanced upon Lahore. The governor of Lahore, Malik Mahmud Hasan, went to oppose him and sharp skirmishes were fought with the enemy who encamped for 35 days without a break. Jasrath fell back upon Kalanor, but he was again driven to seek refuge in the mountains. Meanwhile, re-inforcements came from Dipalpur, Sarhind and Delhi ; Rai Bhima also supplied a contingent, and the combined forces crossed the Ravi between Kalanor and the town of Bhoh, and inflicted a defeat upon the Khokhars. Mahmud Hasan was transferred to Jalandhar ; and the province of Lahore, which required an able and energetic man, was entrusted to Malik Sikandar whose place at the capital was taken by Malik-us-Sharq Sarwar, *Shahna* of the town.

There was a recrudescence of rebellion again in the countries of the Doab, and the Sultan marched in 1423 into Katehar, where he compelled the local chiefs to submit and

pay their revenue. The Rathors of Kampila and Etawah, a most contumacious tribe, whose submission was always of a temporary character, were subdued next, and Rai Sarwar's son offered fealty and paid the arrears of tribute. Alap Khan, the governor of Dhar, who had advanced upon Gwalior was overpowered, and peace was made with him. In November, 1424, the Sultan again marched into Katehar, and when he reached the bank of the Ganges, Rai Hara Singh came and offered submission. The Mewatis stirred up strife under the leadership of Jallu and Qaddu, grandsons of Bahadur Nahir, and ravaged their own country. Their stronghold at Andwar was dismantled, and the royal army proceeded towards Alwar where they had sought refuge. Pressed hard by the royalists, they at last surrendered and obtained pardon from the king.

Expeditions in the Doab.

The rebellion of Muhammad Khan, governor of Biyana, was quickly suppressed by Mubariz Khan whom the Sultan appointed governor of the place. But about this time came the disquieting news that Ibrahim Sharqi was marching against Kalpi at the head of a considerable force. Mukhaltas Khan, brother of the king of Jaunpur, marched into the Etawah territory and the Sultan sent Muhammad Hasan against him and himself marched to the scene of action. Ibrahim advanced along the bank of the river Kali Nadi to Burhanpur, a dependency of Etawah, while Mubarak Shah crossed the Jamna at Chandwar and encamped within eight miles of the enemy. Several skirmishes were fought on both sides, but neither party risked a general engagement. At last, after twenty-two days the Sharqi ruler's patience was exhausted, and he gave battle. Fighting went on ceaselessly from mid-day till evening, but the next day when the Sharqi king saw the superior strength of the Delhi forces, he retreated towards the Jamna and marched back to his country. Elated at this seeming victory, the Sultan returned to Delhi where he ordered Qaddu Mewati to be put to death for giving help to Ibrahim Sharqi in the late war. Malik Sarwar was sent to Mewat to

deal with the rebels, but the Mewati leaders defended themselves with such stubborn courage that Sarwar had to be content with a money contribution from them.

Against Jasrath Khokhar again.

In Zilqada, 831 A.H. (1428 A.D.), Jasrath Khokhar besieged Kalanor, and when Malik Sikandar proceeded to its rescue, Jasrath defeated him. Emboldened by this success he attacked Jalandhar, but failed to capture it, and retreated again to Kalanor. When the Sultan heard of these proceedings, he ordered the Amirs of Samana and Sarhind to march to the relief of Malik Sikandar. But before they could reach the scene of action, Malik Sikandar had defeated the Khokhar chieftain and compelled him to seek refuge in the mountains.

The rebellion of Paulad, 1429-30 A.D.

Far more serious than the revolts that have been described above was the revolt of Paulad Turk-baccha, a slave of Saiyyad Salim, who had been instigated to do so by the sons of the Saiyyad. The rebel gathered a considerable following and entrenched himself in the fortress of Bhatinda. His allies Malik Yusuf Sarup and Henu Bhatti were encouraged by him to capture Rapri, and these aggressions obliged the Sultan to send Imad-ul-mulk against him. Paulad sent word to the Sultan that he would surrender the place, if his life were spared. The Sultan agreed to this, but one of Imad-ul-mulk's foolish servants informed him that the Sultan's promise was not to be relied upon. Paulad now determined to hold out to the last and began to collect forces from all quarters. He sought the help of Amir Shaikh Zada Ali Mughal, governor of Kabul, and the Khokhar chiefs who brought their men to swell his ranks. Shaikh Ali reached Sarhind and put to flight the royal army, and in return for this service his ally offered him a gift of two lakhs of tankās in addition to other costly presents. The country in the Punjab was ravaged and by means of rapine Shaikh Ali fully remunerated himself for his help. At Lahore, he exacted a year's revenue from Malik Sikandar, and proceeding to Dipalpur laid waste the whole country for 20

days. Multan was soon reached, and the Kabulis ravaged the neighbouring country within four miles of Multan. Hearing of these depredations, the Sultan sent reinforcements with several of his generals, which enabled Imad-ul-mulk to defeat Shaikh Ali in a hotly contested engagement. He escaped to Kabul, but his army was nearly destroyed. Imad-ul-mulk returned to Multan, but the Sultan grew jealous of him and deprived him of his command. His place was taken by Khair-ud-din Khani who was ill-fitted to deal with the situation on the frontier. This transfer, writes the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi,* was impolitic in the highest degree, because it led to great troubles and disturbances in the districts of Multan.

The immediate effect of the Sultan's inconsiderate act was the attack of Jasrath Khokhar who forthwith proceeded to lay siege to Lahore. Shaikh Ali also renewed his attack and raided the territory of Multan. The Sultan sent Sarwar-ul-mulk against the rebels in 1432 and appointed him governor of Multan. Jasrath and Shaikh Ali retreated, but Paulad shut himself up in the fort of Sarhind. Sarwar's success aroused the Sultan's jealousy, and he ordered him back to the office of Wazir, but Imad-ul-mulk continued to fight against the rebels. Sarhind was taken ; Paulad was defeated and slain, and his head was brought to the Sultan by Miran-i-Sadr in Rabi-ul-awwal, 837 A.H. (Nov., 1433 A.D.).

Conspiracy against the Sultan.

Sarwar-ul-mulk was made to revert to the Wizārat, and for the purpose of making the administration more efficient the *Diwan-i-ashraf* was transferred to Kamal-ul-mulk. Both were ordered to act in co-operation, but the rising influence of Kamal-ul-mulk, who was more capable of the two, roused the jealousy of his colleague, who did not approve of this division of functions in the office of the chancellor. "His thoughts were now turned towards blood. His deprivation of the fief of Dipalpur had rankled like a thorn in his heart, and his mind was now set upon effecting some revolution in the State." He conspired with such men as the sons of

Kangu and Kajwi Khatri to take the life of the Sultan and was joined by several malcontents among the Musalmans who held high offices in the state.[1] When the Sultan went to Mubarakabad, a new town which he had founded, to watch the progress of the constructions on the 9th Rajab, 837 A.H. (20th February, 1434 A.D.),[2] he was attacked by Sidhupal, grandson of Kaju, who struck the Sultan with a sword on his head with such force that he instantaneously fell dead on the ground. With touching brevity the contemporary Muslim chronicler records a verdict on his patron in these words : " A clement and generous sovereign, full of excellent qualities."

The successors of Mubarak Shah.

After the death of Mubarak, Prince Muhammad bin Farid, a grandson of Khizr Khan, whom the late Sultan had adopted, was elevated to the throne. But Sarwar who wished to keep all power in his own hands secured the treasures and stores, the houses and elephants, and the arsenal of the state in his possession. He assumed the title of Khan-i-Jahan and forthwith proceeded to distribute the highest offices among his fellow conspirators. Some of the important fiefs such as Biyana, Amroha,[3] Narnaul,[4] Kuhram[5] and some *parganas* in

[1] It appears that Hindus and Muslims both joined in the plot against the Sultan. Among the Musalmans were Miran-i-Sahib, deputy of the 'Ariz-i-mamalik,' and Qazi Abdus Samad Khan Hajib with several others. Elliot, IV, p. 78.

[2] Firishta's date Rajab 9, 839 A.H., is incorrect.
The MS. of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* gives 9th Rajab, 837 A.H.
It says the Sultan reigned for 13 years, 3 months and 16 days.
The date given by Elliot agrees with it. Badāonī's date is also 837 A.H. There is a consensus of opinion in favour of 837 A.H.

[3] Amroha is in the Moradabad district in the United Provinces.

[4] Narnaul is in the Patiala State in the Punjab.

[5] Kuhram is an ancient town in the Patiala State in the Punjab.

the Doab were given to the assassin Sidhupal and his relatives. Other Hindu and Muslim conspirators were similarly rewarded and elevated to a dignity, of which they had never dreamt in their lives. But there was one powerful man devoted to the line of Khizr Khan, who wished to take revenge upon Sarwar and his associates for the foul murder of Mubarak. He attended the court, paid homage to the new Sultan and silently bided his time. He was Kamal-ul-mulk—a man well-versed in the duties of government.

The perfidy of Sarwar-ul-mulk and the elevation of the " base infidels " made the old Maliks and Amirs furious with indignation, and Kamal-ul-mulk easily succeeded in forming a party of opposition to the new regime of murderers. The Wazir, fully aware of the danger that threatened his very life, shut himself in the fort of Siri, which was besieged by Kamal-ul-mulk and his associates with great vigour.

The Sultan, apparently friendly to the besieged, was in reality desirous of taking revenge for the murder of his predecessor. Sarwar and his comrades, who were highly distrustful of him, proceeded to the palace, evidently with the object of murdering him, but they were forestalled by the Sultan, who on being informed of their wicked move ordered them to be seized and put to death publicly before the Durbar. Kamal-ud-din came soon afterwards with his followers and scattered the ruffians who were sent to their ignominious doom.

Kamal-ul-mulk now formed a new ministry and distributed offices among his friends and supporters. The Sultan succeeded in infusing a new energy into the administration for a brief interval, but there were no elements of permanence in the reorganisation of Kamal-ul-mulk. The news of rebellions and disorders came from several parts of the country. Ibrahim Sharqi seized several *parganas* (sub-divisions) belonging to Delhi, and the Rai of Gwalior with some other Hindu chiefs ceased to pay tribute. Mahmud Khilji of Malwa, encouraged by these disorders, advanced as far as the capital, but he soon retired after concluding a peace with Muhammad Shah, for his

capital Mandu was threatened by Ahmad Shah of Gujarat. Bahlol Khan Lodi, the governor of Lahore and Sarhind, who had come to the rescue of Muhammad Shah, pursued the retreating Malwa army and seized its baggage and effects. He was given the title of Khan-i-Khana, and the Sultan in order to show his affection for him addressed him as his son.

But Bahlol's loyalty was shaken by the suggestions of a persistent mischief-maker, Jasrath Khokhar, who instigated him to seize the throne of Delhi. Flattered by the hope of being elevated to kingly dignity, Bahlol joined a party of Afghans and advanced upon Delhi, but he failed to capture it and was obliged to withdraw. Delhi was saved, but the fall of the Saiyyads was only a question of time. The condition of the empire had grown from bad to worse, and Nizam-ud-din Ahmad writes that the "business of the state day by day fell into greater confusion, and affairs came to such a pass that there were Amirs at twenty *krohs* from Delhi, who shook off their allegiance and began to prepare themselves for resistance."[1]

Alauddin Alam Shah.

After Muhammad's death in 849 A.H. (1445 A.D.)[2] the Amirs and nobles placed his son upon the throne under the title of Alauddin Alam Shah. But the new ruler was more "negligent and incompetent" than his father, and Bahlol derived the fullest advantage from the weakness of the central power. In 1447 the Sultan betook himself to Badāon which he made his

[1] Tabqat-i-Akbari, Lucknow text, p. 148.

[2] There is a great conflict of opinion with regard to this date. Firishta's date is 849 A.H. Briggs, I, 539. The Lucknow text (p. 171) says that the Sultan ruled for 12 years and a few months. Badāonī (Ranking, Al-Badāonī, I, p. 399) gives 847 A.H. which is accepted also by Edward Thomas. The Chronicles, p. 336.

But the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* writes that Muhammad Shah's reign lasted 13 years, 3 months and 16 days. Thus Firishta's statement is corroborated by a contemporary writer. The correct date will be 849-50 A.H. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* ought certainly to have greater weight unless strong reasons exist to the contrary.

permanent residence in the teeth of the opposition of the entire court and the minister.[1] He committed a serious blunder in attempting to kill his Wazir, Hāmid Khan, who thereupon invited Bahlol to come to the capital and assume sovereignty. With a traitorous party at the capital itself, it was not difficult for Bahlol to realise his old dream, and by a successful *coup d'etat* he seized Delhi. Alauddin Alam Shah voluntarily resigned to him the whole kingdom except his favourite district of Badāon. Bahlol removed the name of Alam Shah from the Khutba and publicly proclaimed himself ruler of Delhi.[2] The imbecile Alauddin lived out the remnant of his life, perhaps without any pangs of regret or sense of humiliation, in undisturbed repose at Badāon where he finally died in 1478.

[1] Firishta says, the climate of Badāon agreed better with his health. Briggs, I, p. 541.

Nizam-ud-din gives no reasons. Edward Thomas says, probably the Sultan fancied that he would enjoy better security there, which he did not feel at Delhi—the centre of intrigues and factious fights.

[2] It is written in the *Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Shahi* and the *Tarikh-i-Nizami* that Malik Bahlol was a nephew of Sultan Shah Lodi who was appointed governor of Sarhind after the death of Mallu Iqbal with the title of Islam Khan. His brothers, among whom was Malik Kali, the father of Bahlol, also shared his prosperity. Malik Sultan, impressed by the talents of Bahlol, appointed him his successor, and after his death Bahlol became governor of Sarhind. Firishta writes that Islam Khan married his daughter to Bahlol, and notwithstanding the existence of his own sons he nominated Bahlol as his heir, because he was by far the ablest of all. But Qutb Khan, the son of Islam Khan, dissatisfied with this arrangement went to Delhi and complained against Bahlol to the Sultan. Hasan Khan was sent against Bahlol at the head of a considerable force, but he was worsted in battle.

An interesting anecdote is related of Bahlol, that one day when he was in the service of his uncle, he went to Samana where he paid a visit to Saiyyad Ayen, a famous *darvesh*, with his friends. The *darvesh* said: 'Is there any one who wishes to obtain from me the empire of Delhi for two thousand *tankās*?' Bahlol instantly presented the sum to the holy man who accepted it with the words: 'Be the empire of Delhi blessed by thee.' The prophecy of the *darvesh* luckily proved true.

Dorn, Makhzan-i-Afghana, p. 43.

The Tarikh-i-Daudi has 1,300 *tankās* instead of 2,000. Allahabad University MS., p. 3.

CHAPTER XVII

THE FIRST AFGHAN EMPIRE—ITS RISE AND FALL

THE successors of Khizr Khan had failed to strengthen their authority, and Alauddin's retirement to Badāon dealt the *coup de grace* to the dynasty of the Saiyyads. The old empire of Delhi had ceased to exist; the whole of Hindustan was now divided into a number of independent principalities and fiefs. The Deccan, Gujarat, Malwa, Jaunpur, and Bengal had become kingdoms with their own independent rulers. The northern districts of the Punjab from Lahore, Dipalpur, and Sarhind to Hansi, Hisar, and Panipat in the south were in the charge of Bahlol Lodi; Mahrauli[1] and the country within about fourteen miles of Delhi as far as Sarai Ladu was in the hands of Ahmad Khan Mewati; the province of Sambhal up to the suburbs of Delhi was held by Dariya Khan Lodi. The Doab contained a number of fiefs which were, to all intents and purposes, independent; Qutb Khan exercised authority in the districts of Rebari, Chandawar, and Etawah, while Kol, Jalali,[2] and Jalesar[3] were held by Īsa Khan Turk. Biyana was in the hands of Daud Khan Lodi and a Hindu chieftain. Raja Pratap Singh exercised sway at Patiali and Kampila, territories now included in the Farrukhabad and Etah districts. The Saiyyads had made efforts to preserve the authority of the moribund empire, but the centrifugal

Dismemberment of the Empire.

[1] Mahrauli is a village in tahsil Ballabhagarh in the Delhi province. Delhi Gaz., p. 101.

[2] Jalali is a village in the Aligarh district in the United Provinces.

[3] Jalesar is a town in the Etah district on the road from Muttra to Etah in the United Provinces.

tendencies so common in Indian history were working with a force too great for them to control or check. For a time, Bahlol, who was an experienced captain of war, infused a fresh vigour into the administration, and embarked upon a brilliant foreign policy in order to recover the lost territories of the empire and to restore its fallen prestige.

Bahlol consolidates his power.

It will be remembered that Bahlol had obtained the throne of Delhi through the help of the minister, Hāmid Khan, who had incurred the displeasure of his royal master Alauddin. Lowliness is young ambition's ladder and Bahlol proceeded with studied caution and feigned humility to secure Hāmid's favour and confidence. He asked him to be king and expressed his willingness to be satisfied with the command of his armies and to obey any orders which he might be pleased to issue for the proper management of affairs. Bahlol treated him with great respect, and was at times even obsequious in showing attentions to the powerful minister. But the growing influence of the latter was gall and wormwood to Bahlol who had his own ambitions to realise. In order to get rid of the minister, he hit upon a clever stratagem ; he asked his Afghan adherents to feign simplicity and assume rustic airs in the presence of the Wazir and " to adopt a conduct the most remote from good sense and common reason, in order to induce him to believe that they were thoughtless fellows, and of course banish all apprehension and fear of them from his heart." The wily Afghans acted according to the instructions of their chief, and when Hāmid saw these antics, he asked Bahlol to explain the quaint behaviour of his men, whereupon he replied that they were rustics, ignorant of the ways and manners of civilised society. Next day, when Bahlol repaired to the minister's residence to pay him a visit, his partisans picked a quarrel with the gate-keeper and requested permission to go in. Hāmid who suspected no treachery granted their request, but he was taken aback when Bahlol's cousin, Qutb Khan, placed before the minister the chains he had concealed in his pocket

and told him that it was wise for him to live in obscure retirement for sometime. Shocked at this monstrous ingratitude of Bahlol, the minister asked his captors why they had recourse to such a treacherous proceeding in dealing with one who had been their friend and benefactor. But the heartless ruffians, in whom the love of power and selfishness had destroyed all feelings of tenderness, replied with brutal frankness that they had no faith in him, because he had been disloyal to his late master and patron. The conspirators made overtures to Alauddin and offered him the throne which he declined, probably because he felt himself quite unequal to the task of government at a time of such confusion, and preferred to enjoy his inglorious repose at Badāon. To strengthen his position further, Bahlol tried to gain the confidence of the army by means of lavish gifts and bounties, and of the Amirs by holding out to them prospects of promotion and honour suited to their rank. Though Bahlol's name was proclaimed in the Khutba, there were many malcontents who did not recognise his title to the throne, and when the Sultan left for Sarhind to organise the north-western provinces, they invited Mahmud Shah Sharqi to advance upon the capital. Besides, Mahmud was egged on by his wife, a daughter of Sultan Alauddin, to expel the Afghans from Delhi, who had usurped her father's throne, and the proud matron told her husband that if he hesitated, she would herself lead an expedition against Bahlol. When Bahlol received intelligence of all this, he apologised, as was his wont, when his opportunism dictated caution and humility, and gave assurances of a warm reception to Mahmud Shah. But the latter knew the hollowness of Bahlol's promises and refused to listen to his proposals. Mahmud advanced at the head of a large army consisting of 170,000 horse and 1,400 elephants and laid siege to Delhi.[1] On hearing the news of this disaster Bahlol turned back

[1] Tarikh-i-Daudi, Allahabad University MS., pp. 13-14.
The *Makhzan-i-Afghana* simply says that Mahmud advanced against Delhi at the head of a large army. Dorn, p. 47.

towards Delhi, but he was opposed in the way by a detachment of the Sharqi host, consisting of 30,000 horse and 30 elephants under Fatah Khan Harvi. When the two armies came face to face, Qutb Khan Lodi, the greatest archer of the time, reproached Dariya Khan Lodi for fighting against his own kinsmen in alliance with his natural enemies. The reproof stung the spirited Afghan to the quick, and he promised to leave the battle-field, provided the Khan gave an assurance that he would not be pursued by his troops. The desertion of such an important ally had a disastrous effect. Many of the Afghans followed his example, and Fatah Khan's contingent, reduced in strength, was easily defeated. He was himself taken prisoner, and his head was cut off by a Rajput chief whose brother had been slain by him previously and sent to Bahlol. Mahmud found it impossible to hold out longer against Bahlol's organised forces and withdrew to Jaunpur.

Reduces the provinces.

This initial victory over such a formidable adversary as the Sharqi king made a profound impression upon friends and foes alike.[1] At home, it strengthened his position and silenced the malicious detractors of the new dynasty; abroad, it frightened into submission several provincial fief-holders and chieftains who

[1] Ahmad Yadgar, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana*, describes two exploits of Bahlol's armies which are not mentioned by any other historian. One is Bahlol's expedition against the Rana of Mewar and the other is the defeat of Ahmad Khan Bhatti whose country was annexed to the empire:

(1) The Sultan marched against the Rana at the head of a large force and encamped at Ajmer. The Mewar forces were commanded by the redoubtable Chattrasal, son of the Rana's sister, who fought an action with the imperial general, Qutb Khan. The Rajputs fought with great bravery and defeated the Afghans in the first encounter, but they were at last defeated by Qutb Khan and Khan-i-Khana Farmuli. The Rana was obliged to make peace, and coins were struck and the Khutba was read in the name of the Sultan.

(2) The second expedition was aimed against Ahmad Khan Bhatti who had acquired considerable power in Sindh and defied the authority of the governor of Multan. He had gathered a large force which included 20,000 cavalry and with its help he ravaged the country of Multan. The Sultan sent Umar Khan and Prince Bayazid at the head of 30,000 "valiant horsemen" to chastise the rebel. Ahmad, who

had enjoyed varying degrees of local autonomy. The Sultan proceeded towards Mewat and received the willing homage of Ahmad Khan whom he deprived of seven parganas. The governor of Sambhal, Dariya Khan, who had taken part in the late war against the Sultan was treated indulgently in spite of treason, and the only penalty inflicted upon him was the loss of seven parganas. At Kol Īsa Khan was allowed to keep his possessions intact, and similar treatment was accorded to Mubarak Khan, the governor of Sakit,[1] and Raja Pratap Singh who was confirmed in his possession of the districts of Mainpuri and Bhogaon. At Rewari the Sultan encountered some opposition from Qutb Khan, son of Husain Khan Afghan, but better counsels prevailed, and he made obeisance to the Sultan in return for which he was reinstated in his possessions. Etawah, Chandwar, and other districts of the Doab, which had caused so much trouble during the late regime, were also settled and made to acknowledge the authority of Delhi.

had a very high opinion of his own strength and resources, sent his nephew Naurang Khan, a pleasure-loving youth, with 15,000 horse to oppose the royal army. Naurang, before risking an engagement himself, sent Daud Khan against the imperialists with 10,000 cavalry, who was defeated and slain. On hearing the news of this disaster, Naurang himself marched to the scene of action and "displayed such valour and desperation" on the field of battle that the enemy suffered heavy losses, but, in the end, he was also killed. The news of his death roused the ire of his mistress who "was endowed with a masculine mind." With an admirable disregard of danger, she equipped herself like a soldier and proceeded to the field of battle, giving out that she was the son of Ahmad Khan. The Bhatti army charged the imperialists with great force and scattered them in all directions. Ahmad Khan was so pleased with the woman's valour that he bestowed upon her jewels of the value of 10,000 rupees. Meanwhile the imperialists were considerably strengthened by the reinforcements that came from Delhi. They attacked Ahmad's army and defeated it after a prolonged and stubborn fight. Ahmad was captured and put to death, and his country was annexed to the empire.

Another exploit of the imperialists mentioned by Ahmad Yadgar is the conquest of the country known as Munkhar. The *Tarikh-i-Daudi* speaks only of a village in the *pargana* of Munkhar. Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana, Elliot, V, pp. 4–7.

[1] Firishta writes Burhanabad, but it is Sakit in the *Makhzan-i-Afghana*. Dorn, p. 48. Briggs, I, p. 553.

The chieftains of the Doab were thoroughly subdued, but their suppression did not bring peace to the Sultan. His most determined enemy was the king of Jaunpur against whom he waged a lifelong war, and rested only when he had finally extinguished the independence of that kingdom. At the instigation of the principal lady of his *haram*, Mahmud Shah Sharqi made another attempt to seize Delhi and marched his forces into the country of Etawah. But on the next day, through the mediation of Qutb Khan and Rai Pratap, a treaty was concluded by which it was agreed that both rulers should retain possession of the territories which had belonged to their predecessors, Saiyyad Mubarak and Ibrahim Shah Sharqi ; and that Bahlol should restore the elephants captured in the last war, and the king of Jaunpur should dismiss Juna Shah from his service.

War against Jaunpur.

According to the articles of this treaty, Bahlol marched into the interior of the Doab to take possession of Shamsabad which the Sharqi king had assigned to Juna Khan, but Mahmud Shah offered opposition. Qutb Khan Lodi who commanded a wing of the Delhi army was taken prisoner, and next day when the intelligence of Mahmud Shah's death came, it became easy to make peace with the nobles of Jaunpur, who had raised his son Muhammad Shah to the throne, but, strangely enough, Bahlol did not include the restoration of Qutb Khan in the articles of the treaty. This necessitated a fresh campaign in which the king's brother Jalal Khan was captured and detained as a hostage until the release of the imperial commandant. Meanwhile a revolution occurred at Jaunpur which culminated in the acquisition of the throne by Husain Khan, a remarkable ruler, who fought with untiring perseverance against Bahlol. A four years' peace was again concluded by the parties and Qutb and Jalal were released, but it proved a hollow truce, and shortly afterwards Husain invaded the Delhi territory when the Sultan happened to be absent in Multan. The Delhi forces were defeated at Chandwar, and Etawah was captured by the enemy. But far more serious

than this discomfiture was the defection of two allies of Bahlol, Ahmad Khan Mewati and Īsa Khan, the governor of Biyana, who had given his adhesion to the Sharqi monarch. With his mind absolutely unperturbed by these unexpected reverses, Bahlol marched post-haste to the scene of action, but as both parties were tired of war, a peace was again patched up and the combatants agreed to keep within their respective boundaries.

But Husain was not the man to abide by his plighted faith. The death of the imbecile king at Badāon enabled him to seize some of his territories, and he again declared war upon Delhi. Assuredly, Husain was led to think by court sycophants that Bahlol was a usurper and a plebeian by birth and that the Sharqi king had a valid title to the throne. Ambition so far clouded Husain's reason that he formed a highly exaggerated estimate of his own strength, and miscalculated most egregiously the chances of his success. He crossed the Jamna, but after some petty skirmishes in which the Jaunpur forces had the advantage, a truce was again concluded and the river Ganges was fixed as the boundary between the two kingdoms. Husain retreated to Jaunpur, leaving his camp and baggage behind.

But in complete disregard of the obligations of honour, Bahlol attacked the retreating Jaunpur army, seized Husain's baggage and treasure, and even the Sharqi Queen Malika Jahan fell into his hands. The Sultan was chivalrous enough to treat his exalted captive with every mark of respect and escorted her back with his *Khwaja Sara* to Jaunpur. Depredations in the eastern country continued, but a treaty was again made on the conditions previously accepted by both parties. It was now Husain's turn to violate the treaty stipulations ; the perfidious conduct of Bahlol rankled in his mind, and he seized a favourable opportunity to declare war upon him. The deep feminine hatred which Malika Jahan felt towards her previous royal captor, albeit he had treated her with a rare magnanimity, led her to exert her influence with her husband in the same direction. Both mobilized their forces, and in a preliminary

engagement Husain was defeated and obliged to fall back upon Rebari, from where he crossed into Gwalior territory after a crushing defeat.[1] The Raja who himself meditated independence received him hospitably, supplied him with reinforcements, and accompanied him with his forces as far as Kalpi. Bahlol marched into Etawah, drove out the governor, and rapidly advanced towards Kalpi where he found Husain ready for battle. Husain, who was driven from pillar to post by his powerful enemy, strained every nerve to strengthen his forces for the next campaign, but the stars in their courses fought against him, and in an engagement that ensued on the banks of the Kali Nadi he was defeated by Bahlol. Flushed with success, the victorious Sultan marched towards Jaunpur which easily fell into his hands after a prolonged and wearied struggle of several years. The government of the country was entrusted to Mubarak Khan Lohani, while Qutb Khan Lodi and a few other Afghan leaders were left in charge of the adjoining fiefs. Qutb Khan died soon afterwards, and after his death the Afghan Junto, though outwardly loyal, desired to throw off the yoke of Delhi and assumed an attitude of secret hostility. Meanwhile Husain made an attempt once more to recover his lost kingdom, but he was again defeated and expelled from Jaunpur. The veiled hostility of his Afghan barons convinced the Sultan of the danger of placing them in positions of power, and he decided for obvious reasons to make over charge of Jaunpur to his son Barbak Shah. The countries of Kalpi,[2] Dholpur,[3] Bari,[4] and Alapur[5] were subdued, and their chiefs

[1] The author of the *Makhzan-i-Afghana* says that Husain's family and children perished in the Jamna as he crossed it and he was prostrate with grief.

[2] Kalpi is a city in the Jalaun district in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

[3] Dholpur is a state between Agra and Gwalior.

[4] Bari is a town in the Dholpur State 19 miles west of Dholpur.

[5] Alapur is in the Gwalior State near Morena.

paid homage to the Sultan. After sometime an expedition was undertaken to chastise the refractory Raja of Gwalior who was compelled to pay a tribute of eighty lakhs of *tankās*, but the strain proved too great for the health of the Sultan. On his return march, he was attacked by fever, and after a short illness died in the neighbourhood of Jalali in 1488.

Bahlol's achievement.

As the founder of a new dynasty and the restorer of the waning prestige of the Delhi monarchy, Bahlol deserves a high place in history. The stress of perpetual war left him no time to turn his attention to the work of civil organisation, but the wars that he waged and the victories that he achieved once more made the Muslim power respected and feared by the people of Hindustan. In personal character Bahlol was far superior to his immediate predecessors; brave, generous, humane, and honest, he was devoted to his religion and followed the letter of the law with the strictest fidelity. He was singularly free from ostentation; he never sat upon the throne bedecked with jewels and diamonds in gorgeous robes like other mediæval rulers, and used to say that it was enough for him that the world knew him to be a king without any display of royal splendour on his part. He was kind to the poor and no beggar ever turned away disappointed from his gate. Though not a man of learning himself, he valued the society of learned men and extended his patronage to them. His love of justice was so great that he used to hear personally the petitions of his subjects and grant redress. He kept no private treasure and ungrudgingly distributed the spoils of war among his troops. Towards the men of his tribe he behaved without any kind of reserve or restraint, and fraternised with them as if they were his equals in position and dignity. But as the old adage reminds us, familiarity breeds contempt; the Afghan nobles chafed and fidgetted under the restraints that had to be imposed upon them in the interests of good government and disregarded their chief. It was with great difficulty that Bahlol's successor, Sikandar, was able to hold in check their turbulent and factious

spirit. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Daudi*[1] describes the character of Bahlol in these words:

"In his social meetings he never sat on a throne, and would not allow his nobles to stand; and even during public audiences he did not occupy the throne, but seated himself upon a carpet. Whenever he wrote a *firman* to his nobles, he addressed them as *Masnad Ali*; and if at any time they were displeased with him, he tried so hard to pacify them that he would himself go to their houses, ungird his sword from his waist, and place it before the offended party; nay, he would sometimes even take off his turban from his head and solicit forgiveness, saying: 'If you think me unworthy of the station I occupy, choose some one else, and bestow on me some other office.' He maintained a brotherly intercourse with all his chiefs and soldiers. If any one was ill, he would himself go and attend on him."

After Bahlol's death his son Nizam Khan was elevated to the throne under the title of Sikandar Shah by the Amirs and nobles, though not without a dissentient vote.[2]

Sikandar's accession to the throne.

While the question of succession was being mooted by the principal nobles and officers of state, the name of Barbak Shah was suggested, but, as he was far away, the proposal was rejected, and after some heated discussion among the nobles, the choice fell upon Nizam Khan mainly through the help of Khan-i-Jahan and Khan-i-Khana Farmuli. The sovereign-elect gave a splendid feast to celebrate his coronation, and conferred gifts and robes of honour upon the Amirs and officers, who swore fealty to him as their lawful liege-lord. Sikandar was a bigot by temperament, and it was probably his orthodoxy which was considered as a special qualification by those who elected

[1] Elliot, IV, pp. 436-37.

[2] The date of accession is 17th Shaban, Friday, 894 A.H. = 17th July, 1489 A.D.
Tabqat-i-Akbari, Lucknow text, p. 159.

him to the throne. Like his father, Sikandar energetically set himself to the task of preserving and extending the authority of the Delhi empire—a step which brought him into conflict with several vassals and chieftains who wielded considerable power. The author of the *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi* draws a graphic picture of the conditions of Hindustan during this period:[1]

> "One half of the whole country was assigned in *jagir* to the Farmulis, and the other half to the other Afghan tribes. At this time the Lohanis and Farmulis predominated. The chief of the Sarwanis was Azam Humayun and the principal chieftains of the Lodis were four:—Mahmud Khan who had Kalpi in *jagir*; Mian Alam to whom Etawah and Chandwa were assigned; Mubarak Khan whose *jagir* was Lucknow; and Daulat Khan who held Lahore. Among the Sahu Khails, the chiefs were Husain Khan and Khan Jahan, both from the same ancestor as Sultan Bahlol; Husain Khan, son of Firuz Khan, and Qutb Khan Lodi Sahu Khail, who flourished in the time of Sultan Bahlol.
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> "The districts of Saran and Champaran were held by Mian Husain; Oudh, Ambala and Hodhna by Mian Muhammad Kālā Pahār; Kanauj by Mian Gadai; Shamsabad, Thanesar, and Shahabad by Mian Imad; Marahra by Tatar Khan, brother of Mian Muhammad; and Hariana, Desua, and other detached parganas by Khwajagi Shaikh Said.
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> "Among the great nobles of Sultan Sikandar's time was Saif Khan Acha-Khail. He had 6,000 horse under him, and was deputy of Azam Humayun, jagirdar of Karra, who used to buy 2,000 copies of the Quran every year, had 45,000 horse under his command, and 700 elephants. There were also Daulat Khan-Khani, who had 4,000 cavalry; Ali Khan Ushi, who had 4,000 also; Firuz Khan Sarwani, who had 6,000. Amongst other nobles, there were 25,000 more distributed. Ahmad Khan also, the son of Jumal Khan Lodi Sarang Khani, when

[1] Elliot and Dowson, IV, pp. 545, 547-48.

he was appointed to Jaunpur, had 20,000 cavalry under him."

The Sultan himself marched against Alam Khan, the governor of Rebari, who fled at the approach of the royal army, and his fief was conferred upon Khan-i-Khana Lohani. Negotiations were opened with his brother Barbak Shah who had assumed the title of king of Jaunpur with a view to ask him to acknowledge the suzerainty of Delhi. Barbak Shah with haughty disdain rejected these overtures of peace and began to make preparations for war which he had already known to be inevitable.

War with Jaunpur.

Sikandar marched against Barbak and was opposed by his general Kālā Pahār (black rock)—probably so called because of his prowess in battle—who was defeated and taken prisoner. Sikandar treated him with great courtesy, and Firishta relates that the unprincipled general at once went over to the side of the enemy and fought against his old master. The troops of Barbak astounded by the defection of one of their own leaders lost heart and fled from the field of battle. Barbak himself sought refuge in Badāon but he was pursued by the imperialists who compelled him to surrender. As Husain Shah Sharqi was still in Bihar, making plans and conspiring with local chieftains to recover his throne, the Sultan judged it expedient to reinstate his brother in charge of Jaunpur, but associated some trusty Afghan noblemen with him in the administration with a view to impose some sort of check upon his ambitions.

Having settled the affairs of Jaunpur, the Sultan marched towards Kalpi where he deprived his nephew Azam Humayun of his fief and conferred it upon Mahmud Khan Lodi. The chiefs of Gwalior, Biyana and Agra[1] were subdued next, and the Sultan returned to Delhi sometime in 1492.

[1] Agra was included in the fief of Biyana at this time, and the fort was held by Haibat Khan Jalwani who was subordinate to Sultan Sharf, governor of Biyana.
Dorn, Makhzan-i-Afghana, p. 56.

Although Sikandar's arms were invariably successful, the Zamindars of Jaunpur and the contiguous territories seemed to have developed formidable strength. So irresistible did they become that Barbak Shah had to leave Jaunpur and seek refuge with Muhammad Khan Farmuli better known as Kālā Pahār. The Sultan proceeded against the Zamindars and fought a highly contested engagement with the Sultan's forces, but they were defeated, and enormous booty fell into the hands of the victorious army. Barbak was again reinstated in authority and arrangements were made for the proper government of the country. But as soon as the Sultan turned his back, he received the news that the Zamindars had again risen in revolt, and that Barbak had proved incapable of effectively checking their aggressions. The Sultan was so offended at Barbak's incapacity to administer affairs that he deputed some of his leading officers to bring the prince in chains to the court.[1] This peremptory order was implicitly carried out, and the unfortunate Prince was placed in charge of Haibat Khan and Umar Khan Sherwani virtually as a state prisoner.

Against Jaunpur and Sultan Husain.

The Sultan himself proceeded towards Chunar and suppressed the Hindu Zamindars, but his losses were heavy owing to bad roads and want of provisions. His cavalry was decimated by famine and disease, and the Zamindars of Jaunpur, who knew of the disorganised condition of the royal army, sent word to Husain Sharqi to make once more a bold bid for his ancestral dominions. Accordingly Husain appeared in the field of battle at the head of a large force, assisted by the

[1] The head and front of Barbak's offence seems to have been his want of capacity for administering the affairs of a province which was seething with discontent. The authors of the *Makhzan-i-Afghana* and *Tarikh-i-Daudi* say that when the Sultan heard that Barbak Shah was unable to hold Jaunpur against the Zamindars, he ordered Muhammad Khan Farmuli, Azam Humayun, Khan-i-Jahan, and Khan-i-Khana Lodi to put him in chains and bring him a prisoner to Delhi. Firishta who is more detailed in his information than either of the two authorities named above supports them.

Dorn, Makhzan-i-Afghana, p. 57.
Tarikh-i-Daudi, Elliot, IV, p. 461.
Briggs, I, p. 570.

disaffected Hindu chieftains of the neighbourhood, but in a battle near Benares he was defeated by the Khan-i-Khana, and his army was put to flight. Husain Shah himself fled towards Lakhnauti where he passed the remainder of his life in obscurity, and with his final discomfiture the dynasty of Malik-us-Sharq Khwaja Jahan ceased to exist. Bihar easily came into the hands of the Khan-i-Khana in 1495, and the whole country was settled by the Sultan, who appointed his own officers to carry on the work of government. The death of Khan-i-Jahan Lodi occurred at this time, and the Sultan conferred upon his eldest son Ahmad Khan the title of Azam Humayun. Having put his forces in order, the Sultan marched against the ruler of Bengal, who sent his son to oppose his advance, but as neither side was determined on war, a treaty was concluded by which both parties agreed not to encroach upon each other's territories, and the king of Bengal promised that he would afford no shelter to fugitives from Hindustan. The king appointed Azam Humayun to realise tribute from the chieftains of Tirhut and conferred the government of Bihar upon Dariya Khan whose father Mubarak Khan Lohani had lately died at Darveshpur.

Against the Afghans.

Sikandar next turned his attention to the Afghan chiefs who held large jagirs. The accounts of some of the leading Afghan officers were inspected by the Sultan, and there were startling disclosures.[1] This policy gave umbrage to the Afghans who looked upon audit and inspection as an encroachment upon their privileges. The king's attempts to suppress them with a high hand led Haibat Khan and others to form a conspiracy against him, and, having finished their nefarious plans, they induced Prince Fatah Khan, the king's brother, to join them. But the Prince was prudent enough to consult his mother and Shaikh Kabuli, both of whom warned him against such a dangerous course, and asked him to divulge the whole plot to the king.

[1] Firishta writes that defalcation was discovered in the accounts of these chiefs. Briggs I, p. 574.

The Prince acted according to their instructions, and terrible penalties were inflicted upon the conspirators.

In 1495 Sikandar repaired to Sambhal where he stayed for four years with a view to enjoy the bracing climate of that country and to exercise an effective control over the intractable Afghan fief-holders in the north.

While the Sultan stayed at Sambhal, several expeditions were undertaken to suppress the sporadic insurrections of the provincial governors. At Delhi, Asghar, whom the king had left as his vicegerent, rebelled, but he was quickly defeated by Khawas Khan, the governor of Machiwara.[1] The Princes of Gwalior and Dholpur were subdued after a stubborn fight which lasted for several days.

Minor rebellions.

Experience had impressed upon the Sultan the necessity of making the place where the city of Agra now stands the headquarters of the army so that he might be able to exercise more effective control over the fief-holders of Etawah, Biyana, Kol, Gwalior, and Dholpur. With this object in view, he laid the foundations of a new town on the site where the modern city of Agra stands in 910 A.H. (1504 A.D.). The author of the *Makhzan-i-Afghana* writes that the Sultan appointed " judicious and intelligent commissioners " who carefully examined both sides of the view from Delhi to Etawah and Chandwar and finally fixed upon the site of the present city. A splendid town gradually rose upon the chosen spot, and afterwards the Sultan also took up his residence there.[2]

Foundation of Agra.

Next year (911 A.H. = 1505 A.D.) a violent earthquake occurred at Agra which shook the earth to its foundations and

[1] Machiwara is a town in the Samrala tahsil of the Ludhiana district in the Punjab, 27 miles from Ludhiana. Imp. Gaz., XVI, p. 224.

[2] The author of the *Tarikh-i-Daudi* writes that the Sultan generally lived at Agra. Formerly it was only a village.
Allahabad University MS., p. 42.

levelled many beautiful buildings and houses to the ground. The chronicler of the reign writes that "it was in fact so terrible, that mountains were overturned, and all lofty edifices dashed to the ground: the living thought, the day of judgment was come; and the dead, the day of resurrection."[1] No such earthquake had occurred before, and the loss of life was appallingly heavy.

Earthquake at Agra.

The remaining years of Sikandar's life were spent in suppressing Rajput revolts and the infructuous attempts at independence made by his own governors in the various parts of the empire. The tendency to revolt was so common that the Sultan found it impossible to secure the permanent loyalty of his Muslim vassals, to say nothing of Hindu chiefs, who naturally desired to rid themselves of Muslim domination. Gwalior and Dholpur gave trouble again, and the Sultan marched in person to deal with the insurgents. The siege of Narwar[2] in 1506 was a determined trial of strength between the imperialists and the Hindus, but the latter had to give way before the concentrated attack of the Muslims. Treachery was not wanting in the Muslim camp, and it transpired that certain Muslim officers were carrying on a clandestine correspondence with the beleaguered garrison. This led the Sultan to push on the siege with considerable vigour, but when the provisions ran short, the Hindus surrendered. The conquest of Narwar prepared the way for other conquests in the central region, and the fort of Chanderi was captured and entrusted to Afghan officers, who forthwith proceeded to settle the country. A year later in 1510 Muhammad

The last years of the reign.

[1] Dorn, Makhzan, p. 62.
Tarikh-i-Daudi, Allahabad University MS., p. 69.
The earthquake occurred on Sunday, Safar 3, 911 A.H. (7th July, 1505 A.D.).

[2] Narwar is in the Gwalior State in Central India. Imp. Gaz., XVIII, p. 396.

Khan, governor of Nagor,[1] against whom reports had reached the Sultan, forestalled his enemies by making a timely submission, and caused the Khutba to be read in the name of the Sultan.

The Prince of Chanderi, who was a feudatory of Malwa, expressed a desire to accept the vassalage of Delhi through the efforts of Bajahat Khan. The Prince was allowed to remain nominally in possession of the city, but the administration was entrusted to the leading Afghan officers.

The last expedition was undertaken by the Sultan at the instance of Ali Khan of Nagor, who had conspired with Daulat Khan to secure the fortress of Ranthambhor for Delhi. But Ali was a treacherous man ; he turned against Sikandar and asked the governor (Daulat Khan) not to yield.[2] He was deprived of his fief which was conferred upon his brother Abu Bakr. Sikandar returned to Agra and in 923 A.H. (1517 A.D.) he summoned a council of his principal governors, nobles and officers in order to devise means to put down the Prince of Gwalior. But, when he was making these preparations with his usual vigour, he fell ill and died on the 7th Zilqada, 923 A.H. (December 1, 1517 A.D.).[3] He was succeeded by his son Ibrahim Lodi.

[1] The *Makhzan* gives 916 A.H. (1510 A.D.) and Firishta gives 915 A.H.
Dorn, p. 64.
Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 185.
Briggs, I, p. 583.

[2] It is not clear why Ali turned against the Sultan.
The author of the *Tabqat-i-Akbari* simply says, 'for some reason he became hostile.'
Lucknow text, p. 169.
Firishta says : "Disappointed in the attainment of some objects on which he had calculated as a reward for having brought this affair."
Lucknow text, p. 186.

[3] The *Makhzan* gives only the year 923 A.H.
Dorn, p. 65.
Firishta gives 7th Zilqada, 923 A.H.
Lucknow text, p. 186.
Briggs, I, p. 585.
Badāonī alone gives the 17th Zilqada.

Sikandar had little time to introduce reforms or undertake civil organisation, for he was busily engaged all his life in waging war against hostile neighbours and rebellious governors. Yet he accomplished much ; and from the accounts of the Muslim chroniclers we learn that his exceptional abilities enabled him to effect the centralisation of authority in his own hands. The Afghan chiefs were kept under control, and their individualistic tendencies were firmly suppressed. The audit and inspection of accounts, so distasteful to the Afghans, was strictly enforced, and cases of defalcation and embezzlement were severely punished.[1] After the Bengal campaign, when Mubarak Khan Lodi's accounts were examined, no indulgence was shown to him, and the balance was exacted with great rigour. Even the king's brothers were made to share their authority with his officers and nobles, and this dual system was adopted, lest the princes concerned should try to make themselves independent.[2] The Sultan's *farmans* were received by the provincial governors at a distance of two or three *krohs* from the headquarters and were then read to the assembled people, if they were not of a confidential nature—a fact which clearly indicates the awe and respect in which Sikandar was held.[3] A well-regulated system

Administration.

Ranking, Al-Badāonī, I, p. 425.

The *Tarikh-i-Daudi* and the *Tabqat-i-Akbari* both support Firishta.

Allahabad University MS., p. 99.

Tabqat, Lucknow text, p. 170.

Sikandar got a disease which slowly increased. But, in spite of his illness, he continued to work. At last, his condition became so bad that he could not swallow even a morsel of food, nor could he drink water.

Briggs says (I, p. 585) that the Sultan got quinsy, but it is not mentioned in the text.

The date of the Sultan's death is given in a chronogram which gives the total 923.

[1] Briggs, I, p. 574.
Makhzan-i-Afghana, Dorn, p. 59.

[2] Makhzan, p. 56.
Briggs, I, p. 568.

[3] Tabqat, Lucknow text, p. 170.
Tarikh-i-Daudi, Allahabad University MS., p. 40.

of espionage was maintained and the most trivial details of what the people said and did were reported to the Sultan with such minuteness that the over-credulous generation of Sikandar began to credit him with supernatural powers.[1] The Sultan himself appointed the personal retainers of the great Amirs, for he had little confidence in their loyalty. The interests of the poor were always protected. The corn duties were abolished ; agriculture was encouraged, and traders and merchants were allowed to carry on their business in perfect security without any molestation. Every year the Sultan ordered a list of the poor and the indigent to be drawn up and gave them six months' provision according to their need. On certain days such as the *Īd, Āshura,* and the anniversary of the Prophet's death, prisoners were released unless they were convicted of embezzlement of public funds or misappropriation of other peoples' money. No one was arbitrarily deprived of his jagir, and an established custom was never abrogated. The Hindu Zamindars were held down by force, and the roads and highways were freed from robbers. How well organised and regulated the administration was can be gleaned from the following passage in the *Tarikh-i-Daudi :*

> "The Sultan daily received an account of the prices of all things and an account of what had happened in the different districts of the Empire. If he perceived the slightest appearance of anything wrong, he caused instant inquiries to be made about it. . . . In his reign, business was carried on in a peaceful, honest, straightforward way. The study of belles-letters was not neglected. . . . Factory establishments were so encouraged that all the young nobles and soldiers were engaged in useful works, ... All the nobles and soldiers of Sikandar were satisfied : each of his chiefs was appointed to the government of a district, and it was his especial desire to gain the good-will

[1] Tabqat, Lucknow text, p. 170,
Makhzan, p. 67.

and affections of the body of the people. For the sake of his officers and troops, he put an end to war and dispute with the other monarchs and nobles of the period, and closed the road to contention and strife. He contented himself with the territory bequeathed him by his father, and passed the whole of his life in the greatest safety and enjoyment, and gained the hearts of high and low."

Sikandar did much to infuse a fresh life and vigour into the administration, but the state once more assumed a theocratic character and officially imposed Islam upon the Hindus. The case of Bodhan Brahman of Kaithan illustrates the intolerance and bigotry of the state and the great power which the Ulama had acquired under Sikandar. The head and front of the Brahman's offence was his declaration in the presence of certain Musalmans that his faith was as good as that of the Prophet. A council of divines was summoned by Sikandar which recommended either conversion to Islam or death.[1] The Brahman courageously refused to embrace Islam and perished for the sake of his conscience. To men like Bodhan, the Hindu martyrs of the middle ages, who cheerfully suffered death for the sake of their convictions, the Brahmanical church in India owes not a little of her vitality and vigour.

But it would be unfair to judge Sikandar by the standards of our own day. Religious toleration was unknown even in Europe in his age, and the most pious and orthodox divines of the Catholic Church employed the rack and the Inquisition in order to put down heresy. Only four years after Sikandar's death, that sombre Hapsburg, Charles V, vindicated his

[1] The name of Bodhan is variously spelt in various texts.
The Lucknow text of Firishta (p. 182) has Bodhan of Kaithan.
Briggs has Boodhun resident of Kataen near Lucknow.
It is Budhen of Katbhur in the Makhzan, p. 65.
In Elliot (IV, p. 464) it is Laudhan of Kan er.
The author of the *Tarikh-i-Daudi* writes that the Sultan was greatly interested in religious discussions. He held a meeting of the Ulama at Sambhal, who gave a verdict against the Brahman. On his refusal to accept Islam, he was put to death, and the learned casuists were handsomely rewarded.

devotion to the ancient church by declaring the founder of the Reformation out of the pale of his empire.

Personality of Sikandar.

It will be interesting to know what manner of man was this most remarkable ruler of the Lodi dynasty. All Muslim chroniclers have bestowed lavish praise upon Sikandar, because his fanatical zeal for the faith so well agreed with their own religious ideals. But the detailed account of Nizam-ud-din Ahmad who is always balanced in his estimates is supported by Firishta who has also utilised certain contemporary chronicles.[1] The Sultan was a man of handsome appearance, fond of chase, and well-versed in the accomplishments suited to men of his rank. All authorities agree in saying that he was intensely devoted to the interests of the faith. He associated with Mullahs and Maulvis, and his uncompromising attitude towards other faiths manifested itself in his attempts to persecute the Hindus and to banish idolatry from the land over which he ruled. So great was his zeal for the faith that he once ordered the temples of Mathura to be destroyed and *sarais* and mosques to be built in their stead. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Daudi* writes that idols were given to butchers who made them into meat-weights.[2] The Hindus were not allowed to bathe at the ghats on the bank of the Jamna and a royal ordinance was issued prohibiting barbers from shaving the heads and beards of the Hindus in accordance with their usual custom.[3] Prayers were publicly held ; and the glory and triumph of Islam was proclaimed in all quarters.

Although Sikandar was a narrow-minded bigot, he was not devoid of the higher qualities of heart and mind. He

[1] Firishta says, he consulted a contemporary work known as the *Farhang Sikandari*, although his account seems to be a reproduction of the *Tabqat-i-Akbari*. The author of the *Tabqat* wrote before all others; therefore he must have used some contemporary chronicles.

[2] Tarikh-i-Daudi, Allahabad University MS., p. 39. Dorn, Makhzan, p. 66.

[3] Tarikh-i-Daudi, Allahabad University MS., p. 39.

felt for the poor and distressed, and every year doles of charity were distributed among the poor from the treasury, and the king's example was followed by the opulent among his subjects. He had an innate love of justice. He listened to the petitions of the aggrieved persons and disposed of cases according to their merit. He kept himself in touch with all that happened in his kingdom, and issued detailed instructions to the provincial governors and insisted upon their being faithfully carried out. The affairs of the market were carefully watched and the rates of prices were daily reported to him. Whenever there was any doubt or suspicion, he at once interfered and took care to see that the goods were sold in the proper manner. His devotion to the faith led him to despise vulgarity and frivolity, and no man of dissolute character was ever allowed to have access to him. He possessed a retentive memory which enabled him to store a great deal of useful knowledge. He extended his patronage to learned men and himself wrote verses in elegant Persian under the *nom-de-plume* of Gulrukh. It was by his order that Mian Bhua translated into Persian a Sanskrit work on medicine which was entitled the '*Tibb-i-Sikandari*.'[1]

The Sultan was a conservative by temperament. He never abrogated an established custom, and always attached importance to a man's birth in conferring public offices. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Daudi* relates a curious anecdote of him that, when he took his supper after mid-night, he called in his presence seventeen learned men who squatted on the ground in front of him. Food was served before them, but they were

[1] Tarikh-i-Daudi, Allahabad University MS., p. 43.

In Elliot (IV, p. 451) the name of the Sanskrit work is given as *Argar Mahabalak* which seems to be a corrupted form of some treatise on Ayurveda.

The author of the *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi* says that Mian Bhudh got together fine calligraphists and learned men, and employed them in writing books upon every science. He brought books from Khorasan and gave them to learned men. The physicians of Khorasan and Hind were brought together and they compiled a new treatise after consulting numerous works on medicine. The book so compiled received the name of *Tibb-i-Sikandari*.

not allowed to partake of it, and when the Sultan had finished, they took their dishes to their homes. Probably he acted in this manner with a view to maintain the dignity of his office. However depressed the Ulama may have felt in his presence, they must have thoroughly relished their dinner on getting back to their homes.

During his lifetime Sikandar maintained order by his firm policy and held the turbulent barons in check, but after his death when the crown passed to a man who was inferior to him in ability and character, the forces which he had controlled broke loose and undermined the foundations of the empire.[1]

The character of the Afghan government.

The character of the Afghan government changed under Ibrahim. He was a man of headstrong and irritable temper, who by his insolence and hauteur alienated the sympathies of the Afghan nobles.[2] The Afghans looked upon their king as a comrade and not as a master and willingly accorded to him the honours of a feudal superior. Men of the Lohani, Farmuli, and Lodi tribes held important offices in the state. They had always been turbulent and factious ; and their position and influence had enabled them to form conspiracies against the crown. Their loyalty to their king fluctuated according to the strength or weakness of the latter. Sikandar had kept them under firm control and severely punished them when they flouted his authority. But when Ibrahim, who was by no means an incompetent ruler,[3] attempted to put down their individualistic tendencies with a high hand in order to

[1] For an account of the Afghan barons see *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi* in Elliot V, Appendix G, pp. 534—549.

The author of the work, Shaikh Rizkulla Mushtaqi, was born in 897 A.H. and died in 989 A.H. (1492—1581 A.D.). He gives a detailed account of Khan-i-Jahan Lodi, Mian Zain-ud-din, Khawas Khan, and many other nobles of Sikandar's reign. The last Afghan baron mentioned is Mian Maruf Farmuli.

[2] Tarikh-i-Daudi, Allahabad University MS., p. 113.
Dorn, Makhzan-i-Afghana, p. 70.

[3] Tabqat-i-Akbari, Lucknow text, p. 173.

make his government strong and efficient, they protested and offered resistance. As Erskine observes, the principal fief-holders looked upon their jagirs "as their own of right, and purchased by their swords rather than as due to any bounty or liberality on the part of the sovereign."[1] Ibrahim was confronted with a difficult situation. The territory of the empire[2] had increased in extent; the feudal aristocracy had become ungovernable, and the elements of discontent which had accumulated for years silently beneath the surface began to assert themselves. The Hindus, dissatisfied with Sikandar's policy of religious persecution, heartily hated the alien government which offended against their most cherished prejudices. The problem before Ibrahim was somewhat similar to that which confronted the Tudors in England towards the close of the fifteenth century. But he lacked that tact, foresight, and strength of will which enabled Henry VII to put down with a high hand the overweening feudal aristocracy which tended to encroach upon the royal domain. His drastic measures provoked the resentment of the half-loyal nobility and paved the way for the disruption of the Afghan empire. But Ibrahim is not wholly to blame. The break-up of the empire was bound to come sooner or later, for even if Ibrahim had kept the nobles attached to himself, they would have tried to set up small principalities for themselves, and reduced him to the position of a titular king, a mere figurehead in the midst of warring factions and cliques. There were no elements of stability in the government, and Ibrahim's indulgence would have hardly improved his position. He might have succeeded temporarily in arresting the progress of the forces of disruption, had he been more cautious in his policy and adopted *festina lente* as his principle of action in dealing with his own proud and

[1] Erskine, History of India, I, p. 406.

[2] At the death of Sikandar the boundaries of the empire were as follows:—Towards the south-east the empire reached to the borders of Bengal; near Agra, Dholpur, Chanderi and Biyana were included in it. The Punjab acknowledged the sway of Delhi, and in the central region the empire extended as far as Bundelkhand.

discontented fellow-tribesmen. But he alienated them by attempting to govern too much, and his promiscuous ill-treatment turned his own kinsmen against him with the result that they plotted and intrigued to bring about his speedy overthrow.

Cheapness of prices.

Though Ibrahim was jealous of the influence of the barons and tried to crush them with a high hand, he never neglected the interests of the people. During his reign, the crops were abundant and the prices of all articles of ordinary use were incredibly low. The Sultan took grain in payment of rent, and all the fief-holders and nobles were asked to accept payments in kind. No scarcity of grain was ever felt, and the author of the *Tarikh-i-Daudi* writes that a respectable man's services could be obtained for five *tankās* a month and a man could travel from Delhi to Agra on one Bahloli which was sufficient to maintain himself, his horse, and his small escort during the journey.[1]

Prince Jalal's revolt.

As has been said above, Ibrahim had by his indiscriminate severity alienated the sympathies of the Lodi Amirs, who conspired soon after his accession to place his brother Prince Jalal upon the throne of Jaunpur. In pursuance of this plan, the prince marched from Kalpi and assumed charge of the government of Jaunpur. But this arrangement was highly disapproved by Khan-i-Jahan Lodi, one of the most high-minded Amirs of

[1] Tarikh-i-Daudi, Allahabad University MS., p. 137. Elliot, IV, p. 476. A schedule of prices is also given in the above work which is as follows: —

One Bahloli	...	...	...	10 *mans* of corn.
,,	...	...	...	5 *sirs* of ghi.
,,	...	...	...	10 yards of cloth.

The Bahloli succeeded to the previous function of the *paisa*. Abul Fazl declared its value to be $\frac{1}{40}$th of a rupee and its weight as 1 tolah, 8 mashas, 7 rattis.

Thomas, The Chronicles, p. 360.

See the account of the author of the *Zubdat-ut-tawarikh* regarding the cheapness of prices in Ibrahim's reign in Elliot's Historians, I, p. 292 He supports the author of the *Tarikh-i-Daudi*.

Sikandar. He sharply reprimanded the nobles for their impolitic conduct, and pointed out the dangers of a dual sovereignty to the empire. The Afghan nobles acknowledged their mistake, and sent Haibat Khan to Prince Jalal in order to persuade the latter to withdraw from Jaunpur, but Jalal refused to do so. The Sultan, then, sent Shaikhzada Mahmud, Malik Ismail, and Qazi Hamid-ud-din Hajib to induce him to return but the prince again excused himself on one pretext or another.[1] These negotiations having failed, Ibrahim issued a *farman* in which he ordered the Amirs not to pay any heed to Jalal's authority and threatened them with severe punishments, if they failed to comply with the royal mandate. The more influential among the Amirs were conciliated by gifts and presents and were detached from Prince Jalal. Deprived of this support, he allied himself with the Zamindars and with their help improved the condition of his army. He described his brother as a usurper and disturber of peace, and appealed to Azam Humayun for assistance. Azam Humayun who had a grudge against the Sultan joined him, and the combined armies proceeded to Oudh, where they overpowered the governor, Said Khan, a son of Mubarak Khan Lodi, and compelled him to retreat to Lucknow. Ibrahim confined all his brothers in the fort of Hansi, and himself marched against Jalal whose strength was considerably diminished by the desertion of Azam Humayun. Kalpi was besieged ; the contest was carried on with great vigour for sometime and the fort was dismantled. Jalal fled towards Agra where the governor opened negotiations with him and offered him the undisturbed possession of Kalpi, if he waived all claims to sovereignty.[2] When Ibrahim

[1] These circumstances have been mentioned differently by the author of the *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana*.
Elliot, V, pp. 8-9.
See the editor's note on page 9.

[2] The *Makhzan-i-Afghana* says (p. 73) that Jalal was pacified by Malik Kakar with soft words while Firishta says that Adam Khan, the governor of Agra, offered terms of peace to Jalal without consulting Ibrahim. Briggs, I, p. 593.

came to know of this treaty which was concluded without his consent, he "owing to his unlimited pride, violent temper, and youthful temerity" not only disapproved of it, but issued orders for the assassination of the rebellious prince. Jalal fled to the Raja of Gwalior for protection.

Ibrahim returned to Agra and devoted himself to the management of the affairs of his kingdom. The rebellion of Jalal and the intrigues of the Afghans embittered his disposition, and he became more arbitrary in his methods. He dismissed his father's famous minister Mian Bhua from office and cast him into prison where he died shortly afterwards.[1] Having set his affairs in order, the Sultan sent Azam Humayun to reduce the fort of Gwalior, which was captured after a prolonged siege, and Raja Man Singh, whom Firishta describes as a man of "great valour and capacity," acknowledged the suzerainty of Delhi. Jalal fled towards Malwa, but on being coldly received by Mahmud Khilji, he proceeded towards Garh Kantak,[2] but on the way he was captured by the Zamindars of Gondwana, who resisted his movements and sent him in chains to Ibrahim. The royal captive was conveyed to the fortress of Hansi, but on his way to that abode of misery he was quietly assassinated by the king's orders.

The Sultan recalled Azam Humayun and the other nobles from Gwalior on mere suspicion, and cast him and his son Fatah Khan into prison, and deprived his other son Islam Khan of the governorship of Kara-Manikpur.[3]

Against Azam Humayun.

Azam's disgrace alarmed the other nobles, who joined his banner and incited him to raise the standard of rebellion. So acute was the discontent caused by Ibrahim's policy that

[1] There is a suspicion that he was poisoned to death.

[2] Garra-Kantak in Elliot's translation of the *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana*. Elliot, V, p. 12. The *Makhzan* writes Gurra Kota.

[3] Ahmad Yadgar in his *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana* speaks of him as governor of Agra.

in a short time the rebels collected a large army which consisted of 40,000 cavalry, 500 elephants and a large body of infantry, while the royal forces numbered only 50,000. The hostile forces drew themselves in battle array, but withdrew to their camps when Shaikh Rajū Bokhāri, a holy man, offered to settle the dispute. The rebels demanded the release of Azam Humayun and agreed to disband their troops, if these conditions were fulfilled. When these terms were communicated to Ibrahim, he flew into a rage, and not only disapproved of the proposed terms of peace, but sent a *farman* to Dariya Khan Lohani and other nobles to take vigorous measures in order to exterminate the rebels. The combined forces of Bihar, Ghazipur, and Oudh marched against the rebels who took no steps to prevent them from effecting a junction. A desperate fight raged between the royalists and the insurgents of which a graphic account is given by the author of the *Makhzan-i-Afghana*.

"Dead bodies, heap upon heap, covered the field ; and the number of heads lying upon the ground is beyond the reach of recollection. Streams of blood ran over the plain ; and whenever for a length of time, a fierce battle took place in Hindustan, the old men always observed, that with this battle no other one was comparable ; brothers fighting against brothers, fathers against sons, inflamed by mutual shame and innate bravery : bows and arrows were laid aside, and the carnage carried on with daggers, swords, knives and javelins."[1] At last, Islam Khan lay dead on the field of battle ; Said Khan was captured, and the rebels were defeated with heavy losses.

War with Mewar.

Mewar had by this time become the most powerful of the Rajput states, and its ruler Rana Sanga was well-known for his prowess in battle all over Hindustan. For the invasion of Mewar, Ibrahim organised a large army which was placed under

[1] Dorn, Makhzan, p. 76.

such tried generals as Mian Husain Khan Zarbakhsha, Mian Khan-i-Khana Farmuli, and Mian Maruf with Mian Makhan as commander-in-chief. When the royal army reached the Rana's territory, the Sultan wrote to Mian Makhan asking him to imprison Mian Husain and Mian Maruf and send them to the court. Mian Husain got scent of this foul design, and set at naught all attempts made by Mian Makhan to catch hold of him. Alarmed for his safety, Husain opened negotiations with the Rana and went over to him with a thousand horsemen. Mian Maruf remained loyal to the Sultan in spite of the cruel treatment he meted out to his vassals. Mian Makhan proceeded to the field of battle at the head of a large force consisting of 30,000 horse and 300 elephants to encounter the Rajput host. The Hindus charged the Muslim army and repulsed it with heavy losses. In this plight, Mian Makhan received a proposal from Mian Husain expressing his willingness to join the imperial colours, if Mian Maruf were sent to him at midnight fully equipped for battle. The latter advanced towards the enemy's camp and was joined by the ungrateful traitor Husain. The combined forces made a surprise attack upon the Rana's army, and "the sound of horns and kettle drums withdrew the cotton from the ears of their senses, and the Rajput chieftains were dismayed." The Afghans fell upon the Rajputs with irresistible fury and killed a great many of them. The Rana, though wounded, succeeded in effecting his escape, but his followers who were left on the field were put to the sword. Maruf and the treacherous Mian Husain were honoured by Ibrahim who "loaded them with a hundred expressions of favour and good will."[1]

[1] None of our authorities except the *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana*, the *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*, and the *Tarikh-i-Daudi* mention this expedition. Nizam-ud-din, Badāonī and Firishta are silent on the subject. We look in vain for a corroboration of this account in the Rajput chronicles. That there were frequent wars between Delhi and Mewar is established by Rajput evidence. But it is very difficult to form a definite opinion about the result of these wars, for neither the Rajput nor the Muslim chroniclers would record a defeat of their party.

Ibrahim and the Afghan barons.

Ibrahim now tried to destroy the feudal chieftains in his empire in order to strengthen his position, but the attempt recoiled on himself and led to his ruin. The cruel treatment he meted out to them has already been mentioned. The veteran Mian Bhua had fallen a victim to his wrath, and Azam Humayun had been treacherously assassinated in prison. Even the greatest barons trembled for their safety, and Dariya Khan, Khan-i-Jahan Lodi, and Husain Khan Farmuli, fearing lest a similar fate should overtake them, broke out into open rebellion. Husain Khan Farmuli was assassinated in his bed by some holy men of Chanderi, and his tragic death made the Afghan nobles bitterly hostile to the Sultan and convinced them of his perfidious designs. Dariya Khan's son, Bahadur Khan, assumed the title of Muhammad Shah, struck coins in his name, and collected a large force with which he successfully resisted the attempts of the Sultan to crush him.[1] The baronial discontent reached its climax when Ibrahim cruelly treated the son of Daulat Khan Lodi. The latter was summoned to the court, but he excused himself on the ground that he would come later with the treasure of the state and

Speaking of a war between Ibrahim and Rana Sanga, Tod writes : "Sanga organised his forces with which he always kept the field, and ere called to contend with the descendant of Timur, he had gained 18 pitched battles against the kings of Delhi and Malwa. In two of these he was opposed by Ibrahim Lodi in person, at Bakrol and Ghatoli ; in which last battle the imperial forces were defeated with great slaughter, leaving a prisoner of the blood-royal to grace that triumph of Chittor."

Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān edited by Crooke, I, p. 349.

From Rana Sanga's exploits mentioned in bardic chronicles and his enormous military resources—which are admitted even by Muslim writers—we may conclude with sufficient reason that the statement of Ahmad Yadgar regarding the victory of the Delhi forces over the Rana is apocryphal, unless it is corroborated from some other independent source.

[1] Muhammad Shah had a large force which consisted of 100,000 men according to the *Makhzan-i-Afghana* and Firishta. Firishta says, he held the fief of his father as far as Sambhal.

Dorn, Makhzan, p. 76.

Briggs, I, p. 597.

sent his son Dilawar Khan to avert the wrath of the Sultan. He was taken to the prison where he was shown the victims of royal caprice suspended from the walls. To the young Afghan who trembled with fear at this awful spectacle, the Sultan observed: "Have you seen the condition of those who have disobeyed me?" Dilawar Khan, who understood the warning these ominous words conveyed, bowed his head in profound submission and quietly escaped to his father to whom he communicated all that he had seen at the capital. Alarmed for his safety, Daulat Khan addressed through his son Dilawar Khan an invitation to Babar, the ruler of Kabul, to invade Hindustan.[1]

Such a proposal was welcome to Babar who had long desired the conquest of Hindustan. Daulat Khan's real motive

[1] The accounts of our authorities greatly differ on this point. The *Makhzan* (p. 77) says, Daulat Khan formed an alliance with Ghazi Khan and other Amirs of the Punjab and through Alam Khan addressed an invitation to Babar. Firishta simply says, Daulat Khan, seeing no safety for his family, revolted from the king and solicited Babar, the Mughal prince, who then reigned in Kabul, to attempt the conquest of Hindustan. The invasion of Babar was preceded by the arrival in India of Prince Alauddin (Alam Khan), who had fled from his brother Ibrahim Lodi, and was then residing at Kabul. Alam Khan proceeded towards Delhi and was defeated by Ibrahim. Briggs, I, p. 598.

Alam Khan was Ibrahim's uncle, who had been proclaimed king under the title of Alauddin.

Ahmad Yadgar says, Dilawar Khan was sent to Babar to invite him to invade Hindustan. Babar sent Jehangir Quli Khan with 2,000 Mughal horsemen to guard the roads and ferries. On Wednesday, 2nd Shawwal (July, 1526 A.D.) he started and reached Peshawar. Here Daulat Khan presented him with 10,000 gold *asharfis* and 20 elephants. When Ibrahim came to know of these proceedings, he wrote to Daulat Khan to give up his absurd project. But the latter replied that his own actions had brought Babar to Hindustan. Having mastered the Punjab, the Mughals advanced towards Delhi which was besieged by the rebels. These were scattered by the Mughals and Babar prepared for the final encounter with Ibrahim Lodi.

Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana, Elliot, V, pp. 25—27.

The *Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahan Lodi* agrees with the *Makhzan* in saying that the invitation to Kabul was sent through Alam Khan. The latter was sent with a force to Hindustan and detaching himself from other Afghans he marched upon Delhi at the head of 40,000 men. But he was defeated by Ibrahim. Then the author gives an account of the battle of Panipat.

Elliot, V, pp. 106-7.

Erskine, History of India, I, pp. 427—32.

seems to have been to use the Chaghtai prince merely as a tool in establishing his own power in the Punjab. He was asked to invade Hindustan in order to place Alam Khan upon the throne of Delhi instead of Ibrahim, and Babar started from Kabul professedly with this object in view in 1524. He advanced upon Lahore where he found a Delhi army ready to encounter him. This was defeated, and Lahore easily came into Babar's hands. But Daulat Khan who wanted the Punjab for himself disapproved of these proceedings, and though openly submissive, he intended to part company with Babar. Babar, however, suspected no treachery; he trusted him and assigned to him the fiefs of Jalandhar and Sultanpur. But owing to his hostile intrigues, Daulat Khan soon fell into disgrace. He was deprived of his fiefs which were conferred upon his son Dilawar Khan. Babar now realised that he must organise and increase his resources before embarking upon the conquest of Hindustan, and after making arrangements for the government of the Punjab he returned to Kabul. Daulat Khan soon appeared upon the scene, deprived his son of the fief of Sultanpur and drove out Alam Khan from Dipalpur. Alam Khan went to Kabul and laid his case before Babar. Babar made a treaty with him agreeing to place him upon the throne of Delhi, provided he left him in full possession of the Punjab. Alam Khan was sent to Hindustan with instructions to Babar's generals, but he was won over by Daulat Khan, who induced him to violate the treaty which he had concluded with the Mughal prince. The two allies marched upon Delhi at the head of a large force. A surprise night attack on Ibrahim's camp resulted in the defeat of the latter, but next morning the Sultan rallied his men and charged the enemy with great force and drove them from the field with heavy slaughter.

Having disposed of the Uzbegs, who had threatened Balkh, Babar turned his attention towards Hindustan. The events of the last few months had convinced him that it was impossible to hold the Punjab permanently without crushing

the Afghan power at Delhi. It was clear that no confidence could be placed in the Afghans, whose treachery had been proved beyond the possibility of doubt, and Babar decided to make a bold bid for the empire of Hindustan in his own person. Professor Rushbrook-Williams rightly observes:

"But the intrigues of Daulat Khan and the faithlessness of Alam Khan had modified the whole situation. Henceforth there could be no question of the Lodi claimant, who had proved himself unworthy of the sacrifice of honest men's blood. Babar was fighting for his own hand against all comers, primarily, because he conceived the Punjab to belong to him by right: next, because he was convinced that the permanent occupation of the Punjab entailed the conquest of Hindustan: finally, because the political situation seemed to offer the prospect of hard fighting and hazardous adventure, such as his soul loved."[1]

Battle of Panipat, 1526 A.D.

Babar started from Kabul with 12,000 men and reached the Punjab, where he was joined by Dilawar Khan, son of Daulat Khan Lodi. The advent of Babar greatly disturbed the public mind, and Daulat Khan, whom experience had convinced of the futility of resistance, offered submission, and Babar with his accustomed chivalry pardoned him and confirmed him and his family in the possession of their villages. Having broken up the Afghan faction in the Punjab, Babar proceeded towards Delhi. He writes in his *Memoirs*: "Putting my foot in the stirrup of resolution and taking in my hand the reins of faith, I marched against Sultan Ibrahim, son of Sultan Sikandar, son of Sultan Bahlol Lodi Afghan in whose possession the city of Delhi and the kingdom of Hindustan at that time were." He received promises of assistance from Rana Sangram Singh of Mewar, but the latter does not seem to have taken his

[1] Rushbrook-Williams, An Empire-builder of the Sixteenth Century, p. 124.

share in the campaign. The famous battle of Panipat was fought on April 21, 1526, in which Ibrahim Lodi was utterly defeated.[1] Ibrahim was himself slain in battle after a desperate fight with five or six thousand of his bravest warriors. The success against the heavy odds of Delhi was due to the " skill of the leader and to the deadliness of his scientific combination of cavalry and artillery." The victory at Panipat destroyed the power of the Lodi dynasty and transferred the empire of Hindustan from the Afghans to the Chaghtai Turks.

[1] A detailed account of this battle will be given in the chapter on Babar in another volume.

CHAPTER XVIII

CIVILISATION OF THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

"LET there be in you a nation summoning unto the good" is a divine injunction in the Quran. The Prophet of Arabia was not merely the apostle of a new creed, but also the founder and creator of a military state, which after his death acquired formidable power. The followers of the Prophet deemed it their highest duty to wage war against the 'infidels' for the propagation of the true faith, and these wars were won, as Professor Margoliouth observes, in the first place by science, in the second by discipline, in the third by enthusiasm.[1] The Prophet was not altogether unacquainted with the military art, and during his life-time planned and superintended campaigns against his enemies. The whole system of observances—the five daily prayers, the fast of the Ramzan, and several other rites of a puritanical nature disciplined the habits of the religio-political community of which the Prophet was the recognised head and leader. The zeal of the rank and file was maintained at its highest pitch by the conviction that they were God's elect, destined to fulfil an important mission in the world. The Muslim jurists of later times laid down clearly that the object of the military organisation was war against the infidels, *viz.*, *jihad* which literally means "effort or striving"[2] in the

The Islamic State in India.

[1] Margoliouth, Mohammedanism, p. 75.

[2] Hughes, Dictionary of Islam, p. 243.
Khudabakhsh, Orient under the Caliphs, p. 277.
Jihad is a religious war with those who are not believers in the mission of Muhammad. It is an incumbent religious duty, established in the Quran and the traditions as a divine institution, and enjoined

cause of religion with a view to convert the *Darul Harb* (infidel lands) into *Darul Islam* (Muslim lands). The conquered people were entirely at the mercy of the victors, and though the Prophet showed some indulgence to the Christians and the Jews,[1] his followers were fired with a fanatical hatred of all forms of dissent. The vanquished foes were either treated with great cruelty and put to death, or compelled to embrace Islam, or had to accept the position of *Zimmis* and pay a capitation-tax. To use Professor Margoliouth's words, the Prophet's chief experiment in constructive politics was the institution of tolerated cults according to which a section of the population was granted a special status and was allowed to live on certain conditions.[2] Great disabilities were imposed on the "infidels," and in the legislation of the pious Omar II there is a decree which laid down that the tax on trade in the case of a Christian or Jewish trader should be double of that paid by a Muslim.[3] The annals of Tabari contain a proclamation issued by the Khalifa Al-Mutawakkil which lays down rules to regulate the dress which the Christians were to wear and the nature of the saddles in which they were to ride. Kremer refers to another decree of Omar which rigorously excluded all non-Muslims from public employment in the state.[4] This spirit of intolerance, which was partly due to religious fanaticism and partly

especially for the purpose of advancing Islam and of repelling evil from Muslims.

Hughes, Dictionary of Islam, pp. 243—48.

Darul Harb, according to the *Ghiyas-ul-lughat*, is a country belonging to the infidels which has not been subdued by Islam.

Darul Islam is a country in which the edicts of Islam are fully promulgated.

Hughes, pp. 69-70.

The Encyclopædia of Islam, pp. 917-18.

[1] The Prophet's charter to the Jews at Medina is a case in point.
Ameer Ali, The Spirit of Islam, pp. 175, 245.
Hogarth, A History of Arabia, pp. 41-42.

[2] Margoliouth, Early Development of Mohammedanism, Hibbert Lectures, p. 99.

[3] Margoliouth, Early Development of Mohammedanism, p. 99.

[4] Orient under the Caliphs, p. 211.

to political necessity, was reflected in the institutions which the Khalifas devised for the governance of the territories in their charge, and these institutions were afterwards copied all over the Muslim world. The income of the state according to the orthodox jurists consisted of (1) the capitation-tax from the subject populations, (2) the *Ushr*[1] or 1/10th from the Muslims who held land of the state, (3) a tax on trade, (4) natural products taken from the subject population, (5) tribute from foreign powers, (6) 1/5th of the spoils acquired in war, (7) and the *Khiraj*[2] or land-tax from non-Muslims who held land. The officers of the Khilafat were all Muslims who followed a policy of persecution and unjust exclusion, which in the long run proved fatal to the state, and Kremer rightly observes that "this pious ruler (Omar II), the ideal of the orthodox Ulama and the populace destroyed the very foundations of his government by trying to restore conditions unsuited to the spirit of the age."[3] Muslim rulers in other lands who followed a similar policy reaped the same consequences.

The advent of the Muslims in India marked the dawn of a new age. The history of the political conquest has been described in the foregoing pages. The earliest Muslims who came to India at the beginning of the eighth century were the Arabs, who were far more civilised than the Turks who followed them two centuries later. The Hindu society, which had to bear the brunt of the Arab invasion, was in a state of decline. A century of political confusion after Harṣa's death had brought into existence a number of petty states which were often arrayed in hostile camps. Though politically weak, India had lost none of her philosophical and spiritual grandeur, and when the Arabs came in contact with the

[1] The Ushr is one-tenth given to the Muslim state.

[2] The Khiraj was originally applied to a land tribute from non-Muslim tribes (Hedaya, II, p. 204), but it is now used for a tax or land-rent due to the state. Hughes, pp. 655, 269.

[3] See Kremer's description of the Caliphate.
Orient under the Caliphs, pp. 218—40.

Hindus, they were impressed by the profundity and sublimity of Hindu philosophical speculation. Their own civilisation seemed nothing in comparison with this ancient Hindu culture, so varied and wonderful in spite of the political vicissitudes of the time. Al Biruni has vividly portrayed the condition of Hindu society which he saw with his own eyes, and from his account we can form some idea of the high degree of civilisation attained by the Hindus. But the philosophical and religious spirit of the Hindu made him supremely indifferent to political revolutions, and consequently deprived him of that energy and capacity for practical action, which alone could have enabled him to deal with such powerful enemies as the Turks. The vast bulk of the Indian people had allowed their numerous invaders to pass, in patient, deep, disdain, and when the Muslims came to India, they adopted an attitude of similar indifference. The warrior class of India, unrivalled in the history of the world for its chivalry, devotion to war, truth and honour, was torn by dissensions and could never present a united front to the foreigners. The Rajput was humbled ; his political power was destroyed, and his lofty pedigree was treated with scant regard by the alien conquerors. But this conquest was merely physical, somewhat akin to the conquest of the Romans over the Greeks. The grand spiritual heritage of India remained undisturbed, and the Hindu mind felt an instinctive repulsion for the Turks, who had no culture to boast, and who were actuated as much by love of plunder and conquest as by iconoclastic zeal. Much stress has been laid upon the simplicity of the Muslim creed, and it has been said that its essentially rationalistic character had a great attraction for the Hindus of certain classes, who had been the victims of Brahmanical arrogance and selfishness.[1] It is true, the creed

[1] Arnold, The Preaching of Islam, p. 413.

Farquhar says, the influence of Islam seems scarcely traceable in the literature of India before 1400 A.D. He chooses 1350 as the

of Islam, so completely devoid of theological subtleties, demands no great power of intellectual comprehension and the principal doctrine which it enunciates is universally accepted. But the monotheistic idea of God—which is the cardinal doctrine of Muslim theology—was well-known to the Hindus long before it was preached by the illustrious Prophet of Arabia. It is boldly set forth in the Upaniṣads and we find it attaining a high development in the various Bhakti cults, some of which are very old. The Vedantist philosophers of the ninth century had expounded it with rare ability and acumen, and the echoes of the controversies between them and their Buddhist rivals were heard even in the middle ages in the monasteries and academies of the land.[1] The elaborate ceremonial purity which was inseparably associated with orthodox Hinduism strangely contrasted with the habits of the Muslim conquerors and served as a fresh cause of antipathy between the two peoples.[2] The progress

year when such influences began. At best, it cannot be put earlier than 1300 A.D.

An Outline of Religious Literature of India, p. 284.

[1] Al Biruni who was gifted with a highly critical and scientific mind thus writes of the Hindu belief in God :—

"The Hindus believe with regard to God that he is one, eternal, without beginning and end, acting by free will, almighty, all-wise, living, giving life, ruling, preserving ; one who in his sovereignty is unique, beyond all likeness and unlikeness, and that he does not resemble anything nor does anything resemble him."

He goes on to say: —

"They call him *Iśwara*, *i.e.*, self-sufficing, beneficent, who gives without receiving. They consider the unity of God as absolute but that everything beside God which may appear as a unity is really a plurality of things. The existence of God they consider as a real existence, because everything that exists exists through him. It is not impossible to think that the existing beings are *not* and that he *is*, but it is impossible to think that he *is not* and that they *are*."

Sachau, Al Biruni's India, pp. 27, 31.

[2] Al Biruni clearly expresses this view and it is endorsed by Ibn Batuta who visited India in the 14th century.

Al Biruni writes of the Hindus of his day :—

"On the contrary, all their fanaticism is directed against those who do not belong to them—against all foreigners. They call them *mlechha*, *i.e.*, impure, and forbid having any connection with them, be it by inter-marriage or any other kind of relationship, or by sitting, eating, and drinking with them, because thereby, they think they would be polluted. They consider as impure anything which touches

of Islam in India was due very largely not to its doctrinal simplicity, but to the fact that it was the religion of the dominant power, which sometimes enforced it at the point of the sword among the subject races. Motives of personal gain such as the desire to obtain high office in the state sometimes led men to abandon their own faith. Daily contact with Muslims who naturally wielded great influence and power and controlled the wealth of the community must have induced a large number of people to accept the doctrines of their faith, but in many cases such allegiance must have been merely nominal.[1] Another reason which might have led some people to embrace Islam was the degrading position assigned to them in the Hindu social system which made invidious distinctions between man and man, but their number must have been infinitesimally small. Voluntary conversions to Islam, grounded on the appreciation of its tenets, were few and far between, for neither the temptations of office nor the offers of monetary reward could overcome the repugnance which the Hindus felt towards those who had deprived them of their independence and treated their religion with open contempt. So deep-rooted is the conservatism of the Hindus that even in our own times when class consciousness is wide awake in the lower strata of our society, voluntary conversions to Islam are rare in spite of the fact that admission to that great brotherhood implies complete equality with the highest

the fire and water of a foreigner ; and no household can exist without these two elements. Besides, they never desire that a thing which has been polluted should be purified and thus recovered, as, under ordinary circumstances, if anybody or anything has become unclean, he or it would strive to regain the state of purity. They are not allowed to receive anybody who does not belong to them, even if he wished it, or was inclined to their religion. This, too, renders any connection with them quite impossible, and constitutes the widest gulf between us and them."

Sachau, Al Biruni's India, I, pp. 19-20.

[1] It will be remembered that during the reign of Akbar, Rajas Man Singh and Todar Mal refused to enlist in the *Din-i-Ilahi*. The former was related to the emperor, but he gave a curt refusal. The latter, as Abul Fazl tells us, was wholly uninfluenced by Islamic ideas.

among the faithful. For nearly five centuries the Hindus and Muslims existed as distinct units in the state. There was persecution, partly religious and partly political, and a stubborn resistance was offered by the Hindus who had not altogether lost their manliness and vigour. No voluntary marriages are recorded between royal families, and the case of Rana Mal Bhatti's daughter, who was forcibly snatched away by Tughluq Shah in the fourteenth century, left bitter memories behind. The marriage tended to divide and not to unite the Hindus and Musalmans, and the offspring of this union, Sultan Firuz Tughluq, was a bigot in whom the Hindus found a most uncompromising opponent of their faith.

The Muslim state in India, as elsewhere, was a theocracy. The king was Cæsar and Pope combined in one, but his authority in religious matters was strictly limited by the Holy Law. "He is the shadow of God upon earth to whose refuge we are to fly when oppressed by injury from the unforeseen occurrences of life."[1] But he is merely to carry out God's will, and the civil law which he administers is to be subordinated to the canon law. In such a state, naturally, the priestly class will have a preponderating voice. The Muslim kings of Hindustan were sovereign in their own person ; they struck coins and caused the Khutba to be read in their names, though some of them invoked the Khalifa's aid to cement their title as was done by Īltutmish, Muhammad Tughluq, and Firuz Tughluq. The state rested upon the support of the military class which consisted exclusively of the followers of the faith. Their fanaticism was stirred up by the Ulama who impressed upon them the duty of fighting under the sacred banner by telling them that death on the field of battle will be rewarded

[1] Thompson, Practical Philosophy of the Muhammadan People, p. 377. (This is a translation of the *Akhlaq Jalali.*)
Ameer Ali, The Spirit of Islam, p. 261.
He quotes from Imam Fakhr-ud-din's remarks on the reciprocal rights of sovereigns and subjects. Also see Sarkar's Studies in Mughal India, p. 310.

with the honours of martyrdom. Besides the love of adventure and the hope of material advantage, the prospect of posthumous canonisation in case they died in battle led many an ardent spirit to risk his life in the cause. The Ulama naturally came to possess enormous influence in such a state. The extirpation of idolatry, the extinction of every form of dissent from the accepted dogma, the conversion of the infidel population—these came to be looked upon as the functions of an ideal Muslim state. Most of the Muslim rulers attempted to approximate to this ideal of the orthodox canonists according to their lights and opportunities. Those who tried to meet their expectations were praised lavishly by historians who were mostly members of the class of Ulama. But among the earlier kings in India Alauddin struck a new line. Like Akbar after him, he was opposed to ecclesiastical interference in matters of state. His political theory is clearly set forth in the words which he addressed to Qazi Mughis whom he consulted about the legal position of the sovereign in the state. Fully aware of the evils of a church-ridden monarchy, he enunciated a new doctrine of sovereignty and claimed to be "God's vicar in things temporal, as is the priest in things spiritual." The people acquiesced in this doctrine, merely because the political situation of the time needed a strong man at the helm of the state, who would repel the Mongol attacks and keep order at home. Muhammad Tughluq's rationalism on which Barani pours his cold scorn brought about a war between him and the Ulama with the result that the latter conspired against him and thwarted all his plans. Under his weak-kneed successor they easily gained the upper hand, and persuaded him to adjust the institutions of the state in accordance with the principles laid down in the Quran. The taxes were reduced to the number prescribed in the Law ;[1] and the official agency was freely used to put down heresy and infidelity. After the

[1] Fatuhat-i-Firuz Shahi, Elliot, III, p. 377.
Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi, Allahabad University MS., p. 118.

period of anarchy which followed the death of Firuz, when the empire regained a settled form, the Ulama recovered their ascendancy ; and under Sikandar Lodi a campaign of bitter persecution was revived against the Hindus. On the whole during this period the Ulama continued to exercise much influence on political affairs. Indeed, it required an extraordinary strength of will to discard their advice and follow a line of action in opposition to the traditions and dogmas of the orthodox church. That the influence of the priestly order was injurious to the interests of the state cannot be denied.

The state imposed great disabilities upon the non-Muslims. Forcible conversions were ordered, but they were neither frequent nor systematic owing to the pressure of war and the recurrence of Mongol raids which often compelled the suspension of all other activities of the administration. The non-Muslims, technically called the *Zimmis*, had to pay a poll-tax called the *Jeziya* for the protection of their lives and property.[1] It was a sort of commutation money which they had to pay in lieu of military service. Humility and submissiveness are mentioned as their duties in the sacred law. Forcible conversion is not allowed in the Quran[2] which says :

[1] According to the Hanafi doctors *Jeziya* is paid by the *Zimmis* as a compensation for being spared from death. By the payment of the *Jeziya* the non-Muslims purchase their lives and escape death. Aghnides, Muhammadan Theories of Finance, LXX, pp. 398, 407. This may not be accepted on all hands. The correct view seems to be that the *Jeziya* was a military tax levied upon the *Zimmis*.

The capitation-tax which is levied by a Muslim ruler upon subjects who are of a different faith, but claim protection (*aman*) is founded upon a direct injunction of the Quran:—

"Make war upon such of those to whom the scriptures have been given, as believe not in God or in the last day, and forbid not that which God and his apostles have forbidden, and who profess not the profession of truth, until they pay tribute out of their hand and they be humbled."

Hughes, Dictionary of Islam, p. 248.

[2] Again in Chapter CIX in the Quran the Prophet says :—

"O unbelievers, I will not worship that which ye worship; nor will ye worship that which I worship. Neither do ye worship that which I worship. Ye have your religion, and I my religion."

Sale, Al-Quran, p. 503.

"Let there be no compulsion in religion. Wilt thou compel men to become believers? No soul can believe, but by the persuasion of God." Arnold emphatically states that the existence of Christian sects and communities in countries governed by Muslims is evidence of the fact that they have enjoyed toleration, and that the persecutions which they have had to suffer on occasions have been due to some special or local circumstances rather than to a deliberate religious policy.[1] This view is supported by Ameer Ali who uncritically states the Muslim position in his admirable work, "The Spirit of Islam."[2] It may be conceded at once that the Prophet forbade conversion by force and enjoined preaching and persuasion as the sole method of propagating the faith, but his commands were not carried out by his zealous followers.[3] Instances are not rare in which the non-Muslims were treated with great severity. They were not allowed to enlist in the army even if they wished to do so. The practice of their religious rites even with the slightest publicity was not allowed, and cases are on record of men who lost their lives for doing

In Chapter II the Prophet says: "Let there be no violence in religion. Now is right direction manifestly distinguished from deceit: Whoever therefore shall deny Tagut, and believe in God, he shall surely take hold on a strong handle, which shall not be broken; God is he who heareth and seeth." This passage was particularly addressed to some of the Prophet's first disciples who, having sons that had been brought up in idolatry or Judaism, would oblige them to embrace Islam by force.

Ibid., p. 31.

The Prophet has said: "Adhere to those who forsake you; speak truth to your own heart; do good to every one that does ill to you." Arnold, The Preaching of Islam, p. 420.

The Prophet says clearly that neither Jew nor Christian should be disturbed in his religion as long as he paid the tax.

For *Zimmis* see Hughes, Dictionary of Islam, pp. 710—13.

Encyclopædia of Islam, I, pp. 958—1051.

[1] Arnold, The Preaching of Islam, p. 420.

[2] Ameer Ali, The Spirit of Islam, pp. 246—48.

[3] In recent times Maulvi Niyamat Ullah was stoned to death by the Afghan government for certain heretical opinions.

Shortly afterwards two simple Qadian shopkeepers were stoned to death in the presence of the Superintendent of Police and fifteen constables.

so. Some of these kings were so bigoted that they did not allow any new temple to be built or an old one to be repaired.[1] There were others like Sikandar Lodi who were so intolerant of idolatry as to order a wholesale demolition of temples. Toleration under Muslim domination in India in the early middle ages was not the rule, but the exception. A liberal-minded ruler like Muhammad Tughluq would be traduced and condemned by the Ulama and charged with bartering away the honour of Islam. What the orthodox party wanted was conformity to their interpretation of the law, no matter what the consequences might be.

Effects on the people.

The Islamic state fostered luxury among the members of the ruling class. The highest offices in the state were held by Muslims, and elevation to positions of honour was generally determined by royal will and not by merit. The easy acquisition of enormous wealth and the participation in the festivities of the court led to great vices, and the Muslims towards the close of the fourteenth century lost their old vigour and manliness. The early Muslims who served Iltutmish, Balban, and Alauddin were soldier-martyrs who cheerfully braved risks for the glory of Islam, but their descendants, who had no inducement to work, degenerated into mediocres, who had neither the ability nor the enthusiasm of their ancestors. The partiality of the state towards them destroyed their spirit of independence, and the large *Khanqahs* or charity establishments of which Ibn Batuta and Shams-i-Siraj Afif have given detailed accounts dispensed with the necessity of earning their livelihood and made them hangers-on of the state, utterly devoid of self-respect, energy, or initiative. As the Muslims were few in number, they escaped the rough toil which was the inevitable lot of the average non-Muslim husbandman. They held land and paid only one-tenth as tax to the state and could thus enjoy a degree of affluence to which non-Muslims in the empire

[1] Fatuhat-i-Firuz Shahi, Elliot, III, pp. 380-81.

could never aspire. The effects of Muslim domination upon the Hindus were of a different kind. They fretted and chafed against the disabilities imposed upon them. The Muslim state, which was surrounded by hostile and half-subdued races, found it necessary to guard itself against a recrudescence of Hindu revolts and conspiracies and therefore adopted a severe policy to crush opposition. They were overtaxed, a d Zia Barani writes that Alauddin took from the Hindus of the Doab 50 per cent of their produce. The historian whose attitude is that of a typical mediæval bigot writes with great exultation of the poverty, wretchedness, and degradation of the Hindus. They had no inducement to accumulate wealth, and the bulk of them led a life of poverty, want, and struggle, earning just sufficient to maintain themselves and their family. The standard of living among the subject classes was low, and the incidence of taxation fell mainly upon them. They were excluded from high offices and in such circumstances of distrust and humiliation, the Hindus never got an opportunity of developing their political genius to its fullest extent. Commenting upon the moral and economic decay of the subject people consequent upon the Muslim political system, Professor Jadunath Sarkar writes :—

> " When a class are publicly depressed and harassed by law and executive caprice alike, they merely content themselves with dragging on an animal existence. With every generous instinct of the soul crushed out of them, with intellectual culture merely adding a keen edge to their sense of humiliation, the Hindus could not be expected to produce the utmost of which they were capable ; their lot was to be hewers of wood and drawers of water to their masters, to bring grist to the fiscal mill, to develop a low cunning and flattery as the only means of saving what they could of the fruits of their own labour. Amidst such social conditions, the human hand and the human mind cannot achieve their best ; the human soul cannot soar to the highest pitch. The barrenness of the Hindu

intellect and the meanness of spirit of the Hindu upper classes are the greatest condemnation of Muhammadan rule in India. The Islamic political tree, judged by its fruit was an utter failure."[1]

It is difficult to agree with the view expressed by the distinguished historian of Aurangzeb. It is true, in the early middle ages there was much strife and bloodshed, and the wealth, honour, and religion of the subject races were treated with little regard by the members of the ruling class. It is not necessary to recount the wrongs, oppressions, and injustices of the administration. They are writ large upon the page of history, and even the most superficial reader cannot fail to be struck by them. But they cannot be predicated of Muslim rule as a whole. During the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir, some of the greatest Hindus were born—great poets, philosophers, statesmen, and warriors—who shed lustre upon the epoch in which they lived. In the pre-Mughal days arose the great teachers of the Bhakti cult like Ramanand, Chaitanya, and Nanak who gave the world their message of good will and hope. The age witnessed also the rise of a number of really first class poets who enriched the literature of their country by their noble productions. It is a striking fact that the virility and vigour of the Hindu race has survived the shocks of numberless foreign invasions, and the presence of men like Ramanand, Chaitanya, Tulsi Das, and Todar Mal disproves the view that the Hindu intellect had become sterile under the stress of Muslim conquest. The Hindu mind soared to the highest pitch and gave expression to the noblest truths. The philosophical and literary works of the Vaiṣṇavite reformers and other secular writers who flourished in Mithila, Bengal, and the Deccan constitute a legacy which the Hindu race will always treasure with pride and gratitude.

[1] Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, III, pp. 296-97.

Social condition.

The Muslims were the favoured children of the state.[1] As everything depended upon the valour and strength of the faithful, the state accorded to them a preferential treatment. From time to time concessions had to be made to their religious demands by the state, and their interests had to be consulted before all others. Social distinctions prevailed among the Muslims, and some of the kings never appointed any but men of noble birth to high offices. Balban, who was highly punctilious in observing the etiquette of the court never countenanced upstarts, and on one occasion refused a large gift from a man named Fakhru who had amassed a large fortune by means of usury and monopolies.[2] Wine-drinking and gambling seem to have been the common vices in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Balban issued an edict prohibiting the use of spirituous liquor, and the example of the martyr prince who drank wine with moderation and never encouraged any kind of foolish talk in his presence had a salutary effect upon the manners and morals of the society which gathered round him at Lahore. Alauddin also adopted drastic measures to combat the evil of drink and forbade gambling and all kinds of social intercourse among the nobles. As long as he lived, he strictly enforced his rules, but after his death the usual laxity prevailed. A small band of the old Alai nobles wondered at the depravity of Qutb-ud-din Mubarak's court ; and Barani writes that the price of a boy, or handsome eunuch, or beautiful damsel varied from 500 to 1,000 and 2,000 *tankās*.[3] But the social tastes improved considerably under Tughluq Shah and his illustrious son Muhammad Tughluq, both of whom were free from the grosser vices of the age. The character of the state did not wholly deteriorate even under

[1] For social organisation under the Musalmans, see Encyclopædia of Islam, pp. 484—86.

[2] Briggs, I, p. 250.

[3] Barani, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth. Ind., p. 384.

Firuz Tughluq, though its military vigour declined and, barring a few exceptions, mediocrity took the place of genius in all departments of the administration. The pomp and magnificence of the state was fully maintained, and Afif tells us that on every Friday after public service musicians, athletes, story-tellers, numbering about two or three thousand used to assemble in the palace and entertain the populace with their performances.[1] Slavery was common, and slaves of ability like Khan-i-Jahan Maqbūl could rise to the highest position in the state. As wealth increased in Muslim society, the hold of religion became somewhat weaker, and superstition and ignorance began to gain ground. Firuz in his *Fatuhat-i-Firuz Shahi* speaks of a number of heretical sects which he suppressed with a high hand, and whose leaders he caused to be imprisoned, or put to death. The liberty of women was restricted ; they were not allowed to go to visit the tombs of holy men outside the city, and Firuz showed his intolerance by prescribing drastic penalties against those women who disobeyed his edict.[2]

The Hindus had become degenerate with the loss of political power. Al Biruni, writing in the eleventh century, speaks of their inordinate pride and self-conceit which is so great that if you tell them of any science or scholar in Khorasan and Persia, they will think you to be both an ignoramus and a liar.[3] They despised the Muslims and called them *mlecchas* or impure persons and forbade having any connection with them (foreigners), be it by intermarriage or any other kind of relationship, because they thought that by doing so they would be polluted.[4] They maintained a high standard of truth and honour and preserved intact their intellectual greatness.[5]

[1] Shams-i-Siraj Afif, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth., Ind., p. 367.

[2] Fatuhat, Elliot, III, pp. 370—80.

[3] Sachau, Al Biruni's India, I, pp. 19-20.

[4] Ibid., p. 19.

[5] Rashid-ud-din completed his work in 1310 A.D.

Rashid-ud-din in his *Jam-ut-tawarikh* speaks of the Hindus in terms of high praise. The Indians, he says, are naturally inclined to justice, and never depart from it in their actions. Their good faith, honesty and fidelity to their engagements are well known and they are so famous for these qualities that people flock to their country from every side ; hence the country is flourishing and their condition is prosperous. This aristocratic society was disturbed by the Muslim conquest, and though its intellectual and spiritual leaders lived in a state of splendid isolation, the masses felt the change of masters. Political subjection was followed by social degradation. They were looked upon as the worst enemies of the alien government that had been set up in their midst. With rare exceptions they were invariably excluded from high offices, and toleration was granted to them only on condition of paying the *Jeziya.* During the reign of Alauddin, the Hindus of the Doab, largely for political reasons, were treated with severity and the *khuts, balahars, chowdhris* and *muqaddams* were reduced to a state of abject misery. Qazi Mughis-ud-din's opinion about the position of the Hindus in a Muslim state, which has been explained in a previous chapter, was the view of the average mediæval canonist and was acted upon by Muslim rulers in normal circumstances. "No Hindu could hold up his head, and in their houses no sign of gold or silver *tankās* or *jitals* was to be seen, and *chowdhris* and *khuts* had not means enough to ride on horseback, to find weapons, to get fine clothes, or to indulge in betel." So great was the destitution of these people, writes Barani, that their wives went to serve in the houses of Muslims.[1] The state encouraged conversions and in describing the reign of Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah Ibn Batūtā writes that when a Hindu wished to become a Muslim he was brought before the Sultan who gave him rich robes and bangles of gold.[2] The orthodox party had such a great aversion for the

[1] Barani, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Biblioth Ind., p. 288.

[2] Ibn Batūtā, Paris ed., III, pp. 197-98.

Hindus that Barani on seeing their slightly improved condition under Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah, which was due partly to the relaxation of the rules of Alauddin and partly to the pro-Hindu policy of Khusrau, laments that the "Hindus again found pleasure and happiness and were beside themselves with joy."[1] There was no active persecution under the first two Tughluqs,[2] but Firuz reversed the policy of his predecessors. He capped his measures against them by levying the *Jeziya* upon the Brahmans, who had hitherto been exempt. Afif writes that in Delhi it was of three kinds,—(1) forty *tankās* ; (2) twenty *tankās* ; (3) ten *tankās*. When the Brahmans remonstrated against this step, the Sultan reduced the scale of assessment.[3] The Hindus profited much by the disorders that followed the death of Firuz, but when the Lodis established their power, they were again persecuted by Sikandar, and although there was no economic distress, they had to live like helots within the empire.

Ibn Batūtā has given us an interesting picture of India in the fourteenth century, and from his narrative we learn a great deal about the social customs and manners of the time. The

[1] Ibn Batūtā, Paris ed., III, p. 385.

[2] Ibn Batūtā says, Daulatabad was once farmed to a Hindu for 17 crores by Muhammad Tughluq. Tome IV, p. 49. This is doubtless an exaggeration.

[3] Elliot has mistranslated the passage in the original text. His text had درنفري دهكان تنكه پنچاه گاني بستا نند which clearly means that 50 *kanis* were to be paid instead of ten *tankās*. This would be a substantial reduction. Elliot says, the tax of each man was fixed at ten *tankās* and fifty *kanis* which is neither in agreement with the text which he consulted nor with the Calcutta text of Afif. Smith (Oxford History of India, p. 251) accepts Elliot's translation and incorrectly says that the tax was fixed at ten *tankās* and fifty *jitals*.

The Calcutta text of Afif has

فرمان فرمود كه در نفري دهكان تنكۀ پنجاه گاني بستا نند–

which means that ten *tankās* of 50 *kanis* each should be accepted. This will make a reduction of 14 *kanis* per *tankā* which is certainly not an adequate concession. The *hamza* over the word 'tankā' in the Calcutta text seems to be wrongly placed.

Elliot, III, p. 366.

Shams-i-Siraj Afif, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, p. 384.

learned class had lost its prestige, and Muhammad Tughluq, who was terribly stern in administering justice, freely punished Shaikhs and Maulvis for their misconduct. Slavery was common, but the state encouraged the practice of manumission.[1] To keep slave girls was a recognised fashion of the time and Badr-i-Chach, the famous poet, had to offer on one occasion 900 *dinars* for a beautiful and accomplished girl. The traveller praises the hospitality of the Hindus and observes that caste rules were strictly observed. The Hindus were treated as inferior to the Muslims. When a Hindu came to offer his presents to the Sultan in the *Durbar* the Hajibs shouted out '*Hadak Allah*' or may God bring you to the right path. Moral offences were severely punished and even members of the royal family were dealt with like ordinary men. Prince Masud's mother was stoned to death in accordance with the law for committing adultery. The use of wine was interdicted, and the author of the *Masalik-al-absar* writes that the inhabitants of India have little taste for wine and content themselves with betel leaves.[2] The same authority says, the people love to hoard money and whenever a man is asked about the extent of his property, he replies: "I do not know, but I am the second or third of my family who has laboured to increase the treasure which an ancestor deposited in a certain cavern, or in certain holes, and I do not know how much it amounts to."[3] Men buried their wealth, as they do even now, and accepted nothing but coined money in their daily transactions. Ibn Batūtā has given an interesting account of the law of debt as it prevailed in the fourteenth century, and he is supported by Marco Polo who visited India before

[1] Ibn Batūtā, III, p. 236.

[2] Masalik, Elliot, III, p. 581.

[3] Masalik, Elliot, III, p. 584.
Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar, p. 284.
He says, the accumulation of large hoards was essentially a feature of Hindu civilisation.

him. The creditors resorted to the royal court to seek the king's protection in order to recover their money. When a big Amir was in debt, the creditor blocked his way to the royal palace and shouted in order to implore the Sultan's help. The debtor in this embarrassing situation either paid or made a promise to pay at some future date. Sometimes the Sultan interfered and enforced payments.[1] The practice of *Sati* and self-destruction was in vogue, but no woman could become a *Sati* without obtaining the king's permission.[2] Riding on an ass was looked upon with contempt as it is to-day, and a man was flogged and paraded on an ass when he was punished for some offence proved against him.[3] Men believed in witchcraft, magic, and miracles as they did in mediæval Europe, and the performances of the Hindu ascetics called *Jogis* by Ibn Batūtā were witnessed even by the Sultan. Charity was practised on a large scale, and men endowed large *khanqahs* (charity-houses) where food was distributed gratis to the poor. Though the Sultan's purity of character had a wholesome effect on Muslim society, it does not appear that the sanctity of the marriage tie was always recognised. A man like Ibn Batūtā married more than four times in a most irresponsible manner and abandoned his wives one after another.[4] The education of women was not altogether

[1] Ibn Batūtā, III, p. 411.
Yule, Marco Polo, II, pp. 279-80.

[2] Ibn Batūtā, III, pp. 137—39.
Men drowned themselves in the Ganges and looked upon it as an act of piety. This was called *jal-samadhi.*
Dimishqi who wrote prior to Ibn Batūtā also mentions the practice of drowning as an act of religious merit.
The vow of *sallekhana* among the Jains was taken with a similar motive. Men gradually left all food and died slowly.
Cosmographie de Chems-ed-din, Abou Abdallah Mohammed, ed. Dimichqui, p. 174.
Lewis Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 185.
The Arab writer Abu Zaid also speaks of the practice of self-destruction. He writes when a person, either man or woman, becomes old and the senses are enfeebled, he begs some one of his family to throw him into fire or to drown him in water." Elliot, I, p. 10.

[3] Ibn Batūtā, III, p. 441.

[4] Ibid., III, pp. 337-38.

neglected, and the traveller writes that when he reached Hanaur, he found there 13 schools for girls and 23 for boys—a thing which agreeably surprised him.[1]

Though women were treated with great respect, the birth of a girl was looked upon as an inauspicious event, as is illustrated by Amir Khusrau's lament over the birth of his daughter. Seclusion was recommended for women, and Amir Khusrau in his advice to his daughter asks her not to leave the thread of the spinning wheel and always to keep her face towards the wall of the house and her back towards the door so that nobody might be able to look at her.[2] We may regret the poet's inadequate appreciation of womanly dignity, but the mention of the spinning wheel as a preserver of female chastity by a courtier and poet laureate is an agreeable surprise.

The customs and manners of the people of the Deccan were in many respects different from the north. Several inscriptions record the prevalence of trial by ordeal. Self-sacrifice and *Sati* prevailed. The practice of *Sati* was a recognized institution under all dynasties, and stone obelisks commemorating the horrid custom are still to be found in the southern country in many places. Men took vows of self-destruction, and we find cases recorded of chiefs who vowed to give their heads to God, if their army triumphed in battle.[3]

He married four times in the Maldive Islands. He was already married to Hūr Nasab, daughter of Jalal-ud-din Ahsan Shah. She was left by Ibn Batūtā, for he writes in one place: "I do not know what has become of her and the daughter she bore me." III, pp. 337-38.

[1] Ibn Batūtā, IV, p. 67.

[2] The poet expresses his disappointment in his poem *Lailā Majanū*, in these words : "I wish you were not born, and if you were, it would have been better, if you had been a boy. No one can alter the decrees of fate. But my father was born of a woman and I am also born of a woman." The advice which the poet gave his daughter is also contained in his poem *Lailā Majanū*.
Shibli, Shair-ul-Ajam, pt. II, p. 123.

[3] Lewis Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, Gd. 41, p. 187.

Several instances are recorded of men and women losing their heads in pursuance of some vow taken.[1] The Brahmans were treated with great respect, and the *guru* was held in high esteem. The dues payable from Brahmans were touched and remitted. Knowledge was assiduously cultivated, and wonderful feats of memory were performed. In 1223 one Viśvanath is mentioned who could write letters with both hands and perform a hundred mnemonic feats to the astonishment of the learned.[2] Regarding the people of Malabar in his own day, Ibn Batūtā says that among Hindu princes in this part of the country the law of inheritance does not allow one's children to succeed to their father's estate. Even male heirs of the body are superseded by sister's sons.[3] This account is corroborated by Zain-ud-din, an Arab chronicler, who wrote in the time of Ali Adil Shah.[4] He clearly says that polyandry prevailed among the Nairs and excited no scandal and led to no quarrels. Only among Brahmans women observed seclusion, but the Nair women freely moved about wherever they liked.[5] From Ibn Batūtā's account it appears that punishments in Malabar were extremely severe even for the pettiest offences. Theft was severely punished, and human life was sometimes taken for stealing even a cocoanut.[6]

[1] Ibid., p. 187.
SK 249, MK 12.

[2] Lewis Rice, pp. 190-91.
Cn 203.

[3] Ibn Batūtā, IV, p. 76.

[4] Zain-ud-din, Historia dos Portugueses No Malabar (Arabic text), p. 30.

[5] Ibid., p. 33.
For the customs of the Nairs, see Thurston's Castes and Tribes of Southern India, V, pp. 307-8.
In a note Cæsar Frederick, a merchant, who visited the East Indies, speaks of wives in common among the Nairs and says the king's children will not inherit their father's kingdom. The Voyage and Travel, Haklyut, V, p. 394.

[6] Ibn Batūtā, IV, p. 74.

Economic condition.

During the early days of the Muslim conquest the inhabitants of India were fleeced of their wealth by the Muslim invaders, and Firishta has mentioned the vast booty which was carried off by Mahmud of Ghazni from this country. The early Muslim rulers were occupied too much with the work of conquest. Balban was the first ruler who paid attention to the maintenance of internal peace and order. He cleared the neighbourhood of Kampila and Patiali of robbers and highwaymen so that cultivation flourished and merchants could take their goods from one place to another without much difficulty.[1] Under the Khiljis the economic conditions were radically changed. They have been mentioned in a previous chapter. A famine occurred in Firuz's reign, and Barani writes that grain in Delhi rose to a *jital* per *sir*. The appalling hardship caused by the scarcity of food and fodder was so great in the Siwalik hills that the Hindus of that country came to Delhi with their families and twenty or thirty of them drowned themselves in the Jamna when they found life unbearable.[2] But it does not appear that the administration exerted itself to mitigate human suffering. The next ruler, the greatest of the line, was a daring political economist and a bold tariff-legislator. His soaring ambition of world-conquest led him to build up an economic system which is one of the marvels of mediæval statesmanship. There was no scarcity of wealth in the country, and Alauddin's state entry into Delhi soon after his accession was marked by the distribution of rich gifts among the people. Five *mans* of gold stars were placed in a *manjniq* and were discharged upon the spectators who had thronged in front of the royal canopy.[3] The revenue system was organised and the policy of 'thorough' adopted by Sharaf Qai, the Naib Wazir-i-mamalik, reduced the whole country of the Doab to a state of complete submission. The Hindus were required to pay 50 per cent of the

[1] Elliot, III, p. 105.
[2] Barani, p. 212.
[3] Barani, p. 245.

produce of their fields, and in addition to this they had to pay a house-tax, a grazing-tax, and a number of other cesses.[1] The incidence of taxation fell upon cultivators, who were mostly Hindus, for the Muslims whose number was small were largely employed in the civil and military offices of the state. The *khuts, chowdhris,* and *muqaddams* were reduced to a state of abject poverty and Barani expresses great satisfaction at their miserable condition.[2] The most remarkable achievement, however, of Alauddin was his tariff-legislation. The prices were so low that a soldier with one horse could live comfortably with 234 *tankās* a year, *i.e.,* less than twenty *tankās* per mensem, which will hardly suffice to meet even the cost of a horse in these days. Grain was stored in royal granaries and was sold to the people at low rates in times of scarcity. Ibn Batūtā relates that he witnessed with his own eyes in Delhi rice which had been stored in the cellars of Alauddin. The economic system of Alauddin collapsed after his death, for it rested upon a complete disregard of all laws of political economy. The reaction began after his death. The *bazar* people rejoiced and sold their goods at their own price.[3] The wages of labourers rose four times ; and servants and menials who formerly got only ten or twelve *tankās* now demanded seventy, eighty, or hundred *tankās.* The tariff laws of Alauddin fell into disuse and Barani laments the disappearance of cheap prices ; but there was no deficiency of crops, and the state never experienced any financial stringency. Nasir-ud-din Khusrau squandered the treasures of the state in order to win adherents from among the nobles, and yet Muhammad Tughluq found enough money to enable him to embark upon costly experiments. Muhammad's economic measures failed disastrously, but his financial position remained unshaken. The failure of the token currency did not affect

[1] Barani, p. 287.
[2] Ibid., p. 288.
[3] Ibid., p. 385.

the stability of the state or destroy its credit, for the Sultan at once repealed his edict and permitted the people to exchange gold and silver coins for those of copper. For about a decade, famine stalked the land and reduced the people to a state of utter helplessness. A vigorous famine policy was adopted by the administration, and Barani writes that in two years about 70 lakhs of *tankās* were advanced as *Sondhar* or *taqavi* to the agriculturists.[1] Ibn Batūtā dwells at length upon the Sultan's famine policy and says that grain was supplied from the royal stores, and the *Faqias* and *Qazis* were required to make lists of needy men in each parish, which were submitted to the Sultan for orders.[2] On another occasion when dire distress prevailed, the Qazis, clerks, and Amirs went from parish to parish and gave relief to the famine-stricken people at the rate of one and a half western *ritals* per day.[3] Large *khanqahs* assisted the state in administering relief, and Ibn Batūtā writes that hundreds of men were fed at the *khanqah* of Qutb-ud-din, of which he was the *mutwalli*, and which contained a staff of 460 men.[4] The state gave liberal encouragement to industry. There was a state manufactory in which 400 silk-weavers were employed and stuff of all kinds was prepared.[5] There were also 500 manufacturers of golden tissues in the service of the Sultan, who wove gold brocades for the royal household and the nobility. Trade was carried on with foreign countries, and Marco Polo and Ibn Batūtā both speak of ports which were visited by merchants from foreign countries. Broach and Calicut were famous centres of trade, and Ibn Batūtā says of the latter that merchants from all parts of the world came there to

[1] Barani, p. 499.

[2] Ibn Batūtā, III, p. 290.

[3] Ibid., III, p. 372.

[4] Ibid., III, pp. 432—34.

[5] Masalik, Elliot, II, p. 578.

buy goods.[1] The author of the *Masalik-al-absar* also writes that merchants of all countries "never cease to carry pure gold into India, and to bring back in exchange commodities of herbs and gums."[2] Foreign traders were encouraged by the state, and Ibn Batūtā makes mention of one Saiyyad Abul Hasan Abadi who carried on business with royal capital and brought goods for the king from Iraq and Khorasan.[3]

The trade conditions were favourable in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Wassāf describes Gujarat as a rich and populous country containing 7,000 villages and towns and the people rolling in wealth. The cultivation was prosperous. The vineyards yielded blue grapes twice a year. The soil was so fertile that the cotton plants spread their branches like willows and plane trees, and yielded crops for several years in succession. Marco Polo also speaks of extensive cotton cultivation and says that the cotton trees were full six paces high and attained to the age of twenty years.[4] Pepper, ginger, and indigo were produced in large quantities. The local manufacturers prepared mats of red and blue leather inlaid with figures of birds and beasts and embroidered with gold and silver wires.[5] Cambay is also described as a great centre of trade where indigo was produced in abundance. Merchants came with ships and cargoes, but what they chiefly brought into the country was gold, silver and copper. The traveller writes: "the inhabitants are good and live by their trade and manufacture."[6] Mabar was full of wealth, but much of it, as Marco Polo says, was spent in purchasing horses which

[1] Ibn Batūtā, IV, p. 89.

[2] Masalik, Elliot, III, p. 583.

[3] Ibn Batūtā, III, p. 405.

[4] Yule, Travels of Marco Polo, II, p. 328.

[5] Ibid., p. 328.

[6] Ibid., p. 333.

Dimishqi who was a contemporary of Abul Feda also speaks of Cambay as a large and famous city and says that Baros (Broach) was in his day a large country, and four thousand villages were included in it. Cosmography, p. 172.

were very scarce in that country. The merchants of Kis, Hormes, Dofar, Soer,—these are countries mentioned by Marco Polo—brought horses to Mabar and made a considerable profit.[1] Bengal is described by Ibn Batūtā in the fourteenth century as a rich and fertile province. Prices were cheap, and men could live in ease and comfort with small incomes.

From 1351 to 1388 the economic prosperity remained at a high level. The irrigation facilities provided by the state gave a great stimulus to agriculture, and the revenue multiplied. The revenue of Delhi and its territories rose to six crores and 85 lakhs of *tankās*, while the revenue of the Doab alone amounted to 85 lakhs of *tankās*. The cheapness of prices enabled officials of the state and Amirs to amass large fortunes, and Afif writes that after the death of Malik Shahin Shahna 50 lakhs of *tankās* in cash were found in his house besides jewels and other valuable articles.[2] Prices were so cheap that men could go from one place to another with paltry amounts. A man going from Delhi to Firuzabad had to pay four silver *jitals* for a carriage, six for a mule, 12 for a horse, and half a *tankā* for a palanquin. Coolies were found ready for employment, and Afif writes that they earned a decent income.[3] The contemporary chronicler surely exaggerates when he says that every one had plenty of gold and silver, and no woman was without ornaments, and no home was wanting in excellent beds and coaches. We may reasonably conclude from the price list furnished by Afif that the economic conditions towards the middle of the fourteenth century at least in Northern India were highly favourable.

The age of economic distress began towards the close of the fourteenth century. The empire broke up into several

[1] Yule, Travels of Marco Polo, II, p. 276.

[2] Elliot, III, p. 347.

[3] Elliot, III, p. 303.
For cheapness of prices see 'The Chronicles of Pathan Kings,' p. 283.

independent states, and Timur's invasion in 1399 caused much confusion and drained the wealth of the country. Trade and agriculture were dislocated, and the cities that lay on the route of the invader were robbed of their wealth. The empire of Delhi lost its importance, and provincial kingdoms became famous for their wealth, military resources and architectural activities, which have been described in their proper place.

A contemporary notice of the kingdom of Bengal by Mahuan, an interpreter, attached to the Chinese envoy Cheng Ho, who visited Bengal in 1406 A.D., throws much light upon the social and economic condition of the country. Mahuan writes :—

> " The rich build ships in which they carry on commerce with foreign nations ; many are engaged in trade and a goodly number occupy themselves with agricultural pursuits ; while others exercise their crafts as mechanics. . . . . The currency of the country is a silver coin called the *tang-ka,* which is two Chinese mace in weight. It is one inch and two-tenths in diameter, and is engraved on either side with this coin, but for small purchases they use a sea-shell called by foreigners *kao-li.*"[1]

The traveller mentions two crops of rice in a year and says that wheat, sesamum, all kinds of pulse, millet, ginger, mustard, onions, hemp, quash, brinjals, and vegetables of many kinds grow in that country in abundance. They have several kinds of fruits among which the plantain is included. Tea is not grown in the country and the people offer betel instead of tea to their guests. Fermented liquor is prepared from cocoanut, rice, tarry, and kadjang is sold in the market-place. Among local manufactures the traveller mentions five or six fine cotton fabrics,[2] and says that silk handkerchiefs

[1] Phillips on "The Chinese Account of Bengal in 1406" in the J. R. A. S., 1895, pp. 530-31.

The observations of Mahuan embodied in this article are as valuable as those of Marco Polo, Ibn Batūtā, and Friar Odoric.

[2] J. R. A. S., 1895, p. 531.

and caps, embroidered with gold, painted ware, basins, cups, steel, guns, knives, and scissors are all manufactured in the country. A kind of white paper is also made from the bark of a tree which is smooth and glossy like the skin of deer.[1]

The latter half of the fifteenth century was a time of economic prosperity and all our authorities agree in saying that prices were remarkably low and men never felt any want.

Art.

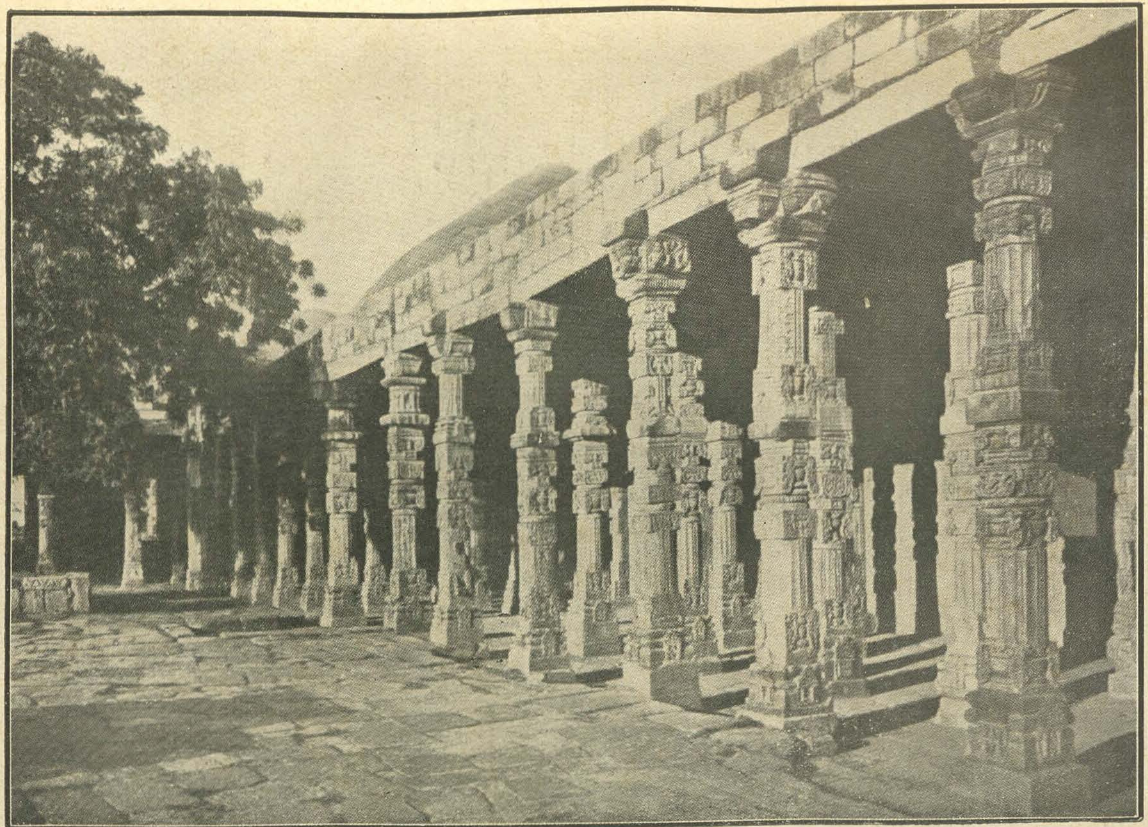
Before the Muslim conquest India had developed her own peculiar art and her master-builders had raised numerous shrines and monasteries which were exquisite creations of their genius. Art, both in the Hindu and the Buddhist periods, flourished remarkably under court patronage and private munificence, and the remains of ancient buildings bear eloquent testimony to the artistic skill of Indian craftsmen of the pre-Musalman days. When the Muslims conquered India and employed the Hindu craftsmen in their service, they modified the technique of the art to suit their monotheistic tendencies, and consequently we find in early buildings a great deal of the simplicity and severity of the puritanical creed. European scholars are in the habit of tracing foreign influences in Indian art, and Fergusson has laid much stress upon what he calls the Indo-Saracenic style, but this view is not accepted by Havell who is an equally competent authority. The storm of Muslim invasions did not disturb the Hindu master-builders whose cosmopolitan habits easily enabled them to adapt themselves to the new environment created by the Muslim conquest. They continued to build for their Muslim masters just as they had done for the Hindus, Jains, and Buddhists and, according to Havell, never resorted to foreign models for imitation. The same distinguished art critic suggests that the whole of Muslim architecture in India bears this distinctive impress of the soil to which it belongs—that its structural ideas and symbolism are nearly always essentially Indian, not foreign

[1] J. R. A. S., 1895, p. 532.

importations. This view may not command universal acceptance. But it may be safely asserted that with the growth of Muslim culture, the art began to modify itself to suit the taste of its new patrons, and although the Hindu craftsmen may not have borrowed largely from foreign countries of Western Asia, they freely accepted the decorative suggestions, and allowed the Arabian calligraphist to follow his own rules of ornamentation.

The Arab conquest was merely an episode in Indian history—a temporary occupation without any important or far-reaching results. Though the Arabs reared no buildings, they appreciated Hindu culture and admired the skill of Indian architects and craftsmen. But the impact of Islam had no direct influence on Indian art until the eleventh century, when Mahmud of Ghazni's repeated raids made India feel the militant force of the belligerent civilisation which the Muslims brought with them. Mahmud of Ghazni admired the work of Indian craftsmen, and Firishta informs us that in a letter which he wrote to the governor of Ghazni he extolled the magnificence of the buildings of the city of Mathura in these words : " There are here a thousand edifices as firm as the faith of the faithful ; most of them of marble, besides innumerable temples ; nor is it likely this city has attained its present condition but at the expense of many millions of *dinars*, nor should such another be constructed under a period of two centuries."[1] He was so struck with the skill of the Hindu architects that he carried to Ghazni thousands of masons and craftsmen, whom he employed in building the famous mosque known as the " celestial bride." Mahmud was followed by successful generals who accomplished the conquest of Northern India during the years 1193—1236 A.D. Muhammad of Ghor's defeat of the Chohan Prince of Delhi laid the foundations of the Muslim empire in Hindustan, and the task of subduing the independent chieftains and settling the country was ably carried

[1] Briggs, I, pp. 58-59.



View of East Colonnade of Qutb-ud-din's Original Mosque.

out by his generals, Qutb-ud-din and Īltutmish. The principal monuments erected in the reigns of these princes were the mosque at Ajmer, the Qutb mosque and minar at Delhi, the gateway of the chief mosque at Badāon, and the tomb of Sultan Īltutmish at Delhi. Most of these buildings were built out of the materials of demolished temples, and it is said that no less than twenty-seven Hindu temples were destroyed to furnish materials for the erection of the Qutb mosque. Hindu craftsmen were employed to construct these buildings and the influences of Hindu architecture are still traceable in them. The most striking thing in the Qutb mosque is the screen of eleven pointed arches, of which Fergusson speaks in terms of great admiration. The Qutb minar[1] which was finally completed by Īltutmish is named after the famous saint Qutb-ud-din of Ush near Baghdad, who is popularly known as Qutb Shah. The minaret which is nearly 242 feet high was very largely the work of Hindu builders who modified their tastes in practice in order to suit the puritanical tastes of Islam.

During the first decade of the fourteenth century the Islamic power increased enormously under Alauddin. He enunciated boldly an imperial policy and brought the countries of the north and south to acknowledge his sway. Though his time was largely spent in wars, he ordered the construction of several forts, tanks, and palaces. According to Sir Syed Ahmad, the fort of Siri was built by him in the year 1303 near a village of the same name at a distance of two miles to the north-east of Qila Rai Pithaura. The walls of the fort were built of stone and masonry and its fortifications were extremely strong.[2] The palace of *Hazar Situn* (or thousand pillars) was built by Alauddin, and Barani writes that

[1] For a full account of the Qutb minar the reader is referred to Mr. Page's 'Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India.'

[2] See Timur's description of the fort of Siri in Sharaf-ud-din's *Zafarnama*. Elliot, III, p. 504.

the heads of thousands of Mongols were buried in the foundations and the walls of this magnificent building, where the Sultan displayed the abundant wealth which Kafur had brought from the Deccan. There was a distinct advance in Indo-Muslim architecture as is evidenced by the gateway of Alauddin Khilji built in 1310. But the so-called Pathan rulers of Delhi were no great builders, and Havell rightly observes that the oft-quoted phrase that the Pathans built like Titans and finished like goldsmiths conveys a historical fallacy.[1] The fourteenth century was a period of great stress and storm in the history of the Delhi Sultanate. The Mongols hammered at the gates of Delhi ; the Hindu Rajas in the north as well as in the south sullenly brooded over their loss of independence and frequently hoisted the flag of revolt, while the turbulent Muslim nobility added considerably to the difficulties of the imperial government. War at home and abroad was the one all-absorbing pre-occupation of the time on which the state concentrated its full attention. The tense political situation is reflected in the massiveness and extreme simplicity of the architecture of the Tughluq period. The state did not aim at architectural "propaganda," for it was busy in guarding itself against foreign danger. The most remarkable example of this style of architecture is the tomb of Tughluq Shah, whose massive grandeur strangely contrasts with the exquisitely fine work of later ages.[2] Muhammad Tughluq,

[1] Havell, Indian Architecture, p. 39.

[2] Fergusson's opinion is precisely the same. He writes : "The sloping walls and almost Egyptian solidity of this mausoleum, combined with the bold and massive towers of the fortifications that surround it, form a picture of a warrior's tomb unrivalled anywhere, and a singular contrast with the elegant and luxuriant garden tombs of the more settled and peaceful dynasties that succeeded."

History of Architecture, II, p. 653.

Smith, A History of Fine Art in India, p. 398.

Cunningham, Archæological Reports, I, p. 216.

Mr. Sharp's article on the 'Buildings of the Tughluqs' in the Historical Record Commission Report (IV, pp. 34—41) contains much useful information.



Tomb of Tughluq Shah, Delhi,

who came to the throne in 1325, was a man accomplished in all the arts and sciences of the age, but the disorders of his reign prevented him from attempting any great works of art. Besides the forts and outposts built and repaired by the Sultan in the various parts of his wide empire, he founded the city of Jahanpanah, wherein he built a palace for himself called the *Hazar Situn*, of which Ibn Batūtā has given a detailed account.[1] Firuz was a magnificent builder who spent vast sums of money on towns, palaces, mosques, tanks, and gardens during his long and peaceful reign. Shams-i-Siraj Afif mentions the numerous buildings erected in his time and in the *Fatuhat-i-Firuz Shahi* the beneficent monarch dwells at length upon his architectural activities. New buildings and tanks were constructed and old ones were repaired.[2] As he was a bigot, the austerity of the new style remained undisturbed, and it was left for the provincial dynasties that arose after his death to impart an unprecedented stimulus to artistic activity. The craftsmen of these small Muslim states built some of the most splendid edifices which exist to this day, and revived the finest traditions of Hindu culture in their mosques, palaces, gardens, and wells. The close of the fourteenth century synchronises

It inspires awe by reason of its austere appearance and the simplicity of its design. It is the plainest monument of a blameless man who lived unostentatiously through life and who rescued the Islamic power from decay.

[1] Ibn Batūtā, Paris ed., III, pp. 217—20.

The Moorish traveller writes that the pillars of this palace were made of wood.

The new city of Jahanpanah was a spacious town with thirteen gates, six of which opened towards the north-west, one towards the Hauz Khas, and the rest towards the south-east.

Badr-i-Chach highly praises the palace of Khurramabad which was erected by the famous architect Zahir-ul-Jayūsh. Elliot, III, p. 572.

The author of the ***Masalik-al-absar*** speaks of great monasteries, large, open spaces, and numerous baths in the city of Delhi. Elliot, III, p. 576.

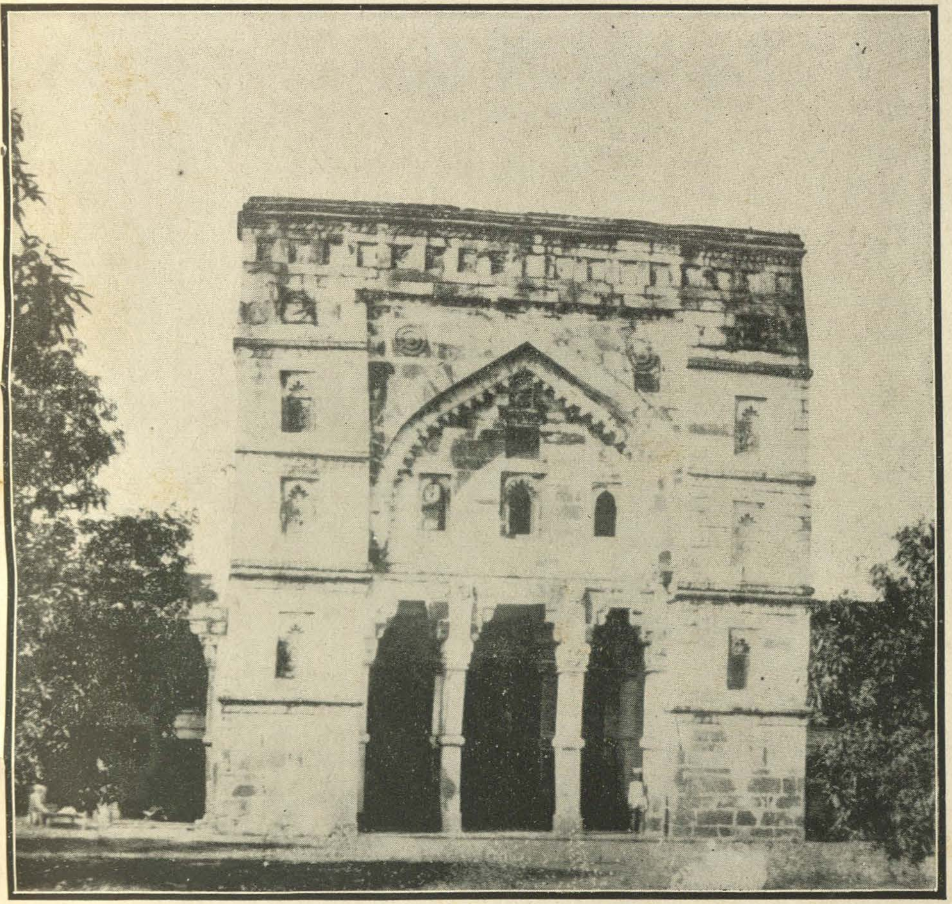
[2] For a full account of Firuz's buildings, see Elliot, III, pp. 354-55 and 383—85, and the Chronicles of Pathan Kings, pp. 289—95. Much useful information is contained in the Archæological Survey Reports and Mr. Zafar Husain's Monograph on the Monuments of Delhi.

with the beginning of the renaissance of Indo-Muslim architecture.

The kings of Jaunpur were great patrons of art and learning. The buildings which they have left behind bear eloquent testimony to their magnificent architectural tastes. Their distinctive feature is that they "show an interesting and original synthesis of Hindu and Muslim structural ideas which had its parallel in the attempt made by Husain Shah of Gaur to found a religious cult called *Satyapir* with the object of uniting Muhammadan and Hindu in divine worship."[1] The Atālā masjid which was completed during the Sultanate of Ibrahim (1401—39 A.D.), the Jam-i-masjid, which was built in the time of Husain Shah (1452—78 A.D.), the Lal Darwaza mosque, and the broken façade of the Jhanjeeri and the Khalis Mukhlis are some of the finest specimens of Muslim architecture in India. These buildings were constructed out of the materials of demolished temples, but there is no doubt that the Sharqi rulers left no stone unturned to use this material to the best advantage. As Führer writes, these noble monuments of art were built mostly by Hindu masons, but it does not appear that they worked under foreign guidance. Obviously they were allowed to follow the canons of their own art so long as their creations satisfied the requirements of Islamic ritual. The most interesting and ornate of these buildings is the Atālā mosque which is a curious blending of Hindu and Muslim traditions. Burgess writes thus of the Sharqi architecture :—

"The whole of the ornamental work on these mosques has a character of its own, bold and striking rather than

[1] Havell, A Hand Book of Indian Art, p. 119. Tradition says, Husain Shah sought to establish the cult of Satyapir which is compounded of two words—Satya, a Sanskrit word and Pir which is an Arabic word. Dinesh Chandra Sen, History of Bengali Language and Literature, p. 797. Dr. Sen writes that in the religious literature of Bengal there are several poems dedicated to the worship of this new deity which represents an amalgam of Hindu and Muslim influences.



Front of Lal Darwaza Masjid, Jaunpur.

minute and delicate, though in some of the roof-panels there are designs that may bear comparison with similar patterns on Hindu and Jain shrines. The *mihrabs* are marked by their severe simplicity ; they are simply patterns of the entrances and of the niches on the outer walls, with flat backs and structural arches over them. They form a link, however, in the evolution of the favourite form under the Mughal rule."[1]

The province of Gaur separated from the empire of Delhi after the successful rebellion of Fakhr-ud-din Mubarak Shah. The Sunni iconoclasts demolished Hindu temples and Buddhist monasteries and in their places raised mosques, and developed a new style of architecture, which is different from that of Delhi and Jaunpur, and the principal characteristic of which has been described by Fergusson as consisting in the heavy short pillars of stone supporting pointed arches and vaults in brick. The buildings of Bengal are made entirely of brick and seem to bear traces of the imitation of Hindu temple architecture. The most remarkable buildings at Gaur are the tomb of Husain Shah, the greater and lesser Golden Mosques, and the Qadam Rasūl built by Sultan Nusrat Shah. The Small Golden or Eunuch's Mosque is a solidly constructed building which " is covered inside and out with beautifully chiselled designs including the Indian lotus." But the most striking of all these according to art critics is the Adīnā mosque at Pandua, twenty miles from Gaur, which was built by Sultan Sikandar Shah in 1368.[2]

The most beautiful of all provincial styles of architecture was that of Gujarat. During the pre-Muslim days Gujarat was under the influence of Jainism, but Jain architecture, always chaste and elegant, was essentially Hindu. Originally it was based upon the Brahmanical conceptions of life and religion, but in course of time it was modified to suit Jain ideas. When

[1] Imperial Gaz., II, p. 185.

[2] For a fuller account of these buildings see Imp. Gaz., II, pp. 188–93.

the Muslims conquered the country, the problem before them was, as Fergusson observes, to convert a pagan style of architecture to the purposes of a religion abominating idolatry. The master-builders whom the Muslims employed in constructing their great edifices adopted Hindu and Jain designs with necessary modifications which the ritual of Islam suggested to them.[1] The Jain temple of Abu, finished in 1032 A.D., one of the finest specimens of Jain art, served as a source of inspiration to the master-craftsmen who were employed by the Muslim Sultans of Gujarat. Ahmad Shah was a great builder. He founded the city of Ahmadabad in the first half of the fifteenth century and built mosques and palaces. He was purely Indian in his prepossessions, and in the construction of his Jam-i-masjid he gave a free hand to his craftsmen. The royal mosque bore a strong resemblance to Rana Kumbha's temple at Rampur, which goes to show that the builders in the service of the Hindus and Muslims were generally of the same race, and in Havell's words possessed an equal capacity for dealing with any constructive or purely artistic work which their rulers might be pleased to place in their hands.[2] Numerous buildings were erected during the fifteenth century at Ahmadabad, Cambay, Champanir, and in other important places. One of the most beautiful buildings is the mosque of Muhafiz Khan which was built towards the close of the fifteenth century. Besides mosques and tombs

[1] Dr. Burgess writes that the Muhammadan architecture of Ahmadabad is so essentially derived from the local Jain forms which it replaced, that without some knowledge of the former it is impossible to understand the peculiar merits of that most pleasing variety of the Saracenic architecture of India. It would be as difficult to understand the forms of the renaissance of Italian art, introduced by Michael Angelo and Palladio, without a knowledge of the Roman art on which it is based.

Archæological Survey of Western India, pt. II, pp. 11-12.

[2] Havell, Indian Architecture, p. 68.

Havell, Aryan Rule, pp. 341-42.

Fergusson, who generally represents the Saracenic builder as the inspirer of Hindu art, is constrained to admire the elegant style of Gujarat, and comparing the temple at Rampur with the mosque, he feels that there is some poetry in the former, but he guards himself by saying that there is a sobriety about the plan of the mosque which after all may be better taste. Havell, Aryan Rule, pp. 341-42.



Masjid of Muhafiz Khan, Ahmadabad.

Gujarat is famous for its step-wells and irrigation works and public orchards. The finest of these step-wells is at Asarwa near Ahmadabad. The ancient and mediæval architecture of Gujarat has been exhaustively dealt with by Dr. Burgess in five splendid volumes of the Archaeological Survey. Ahmadabad still retains much of its old architectural skill and the present town is adorned with numerous beautiful buildings which have been constructed through the munificence of its opulent merchants.

There was considerable building activity in the Muslim state of Malwa in the fifteenth century.[1] The architecture of Mandu is peculiarly Muslim and bears a close resemblance to that of Delhi. The massive buildings that exist to this day bear testimony to the power and magnificence of the Sultans of Mandu. Some of the most remarkable buildings are the Jam-i-masjid, the Hindola Mahal, the Jahaz Mahal, the tomb of Hushang Shah, and the palaces of Baz Bahadur and Rupmati.

The building activity of the Bahmani kings has been alluded to in a previous chapter. The Bahmanids encouraged architecture by founding cities and buildings, mosques and fortresses. The mosques at Gulburga and Bidar are noble specimens of Deccan art. But the most remarkable architecture is that of Bijapur among the Deccan kingdoms. The magnificent tomb of Muhammad Adil Shah, known as the Gol Gumbaz, has a peculiar style which, in the opinion of a competent critic, reveals traces of Ottoman influence. The buildings of the Adil Shahi kings of Bijapur are scarcely inferior to any other buildings in India in grandeur of conception and boldness of construction. The kings of Bijapur were great builders. The huge city wall begun by Yusuf and completed by Ali and the mosque erected by the latter still testify to their magnificent architectural designs. Some of the tombs and mausoleums are wonderful works of art which combines both Indian and foreign influences

[1] A detailed account of the buildings of Dhar and Mandu is given in the J. Bomb. B. R. A. S., 1903, pp. 339—90.

Colleges and libraries were built by these kings which have been destroyed by the ravages of time.

The ancient buildings of Vijayanagar have been described with remarkable fullness by Mr. Longhurst of the Archaeological Survey Department, Southern Circle, in a valuable monograph entitled "Hampi Ruins." The kings of Vijayanagar had a great enthusiasm for building council chambers, public offices, irrigation works, acqueducts, temples and palaces which were richly decorated. Nuniz speaks of the 'wonderful' system of irrigation which prevailed throughout the city and the large tanks in which water was stored. Inside the royal citadel, there were numerous palaces, chambers, and pleasure-gardens. Within the enclosure meant for the royal ladies there was a large number of buildings, the most beautiful of which was the lotus mahal—a pretty little pavilion with an upper storey containing some excellent stucco ornament. It was a fine example of Indian architecture. It would be wearisome to describe the numerous temples of Vijayanagar which were raised under Brahmanical influence. The most remarkable of these, however, was the Vithala temple described by Fergusson as a most characteristic specimen of the Dravidian style.[1] It was begun by Kriṣṇa Deva Rāya, but it was never completed nor consecrated. The building operations were suspended in 1565 when the city was destroyed by the Muslims. Though the decorative work on the pillars and walls has been damaged by Muslim vandalism, it is still the "finest building of its kind in southern India," and in the words of Fergusson "shows the extreme limit in florid magnificence to which the style advanced." Sculpture and painting were not unknown, and it appears that artists acquired considerable proficiency in these branches, as is shown by the accounts of the Portuguese chroniclers and the Persian envoy, Abdur Razzāq.

[1] Fergusson, History of Architecture, I, p. 401.
Longhurst, Hampi Ruins, pp. 124—32.
Annual Report, Archæological Department, Southern Circle, Madras, pp. 45-46.

Literature.

It is beyond the scope of the present work to deal exhaustively with the various aspects of Mediæval literature, and therefore all that can be done here is to indicate the main lines of advance in literary growth. It would be wrong to suppose that the early Muslims were mere savage conquerors, and that Indian intellect remained in a state of torpor from 800 to 1500 A. D. Some of the Muslim kings took great interest in belles-lettres, and under their patronage literature of a high order was produced. The prince of poets was Amir Khusrau, the parrot of Hind, whose many works testify to the boundless fertility of his muse. It was his singular good fortune to have enjoyed the favour of several kings in succession who extended their patronage to him. Khusrau was not merely a poet ; he was also a fighter and a man of action and took part in several campaigns of which he has given account in his works. It is impossible here to attempt a detailed criticism of his works, which will require a volume by itself. Suffice it to say that he was a gifted bard and singer, whose flights of fancy, command over the instrument of language, the variety of subjects, and the marvellous ease and grace with which he describes human passions and emotions and the scenes of love and war place him among the greatest poets of all time. He was also a prose writer, and although we cannot credit him with terseness and lucidity of style, for in his *Khazāyan-ul-Fatūh* fancy predominates over sense, he must be declared a master of poetical prose. Besides being a great poet, Khusrau was a master-musician, well-versed in the technicalities of the art, as is illustrated by his discussions with Gopal Nayak, the renowned Hindu singer of the 14th century.[1] Khusrau's contemporary,

[1] Shibli, Shair-ul-Ajam, II, p. 136.

Shibli bases his account on the *Rāgdārpana* of which he says he has an old MS. The original Sanskrit work was prepared at the request of Raja Man Singh of Gwalior, and in 1073 A.H. (662-63 A.D.) it struck the eyes of Faqir Ullah who translated it into Persian. It was probably completed in 1665-66 A.D. The original Sanskrit name of the work was "*Mānkutūhal,*"

Mir Hasan Dehlwi, was a poet of considerable eminence. He is described by Abdul Haq Dehlwi as "musical and most pleasing." The poet entered the service of Prince Muhammad at Lahore and remained for five years at his court. When the prince died fighting against the Mongols, he wrote a lament in prose over his death which is reproduced in Badāonī's pages.[1] Subsequently the poet adorned the court of Muhammad Tughluq, who was one of the most accomplished princes of the time. He composed a *Diwan* and wrote the memoirs of his patron-saint, Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Aulia, which he completed in 720 A.H. After writing poetry for fifty years, he died at Daulatabad in 727-28 A.H.[2] Another poet who acquired much celebrity in his age was Badr-ud-din, more familiarly known as Badr-i-Chach from his native city of Chach or Tashkand. He attended the court of Muhammad Tughluq and composed odes in his praise. His poetry is difficult, full of conceits and puns, and loaded with imagery. Among writers of historical prose, the most distinguished are Minhaj-us-Siraj, Zia-ud-din Barani, Shams-i-Siraj Afif, Ain-ul-mulk Multani and Ghulam Yahya bin Ahmad, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi.* Minhaj-us-Siraj, the author of the *Tabqat-i-Nasiri,* is not, as Abdul Haq Dehlwi suggests, a master of the art of pure and elegant writing, but his style is characterised by a certain brevity, boldness, and vigour which we miss in other writers of the time. Zia Barani is a prolix writer of highly embellished prose. According to his own statement he composed his *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* with

Ethé, Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the India Office Library, I, pp. 1120-21.

[1] Ranking, Al-Badāonī, I, pp. 188—96.

[2] Badāonī's date is 727-28 A.H., I, pp. 271-72.
Badāonī clearly says that he died in the year in which Sultan Muhammad laid waste Delhi and built Daulatabad. Ranking in a footnote wrongly places this event in 739 A.H., I, p. 270, note 6.
The author of the Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the India Office Library says, he probably died in 727 A.H. (1327 A.D.) which is correct. I, p. 707.

great labour and tried to make it a compendium of all kinds of useful knowledge. Barani enjoyed the patronage of Muhammad Tughluq and Firuz Tughluq, but he died poor and forlorn in the early part of Firuz's reign. Shams-i-Siraj who continued Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* is more methodical and careful in his treatment of the subject than his predecessor. But like all oriental writings, his work is full of the eulogies of his patron, unnecessary repetitions, and exuberances of eloquence, which were doubtless the stock-in-trade of literary men in his day.

Among the literati of Muhammad Tughluq's court was Maulana Muaiyyan-ud-din Umrani, the author of the commentaries on the Husaini, Talkhis, and Miftah. The Sultan sent him to Shiraz with an invitation to Qazi Abdul Mullatwa-ud-din Alichi in order to request him to write a work dedicated to his royal patron. But when the ruler of the country came to know of his mission, he dissuaded the Qazi from going to India. Besides the Maulana, there were other poets, logicians, philosophers, and physicians at the court with whom the Sultan used to hold discussions. During the reign of Firuz, Maulana Khwajagi, Ahmad Thanesari, and Qazi Abdul Muqtadir Shanihi are mentioned as the most distinguished literary men of the time. The Qazi was a man of vast knowledge. He composed poetry in Persian and Arabic, and his Arabic verses are superior even to his Persian productions. The *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar* is a testimony to the genius of Ahmad Thanesari. Ain-ul-Mulk Multani, who held important offices in the state under Alauddin, Muhammad Tughluq, and Firuz Tughluq, was also one of the shining lights of the literary firmament. Shams-i-Siraj Afif writes of him: "Ain-ul-mulk was a clever and accomplished man of the highest ability. He wrote some excellent books during the reigns of Muhammad Tughluq and Firuz Tughluq. One of them is the *Ain-ul-Mulki*, a popular and approved work." One of his works which has come down to us is the *Munshat-i-Mahru* also called "*Insha-i-Mahru*" which is a collection of letters and

despatches, which are models of official correspondence. They give much valuable information regarding the political, social, and religious condition of India during his time. Yahya, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, is a writer of simple and elegant prose, whose meaning is never obscured by flights of fancy. His history is valuable for the period during which the author lived and in many respects corrects and supplements Minhaj, Barani and Afif. A great deal of literature was produced under the provincial dynasties of which some mention has already been made.[1] Jaunpur was a well-known seat of learning. Ibrahim attracted to his court men of letters by means of his liberal bounty. Qazi Shihab-ud-din Daulatabadi was a famous writer who wrote the *Hawash-Kafiah*, *Irshad*, and *Bad-ul-Bayan*. Maulana Shaikh Ilahdad of Jaunpur wrote expositions of the Hedaya. Philosophical literature was not wanting and Mughiṣ Hasnavi's discourses on metaphysical and practical subjects are not unknown to students of eastern literature. Other famous writers of the time were Zahir Dehlwi on whom the title of Zahir was conferred by Sikandar Lodi, Maulana Hasan Nashqi, Maulana Ali Ahmad Nishani, and Nurul Haq.[2]

The Muslim scholars were not altogether devoid of a knowledge of Sanskrit. It is erroneously supposed that Sanskrit works were first translated into Persian in Akbar's time.[3]

[1] See N. N. Law's Summary of the Progress of Muhammadan Learning under the Provincial Dynasties.

Promotion of Learning in India during Muhammadan Rule, pp. 80—113.

[2] Elliot, VI, p. 487.

[3] Elliot writes of the Persian translation of a Sanskrit work on astrology which he saw at Lakhnau in the library of Nawab Jalal-ud-dowlah. This translation was made in Firuz Tughluq's reign.

He mentions another work on the veterinary art which he saw in the royal library at Lucknow, which was translated into Persian by order of Ghiyas-ud-din Muhammad Shah Khilji as early as A.H. 783 (1381 A.D.). The name of the work is *Garrut-ul-mulk*. It professes to be a translation of a Sanskrit work called *Salotar*. The name of the king is doubtful for in 1381 there was no Khilji king on the throne of Delhi or anywhere else. Elliot thinks that the work was written much earlier than Akbar's reign. Elliot, VI, 573-74. Appendix, pp. 573-74.

Mention has already been made of the influence of Sanskrit upon Arab culture. The Arabs had learnt much from Hindu medicine, philosophy, and astronomy, and during the caliphate of Al-Mamūn, the Augustan age of Arabian literature, Arab scholars cultivated a knowledge of Sanskrit as is evidenced by Muhammad bin Mūsā's treatise on Algebra and the medical treatises of Mikah and Ibn Dahan. Al Biruni, who came to India in the train of Mahmud of Ghazni, acquired a knowledge of Sanskrit and translated Sanskrit works into Arabic. In the fourteenth century when Firuz Tughluq captured the fort of Nagarkot, he seized a Sanskrit library which contained valuable works. He ordered Maulana Īz-ud-din Khalid Khani to translate a work on philosophy, divination, and omens into Persian and entitled it *Dalayal-i-Firuz Shahi.* During the reign of Sikandar Lodi a medical treatise was translated from Sanskrit into Persian which has been mentioned in a previous chapter.

It is impossible to attempt here a complete account of the vast literature, secular and religious, that was produced by the Hindus during the early middle ages. The virility and vigour of the Hindu mind was not extinguished by Muslim conquest, and though state patronage was denied to Hindu literature in northern India, it continued to flourish in centres away from Muslim influence. There was an abundant outcrop of religious and philosophical literature. In the eleventh century, Rāmānuja wrote his commentaries on the *Brahma Sūtras* in which he expounded his doctrine of *Bhakti* which was, according to him, only a mode of *jñana.* Pārthasārathi Misra wrote a number of works on the *Karma Mīmāṃsā* about 1300 A.D. of which the *Śāstra Dīpikā* was the most widely studied.[1] Several works were written during this period to expound the doctrines of Yoga, Vaiśeṣika, and Nyāya systems of philosophy. Logic was assiduously cultivated by

[1] Farquhar, An Outline of the Religious Literature of India, pp. 220-21.

Buddhists at Vikramasila, and by the Jains who produced several works. The greatest Jain logician was Deva Suri who flourished in the twelfth century.[1] The leaders of the *Bhakti* movement made valuable contributions to philosophical literature, and their works were widely studied by their followers. Lyrical poetry was also written, and an excellent specimen of it is Jayadeva's *Gīta Govinda* which was probably written in the twelfth century A.D. It describes the love of Krisṇa and Rādhā, their estrangement and final union, and the sports of Krisṇa with the milkmaids of Vraj. The beauty, sweetness, cadence of words and the wealth of emotions are all worthy of praise. Jayadeva has treated his theme with wonderful skill and attained great perfection of form by combining grace of diction with ease in handling the most intricate metres.[2] Professor Keith's praise is equally warm. He says: "Jayadeva is a master of form and diction, and above all he is not merely of remarkable skill in metre, but he is able to blend sound to emotion in a manner that renders any effort to represent his work in translation utterly inadequate."[3] The Muslim conquest had a depressing effect on the drama, and Professor Keith rightly observes: "The drama doubtless took refuge in those parts of India where Muslim power was slowest to extend, but even there Muhammadan potentates gained authority, and drama can have been seldom worth performing or composing, until the Hindu revival asserted the Indian national spirit, and gave an encouragement to the renewal of an ancient national glory."[4] Among the numerous dramas pro-

[1] Farquhar, An Outline of the Relgious Literature of India, p. 225.
The Sanskrit grammarian Hemachandra was a Jain and the two northern recensions of the Panchatantra bear the impress of Jain influence. According to Macdonnell the most prosperous period of Jainism was from 950 to 1300 A.D. Imp. Gaz., II, p. 261.

[2] Macdonnell on Sanskrit Literature. Imp. Gaz., II, p. 243.

[3] Keith, Classical Sanskrit Literature, Heritage of India Series, p. 121.

[4] Keith, The Sanskrit Drama, p. 242.
D. C. Sen, The Vaiṣṇava Literature of Mediæval Bengal, pp. 29—32.

duced during the period, the most noteworthy are *Harikeli Nāṭaka* and *Lalitāvigraharāja Nāṭaka* written in the twelfth century, *Prasanna Rāghava* by the logician Jayadeva (1200 A.D.), *Hammīr-mada-mardana* by Jaya Singh Suri (1219—29 A. D.), *Pradyumnābhyudaya* by the Kerala prince Ravivarman (born in 1266 A.D.), *Pratāp Rudra Kalyān* by Vidyānāth (1300 A.D.), *Pārvatī Pariṇaya* by Vāmana Bhatta Bāna (1400 A.D.), *Gangādās Pratāp Vilās* by Gaṅgādhara, which celebrates the struggle of a Champanir prince against Muhammad II of Gujarat (1443—52 A.D.), and the *Vidagdha Mādhava* and the *Lalitā Mādhava* composed by Rūpa Goswāmī, minister of Husain Shah, about 1532 A.D.[1] The dramas of Rūpa reveal poetical powers of a high order and in the words of Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen they " prove that religion and faith are no bitter deeds for deceased souls, and that asceticism is not to be always associated with skeleton forms tortured by self-denial and austerities." Jīva Goswāmī was also a prolific writer. He wrote as many as 25 works in Sanskrit all distinguished by uncommon learning and power of assimilation.

Regarding legal literature it may be said that some of our best commentaries were written during this period. Vijñāneśvara wrote the *Mitākṣarā,* his famous commentary on Yājñavalkya, according to Macdonnell in 1100 A.D. In the first quarter of the twelfth century[2] lived Jīmūta Vāhana, the author of the *Dāyabhāga,* which forms the basis of the modern law of inheritance and partition in Bengal. From the thirteenth century to the fifteenth, Smriti literature " flourished in Mithilā so luxuriantly that the writers came to be regarded as forming a separate school." A number of writers arose, the most famous of whom are Padma Dutta Bhatta, Vidyāpati Upādhyāya and Vāchaspati Misra, who flourished in the second half of the fifteenth century. Astronomy

[1] For a rapid summary of works on Drama and their peculiarities see Keith's Sanskrit Drama, pp. 244—51.

[2] Mano Mohan Chakravarti's article on Smriti Literature in Mithila (J. A. S. B., 1915, p. 313) is full of valuable information.

was not neglected, and the last great Indian astronomer Bhāskarāchārya was born in 1114 A.D. But it is regrettable to note that Sanskrit scholars, a great many of whom were men of rare acumen and intelligence, paid no attention to history, and the only work which has any pretensions to be called a historical treatise is Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* or 'River of Kings' which was composed towards the middle of the twelfth century.

Mithilā fortunately escaped the ravages which invariably followed the Muslim conquests. Protected by the *tarai* on the north and on the south, east, and west by the rivers, the Ganges, the Kauśikī, and the Gandakī respectively, it enjoyed a period of peace which enabled scholars to carry on their literary pursuits without let or hindrance. In the 14th century the rulers of the Kārnāṭa dynasty encouraged Sanskrit learning. Smritic studies were revived and developed by Chandeśvara and other eminent scholars. A school of grammar was founded by Padma Bhatta, and Bhava Datta Misra wrote on rhetoric and erotics. The commentary of Bhava Datta on Naiṣadha which is still studied with interest was written during this period. Efforts were made to develop the Maithil vernacular which received the attention of several learned Pandits. Vidyāpati Thākur, who wrote in Sanskrit, Hindi, and Maithili, flourished towards the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century. The genius of Bengal was not dormant. The Bengali scholars wrote on *Nyāya, Smriti, Bhaktidarśana,* and Raghunandan Misra's work on Smriti is too well-known to need any mention.

Nowhere was literary activity more manifest than in the south which never came under direct Muslim influence. The Hindu dynasties encouraged learning, and the cause of culture received a great impetus under the Vijayanagar kings. It is stated in one of the inscriptions that the Vijayanagar Prince Marappā with his minister Mādhava compiled the *Śiva-gama Stotra.* Sāyaṇa, the famous commentator on the Vedas, served as minister in the time of Hari Hara II, and his brother

Mādhava adorned the same office under Bukka. The princes of the Sāluva dynasty patronised letters and Kriṣṇa Deva Rāya was a liberal patron of Sanskrit and Telugu literature. The numerous inscriptions show that a knowledge of Sanskrit was widely diffused and court poets and writers were pastmasters in drafting official documents.

During this period the Jains produced a great deal of religious and secular literature. Alongside of writers on religion there were other writers such as Naga Chandra, better known as Abhinava Pampā, the author of the *Pampā Rāmāyaṇa,* and Hastimalla, the author of many Sanskrit plays, both of whom belonged to the south, Āsādhara, the author of various commentaries and works on Jain ethics and rituals, Prabhāchandra, the author of various Pauranic and ethical works, and Sakalakīrtti, who flourished about the middle of the fifteenth century. Of special interest is the *Apabhramśa* literature of the Jains that has come down to us from this period. It may be noted that rhyme which is regarded as a speciality of modern vernaculars is found profusely used in *Apabhramśa* works. The Jain writers of the Digambara school wrote their works in the language current among the people, and this gave a literary shape to the Kanarese and Tamil languages. The activities of the Śvetāmbara Jains up to the eleventh century were confined to the systematisation and exposition of their canonical works. But the period after the eleventh century is remarkable for the production of independent philosophical and poetical works. Among the writers of the period the most famous is Hemachandra.

The development of vernacular literature deserves a brief notice in this connection. The rise of the modern vernaculars of India cannot be dated in the present state of our knowledge earlier than the twelfth century. The earliest Hindi poet was Chandbardāī, the author of the famous epic, *Prithvi Raj Rasau,* a poem of 69 books and 100,000 stanzas, in which the warrior-poet gives an account of the life, the heroic exploits, and the amours of the Chohan Prince of Delhi. Legend and fiction are

so profusely mixed up with historical matter that it is difficult to extricate the latter from a mass of fictitious details. It seems probable that interpolations have been made by later writers from time to time. A distinguished contemporary[1] of Chand was Jagnayak, who wrote the *Ālhākhand*, a long poem which describes in stirring language the deeds of love and war of Ālhā and Ūdal, the two brave warriors of Parmardi or Parmāla of Mahobā. Among the writers who followed, the most famous names that have come down to us are Śārangdhara, the author of *Hammīr Rasau* and the *Hammīr Kāvya* which describe the events of the reign of the famous Rai Hammīr of Ranthambhor, Bhūpati, Mullā Dāūd, and the renowned Amīr Khusrau, of whom mention has already been made. Khusrau was essentially a Persian poet, but he was deeply interested in Hindi poetry and some verses are also ascribed to him. In his poem the '*Āshiqā*,' Khusrau praises the Hindi language and speaks of its richness in exposition and rhetoric.[2] In making a comparative estimate of Arabic, Persian, and Hindi, the poet writes :

> " . . . . . . But I was in error, for if you ponder the matter well, you will not find the Hindi words (language) inferior to the Parsi (Persian). It is inferior to the Arabic, which is the chief of all languages. The prevalent languages of Rai and Rūm (cities in Persia which Elliot wrongly writes as Rai and Ram), I know from reflecting well on the matter, to be inferior to the Hindi. . . . . .
>
> . . . The language of Hind is like the Arabic, inasmuch as neither admits of combination. If there is grammar and syntax in Arabic, there is not one letter less of them in the Hindi. If you ask whether there are the sciences of exposition and rhetoric, I answer that the Hindi is in no way deficient in those respects. Whoever possesses these three languages in his store, will know that I speak without error or exaggeration."[3]

[1] Keay, Hindi Literature, p. 15.
[2] Elliot, III, Appendix, p. 556.
[3] Elliot, III, Appendix, p. 556.

Khusrau's poetical writings contain many Sanskrit and Hindi words such as *Pradhāna, Sundar, Kāmin* and many others. Gorakhnāth is another writer of the fourteenth century, but his works have not yet been published.[1] A great impetus was given to the Hindi literature by the growth of the *Bhakti* movement in northern India. Some of the leaders of this cult wrote in Hindi and composed some of the finest devotional hymns that exist in the world's religious literature. Nāmadeva, the Marāthā saint, wrote principally in Marāthī, but he composed certain Hindi songs which are preserved in the *Grantha.* Rāmānand preached in the language of the people, and although not a great writer, he composed certain hymns one of which is preserved in the *Ādi Grantha.* The greatest disciple of Rāmānand was Kabīr, the founder of the Kabīr Panthī sect. With amazing boldness of wit, Kabīr started his iconoclastic campaign against religious conventions and idolatry, and exhorted men to realise God and lead pure and edifying lives. His sayings are embodied in the Sākhīs and the Raminīs which are striking examples of epigrammatic and aphoristic style. Though his poetry is not of a high order, it is the outpouring of a soul that passionately felt the call of the true faith and rebelled against that sham, quackery and charlatanism which passed for religion in his day. It possesses a force and a charm that profoundly impresses us. Keay rightly says that it was he more than any other before him who popularised Hindi religious literature and vastly extended its influence ; and Hindi literature of the same type subsequent to Kabīr owes to him a great debt.[2] Nānak, the founder of Sikhism, who followed Kabīr, composed

Nagari Pracharini Patrika, edited by G. H. Ojha and C. D. Guleri, II, p. 275.
Misra Bandhu Vinod, pt. I, pp. 239-40.
The authors of the Encyclopædia of Islam are wrong in saying that the dialect employed by Khusrau was Urdu rather than any form of *Brajbhāṣā.* J. A. S. B., XXII, p. 443. Encyclopædia, p. 313.

[1] The date assigned to him by the Misra Brothers is 1350 A.D. Misra Bandhu Vinod, pt. I, p. 111.

[2] Keay, Hindi Literature, p. 25.

hymns which are a mixture of Panjabi and Hindi, and, although he lacks the fervour, wit, and originality of Kabīr, his verse is "clear poetry not lacking in poetical excellence."[1] It was during this period that the Mewar Princess Mīrābāi expressed her love for Krisna in exquisite verse and moved the hearts of millions by her pathetic tenderness, the sincerity and earnestness of her devotion and the sweet melody of her songs. The preachers of the Rādhā-Krisṇa cult also made some contributions to the Hindi literature. Among the most distinguished are Vidyāpati Thākur of Mithilā and Vithalnāth who wrote a short prose work in *Brij Bhāṣā* dealing with the story of Rādhā and Krisṇa. The Misra Bandhus ascribe the authorship of the *Pārijāt Haraṇa* and the *Rukminī Pariṇaya* to Vidyāpati, but later research has shown that the former was written by Umāpati Upādhyāya in Maithil, while the authorship of the latter is still doubtful.[2]

There was development of vernacular literature during this period in Bengal, Gujarat, Maharashtra, and the distant south. The greatest early poet of Gujarat was Narsi Mehta who composed beautiful, short, religious songs which are still repeated by thousands. In Bengal a vernacular translation of the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* was prepared by Krittivāsa who was born in 1346 A.D. The learned historian of Bengali language and literature writes of it that "it is in fact the Bible of the people of the Gangetic valley and it is for the most part the peasants who read it."[3] Maladhar Basu who was a courtier of Nusrat Shah began translating the tenth and eleventh cantos of the *Bhāgavat* in 1473 and completed the work in 1480. At the command of Paragal Khan, a general of Husain Shah, Kavīndra Parameśvara undertook to translate the *Mahābhārata* and brought it down to the *Strī Parva*. The earliest recension

[1] One of his most famous compositions is the *Japji*, a collection of verses which he intended for use in daily prayer.

[2] Misra Bandhu Vinod, pt. I, p. 247.

[3] D. C. Sen, History of Bengali Language and Literature, p. 170.

of the *Mahābhārata* was prepared by a Brahman poet named Sanjaya who was, according to the historian of Bengali literature, a contemporary of Krittivāsa.[1] He writes in a forcible style and vividly describes martial feats. Space does not permit us to speak of the large volume of Chaitanya literature that was produced in Bengal during this period.

Nāmadeva largely wrote in Marāthī and some of his hymns are preserved in the *Grantha*. His contemporaries were Dnyanoba, who wrote a paraphrase of the *Bhagavad Gītā* and Mukandarāya who wrote on Vedānta.[2] The earliest works in Tamil and Kanarese were produced by the Jains, but in the 13th and 14th centuries a great impetus was given to literary effort by the Śaiva movement. The Telugu literature which dates from the twelfth century received much encouragement from the Vijayanagar kings. Kriṣṇa Deva Rāya took interest in letters and himself wrote a poem entitled the "*Amuktamālyada*" which has been mentioned before. His poet laureate, Allasani Peddana, was a writer of considerable original merit. Among his works the most famous is the *Svarochiśa-Manucharitra* which is based on a story from the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.

This is only a short summary of a vast mass of information, and the reader, if he wishes to be fully conversant with the varied aspects of mediæval learning, must have recourse to original authorities on the subject.

Brahmanism had fully established its triumph in India on the eve of the Muslim conquest. Buddhism and Jainism were protests against the tyranny of caste and the overweening claims of the priestly order. They struggled against their rival with all their might, and in certain states attained to an equal rank with it. Kings like Harṣa performed worship in accordance with the rituals of both, and gifts and benefactions were

Religious reform—The revival of the Bhakti cult.

[1] D. C. Sen, History of Bengali Language and Literature, p. 200.

[2] Grierson's Vernacular Literature, Imp. Gaz., II, p. 431.

bestowed upon Buddhists as well as Brahmans without distinction. But in this struggle for supremacy Brahmanism ultimately won and recovered its hold on the community. This success was in a large measure due to the efforts of Udayana and the untiring propaganda of Śankara, the greatest controversialist of the age, who assailed Buddhist doctrines with all the fire and passion of his soul, and by means of his dialectical skill worsted in debate his opponents all over the country. Buddhism disappeared from the country as a result of Śankara's crusades, while Jainism remained content with a moderate expression of dissent, and ceased to aspire to the role of a universal religion. But in Śankara's conception of *Sachchidānanda Brahma* as attributeless, there was no scope for *bhakti* which presupposes a personal God, endowed with infinite beautiful qualities. The doctrine of *māyā* or illusion left no room for the exercise of love and piety in the world of reality, and therefore it "laid the axe at the root of Vaiṣṇavism."[1] The later *bhakti* movement which saw its rise, in the eleventh century began as a protest against Śankara's *advaita* doctrine, and Rāmānuja wrote his commentary on the *Brahma Sūtras* mainly as a counterblast against Śankara's *bhāṣya* or commentaries, although it cannot be denied that Rāmānuja derived some of his inspiration from the Tamil saints who preceded him.[2] Thus the *bhakti* cult was revived, and in the hands of teachers who came after Rāmānuja it acquired a vast influence over men's minds. Meanwhile the progress of Hinduism continued. The spirit of compromise in Hinduism or Brahmanism was so powerful that it overcame all opposition by concessions and adaptations and assimilated the doctrines of other creeds into its own body. As Monier Williams says, Buddhism was drawn into Hinduism and Buddha was accepted as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.[3] The wonder-

[1] Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, p. 51.
[2] Ibid., p. 51.

[3] In the *Varaha Purana* we have the ten incarnations which came to be accepted later, containing the Fish, Tortoise, Buddha, and Kalkin

ful capacity for assimilation of this "all-tolerant, all-compliant, all-comprehensive, and all-absorbing religion "[1] brought into its fold men of different races who came into India from time to time ; but it failed to absorb the Musalmans who were zealously devoted to their own faith. For long, they remained a separate and distinct element in the population and practised the observances of their creed in their own way. But the impact of Hinduism and Islam could not fail to produce important consequences. Though there is not a trace of Muslim influence in Rāmānuja, from the fourteenth century onwards, Muslim ideas begin to have a conscious or unconscious effect upon the philosophical mind, and in the teachings of Nāmadeva, Kabīr, and Nānak we see a happy and harmonious blending of Hindu and Muslim influences. Impressed by the simplicity of the Muslim creed and its insistence upon the oneness of God, these reformers denounced idolatry and caste, and preached that true religion consisted neither in the sophistries and dogmas of philosophers and divines nor in the practice of meaningless ritual, but in *bhakti* or a passionate feeling of love of God. The Bhakti cult prospered wonderfully under the influence of the great teachers who followed the illustrious founder of *Viśiṣṭa advaita* and completely dominated the religious mind of India throughout the early middle ages.

The *Bhakti* movement first made its appearance in the shape of religious reform, like Buddhism and Jainism, as a reaction against the ritualistic religion of the Vedas. Its early name, according to Bhandarkar, was *Ekāntika Dharma* or the

in addition to the six that had gone before. In the time of Rāmānuja Buddha was one of the recognised incarnations of Viṣṇu.

Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, p. 42.

In a work called *Dharmaparīkṣā Amitagati* there is a mention of the ten incarnations which are the same as in the Varāha and Agni Purāṇas. The work is dated 1013 A.D. It appears that Buddha had come to be regarded as an *avatār* of *Viṣṇu* before the date of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*.

Monier Williams, Hinduism, p. 82.

[1] Ibid., p. 12.

religion of a single-minded love and devotion to one, and it was based upon the teachings of the *Bhagavad Gītā.* Vāsudeva Kriṣṇa, like Buddha and Mahāvīra in the Buddhist and Jain systems, was the originator of this reform. From the records of Megasthenes it appears that it was at least as old as the fifth century B.C. An analysis of the Nārāyaniya section of the Mahābhārata shows that it soon assumed a sectarian form, and was called the Pancharātra and the Sattvat religion, and was professed by the Sattvat tribe. It was noticed by Megasthenes in the fourth century B.C. Gradually it became mixed with the cults of Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu and came to be known as Vaiṣṇavism. Between the years 400—464 A.D. the Gupta kings style themselves on their coins as Parama Bhāgavatas.[1] In the seventh century, after Harṣa's death, Ādityasena, one of the Gupta kings of Magadha, dedicated a temple to Viṣṇu in the district of Gaya and associated with him the names of Hara (Śiva) and Brahmā (the Creator). The evidence of inscriptions shows the progress of the Bhāgavat religion till the end of the eighth century.

[1] There is plenty of evidence to show that the cult existed during the three or four centuries before Christ. Patanjali, the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, speaks of Vāsudeva as the worshipful one. Megasthenes mentions Heracles as the God worshipped by Souraseni in whose country was situated Methora or Mathura and the river Jamna flowed. It continued with slight modification till we come to the Gupta princes who style themselves on their coins as *Parama Bhāgavatas*. There is inscriptional evidence of the existence of the cult of Viṣṇu principally in accordance with the mode professed by the Bhāgavatas from the fourth to the eleventh century. Gopāl-Kriṣṇa and his feats are mentioned only very rarely in inscriptions belonging to a period so late as the 7th or 8th century. Thus Gopāl-Kriṣṇa came to be identified with Viṣṇu only very late, while the Bhāgavata system held sway over the Indian people.

Ind. Ant., III, p. 305 ; V, p. 363.

In Bāṇa's *Harṣa Charita*, Divākarmitra is surrounded by followers of the sects of Bhāgavatas and Pancharātras. The Daśāvatāra temple at Ellora built about the middle of the 8th century A.D. in the time of Dantidurga of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa clan has an image of Kriṣṇa holding the Govardhana mountain on his hand. The inscription in a cave at Pabbosa, about 32 miles S. W. of Allahabad, which Bühler assigns to the 7th or 8th century, contains a reference to Kriṣṇa and the milkmaids. Epig. Ind., II, p. 482.

There is plenty of other evidence which it is impossible to collect in the limited space at our disposal.

The great reformer Śaṅkarāchārya who lived about the ninth century A.D. preached his *Advaita* philosophy and enunciated the theory of *māyā* or illusion. He led a controversial life, demolished the Buddhist doctrines, and popularised the worship of Śiva. His indefatigable preaching produced an enormous effect ; but his doctrines found a critic in Rāmānuja, a great Vaiṣṇavite reformer, who lived in the eleventh century. It was the mission of Rāmānuja to demolish the doctrines of *māyā* preached by Śaṅkara. Rāmānuja was born about 1016 A.D.[1] He was educated at Kānchī or Conjeevaram where he studied the usual course, based on the Veda and its subsidiary studies, under the guidance of Yādava Prakāśa, the head of the philosophical academy at Kānchī, who was himself an *Advaita* teacher of renown. Then he went to Sringeri where he was invited to take the place of Yamunāchārya, which he did and was finally placed in chaıge of the management of the temple. The learning and position of the great teacher aroused bitter jealousy, and an attempt was made to murder him. In the later years of his life he was subjected to persecution by the Chola King, Kulottunga, who asked him to subscribe to the Śaiva creed. Considerations of safety led him to migrate to the dominions of the Hoysala Yādava prince Viṣṇuvardhana, where he succeeded in converting the brother of the reigning prince to Vaiṣṇavism. Rāmānuja imbided the spirit of *bhakti* from the Alvars or the Tamil saints. His principal doctrine is known as *Viśiṣṭa advaita* or qualified monism —a doctrine which gives scope for the feeling of *bhakti*. He maintained that individual souls are not essentially one with the Supreme, though they all emanate from Him as sparks from fire, and that the Supreme is not purely abstract Being, but possesses real qualities of goodness and beauty in an infinite degree. Thus Rāmānuja tried to oust Śaṅkara from Vedānta in order to establish a *Sagūṇa Īśvara*, an *Īśvara* who is

[1] According to the traditional account Rāmānuja lived for 120 years from 1017 to 1137 A.D.
Aiyenger, Ancient India, pp. 195, 221.
For a detailed notice of Rāmānuja see pp. 192—221.

endowed with a number of auspicious qualities which a devotee might meditate upon with ecstasy and joy. The final stage in a man's spiritual evolution is *bhakti* which is only a particular mode of *jñāna* or knowledge. But how can knowledge be attained? Krișṇa says in the Gītā: "To those who are ever devoted and worship me with love, I give that knowledge by which they attain to me." *Bhakti* must be reached by *desirelessness* ; action must be done in the spirit of renunciation, and all desire for "fruit," for reward hereafter must be abandoned. In northern India there are a few followers of Rāmānuja, but in the south their number is very large. They worship Viṣṇu and his consort Lakṣmī with great fervour and devotion and look upon him as the Supreme Being, the cause and creator of all things.

A contemporary of Rāmānuja, who also protested against Śaṅkara's doctrine, was Nimbārka, who, according to Bhandarkar, died in 1162 A.D. He was born at Nimbā which Bhandarkar identifies with Nimbāpur in the Bellary district of Madras.[1] His father, a Tailang Brahman, was a Bhāgavata and probably brought up his boy in the same faith. As Carpenter puts it, like the "qualified non-duality" of Rāmānuja, the scheme of Nimbārka is a compromise between different tendencies.[2] The doctrine of Nimbārka is both monistic as well as pluralistic.[3] "The inanimate world and the individual soul and God are distinct from one another as well as identical."[4] Brahma is the material as well as the efficient cause of the world. It is in the dortrine of Nimbārka that Krișṇa, the cowherd, comes into prominence as the supreme lord of the universe. The way to eternal beatitude is *bhakti* for the lotus-like feet of Krișṇa, and that *bhakti* is only to be obtained through grace. Thus we find that in Nimbārka's system for the first time the element of sport in Vaiṣṇavism comes to the

[1] See also Carpenter's Theism in Mediæval India, p. 404.
[2] Ibid., p. 405.
[3] Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, p. 63.
[4] Ibid, p. 63.

surface and retains its place ever afterwards.[1] The Nimbārkas are fairly numerous around Mathurā in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

About 1200 A.D. was born another great teacher whose name was Madhva at Kallyanpur in the Udipi district of south Kanara, about 40 miles west of Sringeri. At an early age Madhva renounced the world and adopted the life of a wandering monk. When he began his work, the atmosphere of the country was surcharged with the spirit of debate, and the young monk found himself amidst the warring exponents of rival doctrines. Years of strenuous toil were devoted to study and discussion, and when the task of preparation was finished, Madhva started on a teaching tour during which he defeated several of his leading opponents. He visited the north, and at Hardwar, when he returned from his meditations in the Himalayas, he proclaimed the supreme God-head of Viṣṇu and published his commentary upon the Vedānta Sūtras. The final aim of man is the direct perception of Hari which leads to *mokṣa* or eternal bliss. According to Madhva also knowledge leads to *bhakti*, and the final stage in a man's spiritual evolution is direct and steady remembrance of a *Saguṇa Īśvara*, which is identical with *bhakti*. Madhva divided souls into three classes :—(1) those destined to enjoy heavenly bliss, (2) those eternally destined to rebirth and death, and (3) those doomed to everlasting hell. Release from transmigration can only be obtained by means of knowledge and devotion.

Rāmānand, who flourished in the 14th century,[2] tried to do away with caste distinctions. Having gone through the

[1] Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, p. 66. Bhandarkar calls it the fourth element.

The difference between Rāmānuja and Nimbārka is that while the former confined himself to Nārāyaṇa and his consorts Lakṣmī, Bhū, and Līlā, the latter gave an exclusive prominence to Kriṣṇa and his mistress Rādhā, attended by thousands of her female companions. Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, pp. 65-66.

[2] Bhandarkar quotes from the *Agastya-Samhitā* that he was born in 4400 of the Kali age corresponding to 1356 of *Vikrama Samvat* corresponding to 1299 or 1300 A.D.

usual course of education, he became a disciple of Rāghavendra of the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* school. He went about visiting holy places, demolishing the doctrine of *māyā* (illusion), and establishing the worship of Rāma and Sītā. He was the first to employ the vernacular language for the propagation of his doctrines. He rejected caste and admitted to his discipleship men of all classes without any distinction. Rāmānand's followers are numerous in the Gangetic plain. They worship Viṣṇu under the form of Rāmachandra with his consort Sītā, and their favourite work is the *Bhaktamāla* of Nābhājī. Of all the disciples of Rāmānand, Kabīr was the most famous.

Another offshoot of Vaiṣṇavism was the Kriṣṇa cult of which Vallabhāchārya was the most distinguished exponent. He was the son of Lakṣmaṇa Bhatta, a Tailang Brahman, who lived in the Telugu country. He was born in the year 1479. From his early boyhood he showed signs of genius and came to be looked upon by his contemporaries as a prodigy of learning. Having finished his education, he started on his travels and reached the court of Kriṣṇa Deva Rāya, king of Vijayanagar, where he defeated the Śaivas in a public discussion.[1] He visited Mathurā, Vrindāban, and many other places, and finally settled in Benares where he composed seventeen works among which is his *Bhāgavat Tīkā Subodhinī*. In the

According to one tradition he was born at Prayāg in a Brahman family in 1299. As he was a precocious child, he was sent to Benares at the early age of 12 for philosophical studies.

Carpenter, Theism in Mediæval India, p. 428. See Note 1.

Bhandarkar accepts this date (1299-1300 A.D.).

Vaiṣṇavism, p. 67.

Macauliffe places his birth in south India at Malikot in Mysore and supposes him to have flourished in the end of the 14th and first half of the 15th century.

Farquhar expressed a similar veiw (J. R. A. S., 1900, p. 187), but later on he discarded this view. See his article on "The Historical Position of Rāmānand" in J. R. A. S., 1922, p. 373.

Farquhar's dates for Rāmānand's life are 1400—70 A.D.

An Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p. 323.

Monier Williams says, he lived about the beginning of the 14th century. Hinduism, p. 142.

[1] The date of Kriṣṇa Deva Rāya is from 1509 till 1529 A.D.

tenth book of this work is contained an authoritative exposition of the chief doctrines of the sect. Vallabha taught *Śuddhādvaita* or pure monism. Like Śaṅkara, he does not brush aside the individual soul or the inanimate world as illusion, but maintains on the other hand that *māyā* or illusion consists in establishing a relation between self and not-self. According to him there is no distinction between the Brahma and the individual soul, and the inanimate world is a manifestation of it. Bondage of the individual soul is due to delusion which can be got rid of only by having recourse to the various ways of *bhakti*. The path of devotion preached by Vallabhāchārya is called the *Puṣṭimārga* wrongly translated by some European scholars as 'the way of pleasure.' It really means the path of acquiring the grace of the Almighty. It is by loving God with a full knowledge of his greatness but without any desire that *grace* is acquired. Non-attachment to worldly pleasures and self-renunciation form in reality the keynote of his teachings. In one of his works he writes: "The home, the centre of all worldly desires, should be renounced in every way. If it be impracticable, one should dedicate it to the service of God, for it is He alone, who can emancipate man from evil." Again he writes that realisation of God is impossible in those whose bodies are swayed by passions. But as time passed, the true spirit of Vallabhāchārya's doctrines was forgotten and his successors laid stress upon the sports of Krisṇa's childhood and taught that a God possessed of such human qualities should be worshipped not by fasting and prayer, but by 'sanctifying all human pleasures in his service.' According to the pure Vaisṇava faith Krisṇa's love for the *gopīs* is to be explained allegorically but the followers of Vallabhāchārya interpreted it in a material sense.

Thus Vallabhāchāryaism became in its degenerate form, as Monier Williams writes, the Epicureanism of the East. Its followers began to aim at securing the ends of religion not by means of self-denial and self-mortification, but by the indulgence of appetites. Hence the system has lent itself to great

abuse, and even the pontiffs of the sect have earned a notoriety by reason of their habitual pursuit of pleasure. The followers of the sect consist of the wealthy trading classes of Gujarat, Rajputana, and the country round Mathurā, who are taught that all their belongings should be dedicated to the *guru*, and "this doctrine is not seldom carried to the extreme."[1] Dr. Bhandarkar rightly observes: "The spirit of this system, therefore, seems to be sportive enjoyments and it cannot but be expected to influence the ordinary life of its followers. Moral rigidity culminating in indifference to worldly enjoyments and self-abnegation does not appear to be a characteristic of this school."[2] The undesirable practices of the sect afterwards led to the puritanical movement of Swāmī Nārāyaṇa in the 19th century.

A contemporary of Vallabhāchārya was the celebrated Bengali reformer and saint Chaitanya, who was born in 1485. At the age of 25 Chaitanya renounced the world and became a *Sannyāsin* and for six years wandered about the country, preaching the doctrine of love and converting the exponents of the *advaita* doctrine to his system. After these wanderings he returned to Puri where he spent the remaining sixteen years

[1] Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, p. 82.
See the formula of dedication which every one initiated in the cult has to repeat. Growse, Mathura, A District Memoir, p. 265.

[2] Ibid., p. 82.
The extreme demands that all the belongings of the disciple should be placed at the service of the *guru* led to notorious abuses which were exposed in a famous trial in 1862 before the High Court of Bombay.
Dr. Barnett's statement regarding this rite in his little brochure on Hinduism (p. 32) is, I am informed on good authority, misleading, and is based on inadequate information.
Growse, Mathura, p. 263.
It must be borne in mind that there is no basis for these abuses in the literature of the sect. They are mainly due to the wealth of the followers and the grossly material interpretation put upon the doctrines of Vallabha by later exponents. My criticism is mainly directed at the practical side of Vallabhāchāryaism.
See Farquhar, An Outline of the Religious Literature of India, pp. 312—17.

of his life. Chaitanya denounced caste, proclaimed the universal brotherhood of man, the inefficiency of mere *karma* or ceremonial rites, and the worship of Hari and the singing of his name as the only effectual means of salvation.

Love and sport are the distinctive characteristics of this system. The Highest God is Śrī Krisna who is so beautiful that even the god of love falls in love with him. His eternal sports are carried on in Gokula. The Vedantic theory of Chaitanya is the same as that of Nimbārka, *viz.*, *Bhedābheda*, or identity as well as difference. The individual soul can attain to Krisna, the supreme Lord, by *bhakti* and *bhakti* alone.[1] The highest stage which the individual soul can attain is to indulge in eternal sports with his Lord in the relation of a lover and his beloved. Rādhā is nothing but the individual soul immersed in an ocean of rapturous love for the great Lord. She is, thus, nothing but idealised love. To love Krisna eternally as a servant, as a friend, as a son, and lastly as a lover is the highest goal of man and not *mukti*. Thus we find the system of Chaitanya aim at the culture of *emotions* in the individual soul and not of intelligence.[2] Minute shades of emotions are distinguished, and the works of the Chaitanya school of *Bhakti* are sometimes a psychology of the fine emotions.

Chaitanya himself wrote nothing. What others accomplished by their philosophical expositions, he achieved by the sheer force of personality. Love was so great a passion with him that the thought of Krisna playing upon his flute, of the

[1] The Vedantic theory of Chaitanya is succinctly put in these words by Dr. Bhandarkar : "As the bee is distinct from the honey and hovers about it and, when it drinks it, is full of it, *i.e.*, is one with it, so the individual soul is at first distinct from the supreme soul, seeks the supreme soul consistently and continuously and, when through love he is full of the supreme soul, he becomes unconscious of his individual existence and becomes, as it were, absorbed in him." Vaisnavism, p. 85.

[2] For Chaitanya's exposition of *Bhakti* see "*Chaitanya-Charitāmrita*," pp. 232—40 (Sarkar's translation).

wild woods of Vrindāban and the cows grazing in the verdant meadows, of the milk-maids bathing at the *ghāts* of the Jamna threw him into an ecstasy. Love is the watchword of the Chaitanya cult and it is defined in these words:—

"Every man must offer body and soul to Him, and must disdain his personal gratifications. He must be prepared to carry out his Lord's will and in doing so must not shrink from any sacrifice. He will worship his image, he must talk of him, he must wreathe flowers for him, he must burn incense and wave the *chāmara* in his temple and offer his services day and night to the Lord and to the world as well. Vaiṣṇavism, it must be repeated, is not the religion of the recluse, nor is it a non-proselytising creed."

What gave him power was not his interpretation of Vedānta, but his impassioned belief that love is the supreme regulating principle of this universe. This love could be cultivated in many ways. It sprang from the fount of pure faith and assumed diverse forms. Kriṣṇa's name knew not the barriers of caste and race. It purged all impurities. When he sent his two chief disciples to preach in Bengal, he bade them "teach the lesson of faith in Kriṣṇa to all men down to the Chaṇḍālas, and freely preach the lesson of devotion and love."[1] His heart was full of sympathy for suffering humanity, and often he burst out in bitter anguish ; "My heart breaks to see the sorrows of mankind. Lay thou their sins upon my head ; let me suffer in hell for all their sins so that thou mayest remove the earthly pangs of all other beings." Such was the gospel of love which Chaitanya preached to the high and the low, to the Brahman and the Sudra. The followers of Chaitanya are numerous in Bengal and Orissa, and his name is still chanted in many a home in joyous gatherings at eventide with a fervour and devotion which is almost mediæval in its depth and intensity.

[1] Sarkar, Pilgrimages and Teachings, pp. 169, 173.

Sarkar Chaitanya's Life and Teachings (translation of the Bengali work, the *Chaitanya-Charitāmrita*), p. 209.

The influence of Islam is clearly manifest in the teachings of Nāmadeva, Kabīr, and Nānak, who all condemned caste, polytheism and idolatry and pleaded for true faith, sincerity and purity of life. The cardinal doctrine on which they laid stress was that God is the God of Hindus as well as Muslims, of Brahmans as well as of Chaṇḍālas and that before Him all are equal. The trammels of caste and ecclesiastical formalism must be discarded, if the worshipper wants to know the true path. The first in point of time was Nāmadeva, the Marāthā saint, a man of low origin, whose probable date of birth must be fixed sometime early in the 15th century.[1] Nāmadeva preached the unity of God, deprecated idol-worship and all outward observances. His powerful faith in God reveals itself in his hymns.

> "Love for him who filleth my heart shall never be sundered ;
> Nāma hath applied his heart to the true Name,
> As the love between a child and his mother,
> So is my soul imbued in the God."[2]

Nāmadeva's dependence on God and his humility are expressed in the following hymn :—

> "If thou give me an empire, what glory shall it be to me?
> If thou cause me to beg, how shall it degrade me?
> Worship God, O my soul, *and thou shalt obtain* the dignity of salvation,

[1] Macauliffe says, he was born in A.D. 1270, but this date is inadmissible. The Sikh Religion, VI, p. 18. Dr. Bhandarkar also accepts this date. Vaiṣṇavism, p. 89.

The date given in Nābhājī's *Bhaktamāla* is 1488 A.D. Lucknow text, p. 308.

Dr. Farquhar has now expressed the view, which, I think, is more acceptable, that Nāmadeva flourished "from 1400 to 1430 or thereabouts." J. R. A. S., 1920, p. 186.

See also Carpenter's Theism in Mediæval India, p. 452.

Carpenter accepts Macauliffe's date which does not seem to be correct.

[2] Macauliffe, VI, pp. 48, 68.

And no more transmigration shall await thee,
O God, Thou didst create all men and lead them
astray in error ;
He to whom Thou givest *understanding* knoweth *thee*.
One stone is adored,
Another is trodden under foot.
If one is a God, the other is also a God—
Saith Nāmadeva, I worship the true God."[1]

Kabīr was the greatest disciple of Rāmānand. He was born about 1398.[2] His origin is shrouded in mystery. Tradition says, he was born of a Brahman widow who cast him off near a tank in order to escape social odium. The child was picked up by a weaver, Nīrū, and was brought up by his wife with great affection and care. When he grew up, he took up his father's trade, but found time to moralise and philosophise :

" No one knew the mystery of that weaver
Who came into the world and spread the warp.
The earth and the sky are the two beams,
The sun and moon are two filled shuttles.
Taking a thousand threads he spreads them lengthways ;
To-day he weaveth still, but hard to reach is the far-off end."[3]

As Carpenter puts it, the whole back-ground of Kabīr's thought is Hindu. Grierson's theory that he derived his opinions from Christian sources has no foundation in fact.[4] He

[1] Macauliffe, VI, pp. 44-45.
[2] Ibid., VI, p. 121.
Westcott in his Kabīr and Kabīr Panth fixes the date as late as 1440. Kabīr and Kabīr Panth, chronological table, p. 7.
Miss Underhill fixes the date between 1440 and 1518.
See Rāmānand's date given by Farquhar. This is between 1400—70. Also Encyclopædia of Islam, p. 593.
As Kabīr was a disciple of Rāmānand, he must have been born during this period.
[3] Ahmad Shah, The Bījak of Kabīr, p. 67.
[4] J. R. A. S., 1907, pp. 325, 492.

speaks of Rāma. He seeks freedom from transmigration and hopes to attain the true path by means of *bhakti*. He has an aversion for theological subtleties, and condemns all sham, insincerity, and hypocrisy, which are mistaken for true piety. He makes no distinction between the Hindu and the Turk, who, he says, are pots of the same clay, and who are striving by different routes to reach the same goal. He pointed out the futility of mere lip-homage to the great ideals of truth and religion. Of what avail is the worship of stone and bathing in the Ganges, if the heart is not pure? Of what avail is a pilgrimage to Mecca, if the pilgrim marches towards the Kaaba with a deceitful and impure heart?

> "It is not by fasting and repeating prayers and the creed,
> That one goeth to heaven ;
> The inner veil of the temple of Mecca
> Is in man's heart, if *the truth* be known.
> Make thy mind thy Kaaba, thy body its enclosing temple.
> Conscience its prime teacher ;
> Sacrifice wrath, doubt, and malice ;
> Make patience thine utterance of the five prayers,
> The Hindus and the Musalmans have the same Lord."[1]

Such is in a nutshell the teaching of Kabīr. It is in Dr. Barnett's words "a broad monistic pantheism, coloured by a warm moral fervour." God to him is the essence and source of all being. The wonderful phenomena of nature and life and death are all to him "wondrous play." God is in every thing, in all joys and sorrows of the common life. Kabīr is sure of immortality, of union with God, for he says: "As the river enters into the ocean, so my heart touches thee."[2]

[1] Macauliffe, VI, p. 140.
Ibid., p. 258.
[2] Tagore, One Hundred Poems of Kabīr, p. 26, XXXIV.

Kabīr's great disciple was Nānak, the founder of the Sikh religion, who was born in 1469 A.D. at Talwandi, a village in the Lahore district. From his boyhood Nānak showed a religious bent of mind and paid no attention to his studies. Like Kabīr, he also preached the unity of God, condemned idolatry, and urged that the barriers of caste and race must give way before the name of God who transcends them all. He exhorted men to give up hypocrisy, selfishness, worldliness, and falsehood for " all men's accounts shall be taken in God's court and no one shall be saved without good works." Nānak's creed is summed up in these words :

" Religion consisteth not in mere words ;
He who looketh on all men as equal is religious.
Religion consisteth not in wandering to tombs or places of cremation, or sitting in attitudes of contemplation.
Religion consisteth not in wandering in foreign countries, or in bathing at places of pilgrimage.
Abide pure amidst the impurities of the world ;
Thus shalt thou find the way to religion."[1]

The movement of reform did not end with Nānak. The stream of thought continued to flow on ; a number of saints and reformers arose whose achievements will be discussed in another volume.

Not a dark age.

From what has been said above it will be clear to the reader that the period from 1000 to 1500 A.D. cannot be described in fairness as the dark age of Indian history. It was the fashion of old, when an ox was led out for sacrifice to Jupiter, to chalk the dark spots and give the offering a false show of

[1] Macauliffe, I, p. 60.
Also see Cunningham, History of the Sikhs, pp. 43-44.
Nānak's hymns are collected in the " *Granth Sahib,* " the sacred book of the Sikhs. There are many among them which reveal his faith in God and indicate the ethical trend of all his teachings.

spotless whiteness. Let us fling away the chalk and acknowledge without hesitation the blemishes which were common to the age in all countries, but let us remember also the services rendered to the cause of civilisation in India by the pioneers of Muslim conquest. The erroneous assumption that the Muslim conquest was an unmitigated disaster is not justified by facts. It was a disaster in the sense that the Hindus lost their independence, and foreign subjection brought with it the inevitable degradation of the vanquished races. From the political point of view, the Muslim conquest inflicted great humiliations upon them, and religious differences led to persecutions sometimes of a most gruesome character, which caused much bitterness between the rulers and the ruled. It was not like the Norman conquest of England, which obliterated all distinctions between the English and the Norman and brought about a fusion of the two races. The Hindus and Muslims stood apart ; they refused to sink their individuality and with an amazing tenacity both tried to maintain their peculiar habits, manners, customs, and modes of speech for centuries. So conservative was the Muslim in his outlook that four hundred years after the conquest, when Akbar made an attempt to nationalise his subjects on a rational basis, his venture provoked a storm of opposition, and in orthodox circles the emperor was stigmatised as an apostate and a betrayer of the interests of the 'faithful.' No wonder, then, if the Muslim churchmen in the early middle ages adopted an attitude of stern isolation and refused to have all connection with the infidels on terms of equality. Such was the mental outlook of the mediæval people both in the east and west. The annals of the Roman Catholic Church during this period are disfigured by persecutions of a most revolting type. The Inquisition was freely employed to punish heresy ; and freedom of thought was stifled in a most tyrannical manner. But Muslim rulers in India showed greater toleration in dealing with infidel subjects. At a time when Philip II of Spain declared that it was better not to rule at all than to rule over heretics, and when Elizabeth persecuted the Irish Roman

Catholics, Muslim rulers like Sher Shah and Akbar preached from the high platform of public interest the gospel of religious toleration and good will towards all communities and faiths. The domination of the Muslims did not utterly extinguish Hindu spirit and manliness, as is shown by the armed resistance that was frequently offered to them by Hindu chieftains and Zamindars all over the country. There is ample evidence in the *Tabqat-i-Nasiri*, the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* of Barani, and the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, of the persistent but ill-organised attempts of the Hindus of the Doab to shake off the yoke of the rulers of Delhi. Whenever an opportunity offered itself, they stirred up strife and made it difficult for the local administration to function and defied the central government with impunity. There was no economic drain, and however profligate or extravagant a ruler might be, he spent the treasures of the state in the country itself. The vast wealth of Hindu India passed into Muslim hands, but the fact that the Muslims had made India their permanent home had a profound effect on the economic situation. However depressing the political atmosphere may have been at times, and however great may have been the distress in times of famine, there was no dearth in normal times of articles of food which are vitally necessary to a healthy and vigorous existence—a fact which is brought home to us by the rapid deterioration of the physique of our people in modern times.

From the cultural point of view it may be said that Islam gave a new impulse to Indian art. The architects whom the Muslims employed in their service expressed in stone and mortar the spirit of the age and incidentally and unconsciously revealed in their creations the new ideals, which were a curious blending of the gorgeous splendour, romance, and poetry of Hinduism with the simplicity, rigidity, and the puritanical spirit of Islam. Painting and sculpture ceased to exist, because they savoured of idolatry to the orthodox Muslim mind, and the Hindu master-builder exclusively devoted himself to the expression of the monotheistic idea. But a change came over

the ideals of art. From the colossal and massive structures of the Khiljis and Tughluqs, the style advances till we reach the sumptuous and profuse decoration of the monuments at Jaunpur and Ahmadabad, which stand to this day as memorials of the Renaissance of Indian Art. The advent of Islam profoundly influenced the Hindu mind. The conservative Brahman looked upon the Muslim pretty much as his modern prototype looks upon the Englishman as a masterful barbarian sent by the fates to rule over him, and treated his affairs with supreme disdain. The flight of Brahman scholars from the north gave an impetus to Aryan culture in the Deccan and set in the process of the Aryanisation of the Dravidian races. Excluded from the secular sphere of the state, the Hindu genius found an outlet in religion, and the new school of reformers tried to purify a system which was encrusted with superstitious rites and practices, so completely at variance with the true spirit of religion. The names of Rāmānand, Chaitanya, and Nānak will stand for all time to come as beaconlights to guide frail humanity which is only too prone to fall into error and superstition. The very fact that the Hindu society was able to produce such men furnishes a refutation of the theory that the Hindu genius had become decadent and sterile under Muslim rule. On the contrary, it proves the virility and vigour of the Hindu mind. It would be equally wrong to suppose that the Muslim rulers were mere savages who knew nothing of the art of civilised administration. The early middle ages can boast of such warrior-statesmen as Balban and Alauddin Khilji, accomplished and learned patrons of letters as Muhammad Tughluq and Ibrahim Shah Sharqi, pious and peaceful administrators as Nāsir-ud-din and Firuz Tughluq, and generals like Ulugh Khan, Zafar Khan, Malik Kafur and many others equally brave and warlike. These are interesting figures on the canvas of mediæval history. Originality was not wanting in them ; some of them took the bold step of attempting to secularise the state by severing priestly functions from political duties, although the attempt did not succeed. They emphasised the importance

of raising the crown above all parties and factions and subordinating the claims of orthodoxy to the interests of the state. But the times in which they lived did not favour the consummation of such an ideal. It was given to the Mughals in later times to accomplish this process. They were able to build up a culture-state so sharply in contrast with the crude and half-formed polity of early times. They devised rules and regulations for the governance of their vast dominions, which bear upon them the impress of a more enlightened age, and achieved triumphs which have invested them with a glory all their own. But it would be unjust to ignore the claims of men who first laid out the new path, and attempted to introduce Muslim civilisation and Muslim ideas in an alien country teeming with hostile races, and who prepared men's minds for social organisation and discipline along lines unfamiliar to the children of the soil. Let not the historian of Mughal India forget in his enthusiasm the debt which the Mughals owed to the generations that preceded them. In fact, the foundations of their culture-state were laid far back in the middle ages, and their political institutions and arrangements were consciously or unconsciously influenced by the ideals and practices of their predecessors.

FINIS

THE LEADING DATES.

636-37	A.D.	The first expedition of the Arabs to the coast of India.
647	"	Death of Harṣa.
712	"	Muhammad Bin Qasim's invasion of Sindh.
986-7	"	Subuktagin's first raid into Indian territory.
991	"	Subuktagin's second invasion and battle with Jayapala.
1000	"	Mahmud of Ghazni's first expedition.
1004-05	"	Third expedition of Mahmud of Ghazni against Bhīra.
1008-09	"	His sixth expedition against Lahore.
1008-09	"	Conquest of Nagarkot.
1014	"	Expedition against Thaneshwar.
1019	"	Do. do. Kanauj.
1025	"	Do. do. Somnath.
1026	"	The last expedition of Mahmud of Ghazni against the Jats.
1030	"	Death of Mahmud of Ghazni.
1031	"	Masud became Sultan of Ghazni.
1040	"	Battle of Merv. Defeat of Sultan Masud by the Turks.
1186	"	Sultan Muhammad's expedition against Lahore.
1191	"	First battle of Tarain.
1192	"	Second battle of Tarain. Defeat of Prithviraj.
1194	"	Sultan Muhammad marches against Kanauj.
1197	"	Conquest of Bihar by Muhammad Bin Bakhtiyar Khilji.
1202	"	Conquest of Kalinjar by Qutb-ud-din.
1210	"	Death of Qutb-ud-din Aibek.
1210	"	Accession of Īltutmish to the throne of Delhi.
1215	"	Defeat of Yaldoz at Tarain.
1221	"	The invasion of Chingiz Khan.
1225	"	Submission of Ghiyas-ud-din Khilji, ruler of Bengal.
1226	"	Conquest of Ranthambhor.
1228	"	Īltutmish receives investiture from the Khalifa.
1230	"	Conquest of Bengal and Gwalior.
1235	"	Death of Īltutmish.
1236	"	Death of Rukn-ud-din and accession of Sultan Reziyā to the throne.

1239	A.D.	Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Altunia's revolt.
1240	„	Reziyā is put to death.
1241	„	The invasion of the Mongols.
1245	„	Another invasion of the Mongols.
1246	„	Nasiruddin's accession to the throne.
1246—52	„	Various chieftains of North India were defeated and brought into submission.
1255	„	Revolt of Qutlugh Khan.
1257	„	Invasion of the Mongols.
1259	„	Expedition against Mewat.
1266	„	Balban becomes king.
1279	„	Tughril's rebellion in Bengal.
1285	„	Death of Prince Muhammad, son of Balban.
1286	„	Death of Balban.
1290	„	Jalaluddin Khilji's assumption of Royal power.
1294	„	Alauddin's expedition to Devagir.
1295	„	Accession of Alauddin to the throne of Delhi.
1297	„	Conquest of Gujarat.
1298	„	The invasion of the Mongols.
1301	„	Final conquest of Ranthambhor.
1303	„	Conquest of Mewar.
1309	„	Expedition against Warangal.
1311	„	Conquest of Mabar.
1312	„	Defeat of Śankaradeva, son of Rama Deva of Devagir.
1316	„	Death of Alauddin Khilji.
1318	„	Rebellion of Raja Har Pal Deva of Devagir.
1320	„	Accession of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq.
1323	„	Subjugation of Warangal.
1325	„	Death of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq and accession of his son Muhammad Tughluq.
1326-27	„	Transfer of the capital from Delhi to Daulatabad.
1330	„	Introduction of the Token Currency.
1333	„	Arrival of Ibn Batūtā in India.
1334-35	„	Rebellion of Jalal-ud-din Ahsan Shah in Mabar.
1336	„	Foundation of the kingdom of Vijayanagar.
1337	„	Rebellion of Fakhr-ud-din in Bengal.
1340-41	„	Revolt of Ain-ul-Mulk Multani.
1344	„	Revolt of Kriṣṇa Nāyak.
1347	„	Foundation of the Bahmani Kingdom.
1351	„	Death of Muhammad Tughluq and accession of Firuz Tughluq.

1353-54	A.D.	Firuz's first expedition to Bengal.
1359-60	,,	Firuz's second expedition to Bengal.
1360-61	,,	Conquest of Nagarkot.
1371-72	,,	The conquest of Thatta.
1388	,,	Death of Firuz Tughluq.
1394	,,	Accession of Nāsir-ud-din Mahmūd Tughluq.
1398	,,	Timur's invasion.
1401	,,	Gujarat and Malwa become independent.
1412	,,	Death of Sultan Mahmūd, the last ruler of the Tughluq dynasty.
1414	,,	Khizr Khan acquires possession of Delhi.
1417	,,	The Rebellion of Tughan Raīs and the Turk Bacchas.
1420-21	,,	Nicolo Conti's visit to Vijayanagar.
1421	,,	Death of Tāj-ul-Mulk, Wazir of Khizr Khan.
1421	,,	Death of Khizr Khan. Accession of Mubarak Shah.
1428	,,	Jasrath Khokhar's siege of Kalanaor.
1429-30	,,	Rebellion of Paulād.
1433	,,	Defeat and death of Paulād.
1434	,,	Murder of Mubarak Khan.
1437	,,	Expedition of Ahmad Shah against Mahmud Khilji of Malwa.
1440	,,	Mahmud Khilji of Malwa proceeds against Delhi and Chittor.
1442	,,	Visit of Abdur-Razzāq to Vijayanagar.
1445	,,	Accession of Alauddin Alam Shah.
1447	,,	Bahlol Lodi seizes the throne of Delhi.
1470	,,	Athnasius Nikitin's visit to Bidar.
1479	,,	Birth of Vallabhāchārya. Bhalol Lodi seizes the throne of Delhi.
1489	,,	Accession of Sikandar Lodi.
1493	,,	Accession of Husain Shah of Bengal.
1504	,,	Foundation of Agra.
1505	,,	A violent earthquake at Agra.
1507	,,	An expedition against the Portuguese by Mahmud Bīgaraha.
1509	,,	Accession of Krisna Deva Raya to the throne of Vijayanagar.
1517	,,	Death of Sikandar and the accession to the throne of Ibrahim Lodi.
1526	,,	First battle of Panipat and defeat of Ibrahim Lodi by Babar.

THE SULTANS OF DELHI

Slave Dynasty

1. MUIZ-UD-DIN MUHAMMAD BIN SAM.
   - 2. Qutb-ud-din Aibek (1206—10)
     - 3. Aram Shah (1210)
     - Daughter = 4. Shams-ud-din Iltutmish (1210—35)
       - 5. Rukn-ud-din Firuz I (1235-36)
         - 8. Ala-ud-din Masud (1241—46)
       - 6. Jalalat-ud-din Reziyā (1236—39)
       - 7. Muiz-ud-din Bahram (1239—41)
       - 9 Nāsir-ud-din Mahmud I (1246—65)
       - Daughter = 10. Ghiyas-ud-din Balban (1265—87)
         - Bughra Khan (Governor of Bengal)
           - 11. Muiz-ud-din Kaiqubad (1287—90)
             - 12. Shams-ud-din Qaiumurs

Khilji Dynasty

- 13. Jalal-ud-din Firuz II (1290—95)
  - 14. Rukn-ud-din Ibrahim I (1295)
- Brother of Firuz II
  - 15. Ala-ud-din Muhammad II (1295—1316)
    - 16. Shihab-ud-din Umar (1315-16)
    - 17. Qutb-ud-din Mubarak I (1316—20)

18. Nāsir-ud-din Khusrau, Wazir of Mubarak I (1320).

Tughluq Dynasty

19. Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq I (1320—25) ——Sipah Salar Rajab, Brother of Tughluq I

- 20. Muhammad bin Tughluq (1325—51) [son of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq I]
- 21. Firuz III (1351—88) [son of Sipah Salar Rajab]
  - Fatah
    - 22. Tughluq II (1388)
    - 27. Nusrat Shah (1394—99)
  - Zafar
    - 23. Abu Bakr (1388-89)
  - 24. Muhammad III (1389—92)
    - 25. Sikandar I (1392)
    - 26. Mahmūd II (1392—94) (restored 1399—1412)

28. Daulat Khan (1412).

Saiyyad Dynasty

29. Khizr Khan Saiyyad (1414—21)

- 30. Mubarak II (1421—33)
- Farīd
  - 31. Muhammad Shah IV (1433—43)
    - 32. Alam Shah (1443—51).

Lodi Dynasty

33. Bahlol Lodi (1451—88)

34. Sikandar II (1488—1517)

35. Ibrahim II (1517—26).

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INDEX.

OPINIONS AND REVIEWS

From the Private Secretary to His Excellency Sir William Marris, Governor of U. P. and Chancellor of the Allahabad University :

I am directed by Sir William Marris to thank you for so kindly sending him a copy of your book on the History of Mediæval India, which seems to him to do great credit both to the author and to the department of History in the Allahabad University. The Chancellor has no doubt that the book will do valuable work in spreading a knowledge of the intermediate period of Indian History with which it deals.

2. Prof. A. B. Keith, M.A., D.C.L., D.Litt., of the University of Edinburgh :

The work appears to me to be excellently adapted for the purpose which it is intended to fulfil. It covers adequately the period chosen, by giving a sound foundation of knowledge on which students may proceed to further research, and I am not aware of any other work which achieves the same end in equal measure. There are, of course, points in which the views adopted by you seem open to criticism, but this is inevitable in any history, and the general soundness of your opinions is patent and commendable.

3. Prof. Margoliouth, M.A., D.Litt., of the Oxford University :

. . . . Your magnificent volume on Mediæval India. The period which it covers is of the greatest interest.—. . . . I expect to derive great pleasure and profit from the study of your work.

4. Mahamahopadhyya Dr. Ganga Nath Jha, M.A., D.Litt., LL.D. Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University :

I am not historian enough to be able to judge of the merits of the work ; but I know enough of the work of handling old texts to be able to appreciate the industry and—what is more—honesty displayed by you in collecting your materials and using them judiciously and to the best advantage. I hope this volume is going to be only the precursor to many more from your facile pen.

5. Prof. Jadu Nath Sarkar, M.A., C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University :

I have received with thanks your well-written and beautifully produced *History of Mediæval India*. It emphasises aspects of the subject not touched,—or only lightly brushed,—in ordinary histories. . . .

6. Prof. Radha Kumud Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., Lucknow University:

. . . . Your monumental work on Mediæval India. A scholarly work on that obscure period of Indian History was long called for and I am glad it was left to an Indian scholar to supply the need. . . A close study of the book has only confirmed my opinion about your complete competence for original and advanced work within the field of Indian History.

7. The Leader:

Prof. Ishwari Prasad's book is the product of a critical study of materials not generally utilised by writers of Indian History, and serves the double purpose of a text-book for college students, and a guide for those who desire to pursue special studies in the subject.

8. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain:

Mr. Ishwari Prasad, who carries the Middle Ages in India down to the first battle of Panipat, has treated his subject in detail, and has given us a valuable account of the Muhammadan dynasties which bore sway in India from the time of the Arab conquest of Sind in the early days of the eighth century until the overthrow of the Lodi dynasty by Babar the Timurid. His work is characterised, on the whole, by the critical acumen and sound judgment which we associate with the *School of* History in the University of Allahabad, where history is studied and written in a spirit very different from that of the uncritical chroniclers in whose pages the historian must delve for most of his facts.

The most valuable part of the book consists, perhaps, in the description of the condition of India at the time of the earlier conquests and of the achievements and character of the conquerors and of nearly all the greater figures on the stage of early Muslim history in India. The account and estimate of Mahmud of Ghazni are judicious and singularly free from bias.

9. The American Historical Review:

The author has made extensive use of both original and secondary sources, and handles his material independently and judiciously. It will do reasonably well as a reference book for undergraduates in Indian Colleges, which is its professed purpose.

10. The History:

A good survey of the History of Mediæval India is a much needed work. Elphinstone is out of date; Lane-Poole is too slight; so that there is ample room for a work like Mr. Ishwari Prasad's Mediæval India and we think that many will find it useful. The narrative is fairly full of detail and the general attitude of the author not unreasonable.

11. The Journal of Indian History:

. . . Mr. Prasad has certainly utilised far more fully than his predecessors Sir Henry Elliot's translations and appears to have consulted even the originals in Persian and Arabic. He has brought before the general reader information hitherto scattered and has attempted to make the book fairly up-to-date. He has appended a fairly full bibliography which would be of help to scholars who are inclined to dive deeper into the subject. The merit of the work is enhanced by his learned and elaborate footnotes as well as suitable maps and illustrations.

The book bids fair on the whole to supersede, if not to supplant, altogether the works of the earlier scholars on the subject and we heartily congratulate the author on the production of such an excellent work.

12. The Modern Review:

Elphinstone's survey in spite of its substantial quality is out of date in many respects and Lane-Poole's sketch, splendid as it is, appears insufficient to-day. Mr. Prasad has come forward to illumine the dark recesses of the pre-Mughal period. He has spared no pains to make his survey as comprehensive as possible and his book would be welcomed as a very useful and up-to-date hand-book by the teachers and students of our Colleges.

. . . There is another good point which recommends the book to our attention. The History of Mediæval India is generally considered to be synonymous with the History of Muslim India. The positive distortion of historical notions is due simply to the fact that very few historians of Muslim India were competent to handle or even conscious of the existence of the Hindu sources of contemporary Indian History. Mr. Prasad may legitimately take pride in the fact that he has broken through that unhistorical self-complacency of the Islamists and to unfold before our eyes the tableaux of Indo-Muslim History in which the vanquished Hindus play as important a part as the victorious Muslims. It may be recorded to the credit of the author that he renders full justice to the Islamic conquerors of Hindu India.

13. The New India:

. . . A scholarly work on which the author is to be congratulated. It is a decided improvement upon existing works. The fullness of the narrative, the unbiassed interpretation of historical facts, the critical acumen and the power of balanced judgment which the author brings to bear upon his task commend the work to the acceptance of all lovers of Indian History.

14. The Hindustan Review :

No other book, so far as is known to us, gives a detailed account of the political institutions and social and literary advancement of the Indian people during the middle ages. The author's sympathetic appreciation of Muslim culture is a striking contribution to the history of the Indo-Islamic civilisation and its merit is considerably enhanced by the fact that it is based on first-rate authorities. . . . All things considered this volume of 650 pages is an admirable contribution to Indian history and it is gratifying to think that an Indian scholar has been able to fill a most important gap in our historical literature.

Belongs to
Baidya Nath Prasad Verma
St. Andrew's College
III year. 1934.
Gorakhpur